
BRITISH MUSEUM
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JAN


A ROMAN
A SAXON
A BRITAIN
THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND
A DANE
A NORMAN

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Faithfully Extracted from

Authentick Records,

Approved Manuſcripts.

And the moſt

Celebrated Hiſtories of this Kingdom,
In all Languages, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil.

WITH

The Effigies of all the Kings and Queens of *England*, from the *Norman* Race, to the preſent Time; Curiouſly Engraved on Copper Plates, from Original Medals and Pictures.

In Two Volumes.

VOL. I.

The FOURTH Edition, carefully Corrected; And very much Improv'd; particularly, by a Continuation of this *Hiſtory*, from the famous Battle of *Bleinheim*, to the Death of the late Queen *ANNE*.

LONDON:
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THE

PREFACE.

TO *ſay any thing in Commendation of the Uſe and Excellency of* Hiſtory, *after ſo much has been wrote by others on that fruitful Subject, were to waſte the Readers time, and contradict the Deſign of the Author, who has an utter Averſion to needleſs Repetitions.*

Brevity *and* Perſpicuity *is the Life of* Hiſtory. *And how well the Author has anſwer'd thoſe two great ends, is now ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Candid and Intelligent Peruſer, who, in kindneſs to himſelf, and Juſtice to the Writer, will firſt conſult his own Reaſon, and the Coherence of the whole Piece, before he paſſes Judgment of Life or Death upon the enſuing Volumes: A favour he does not expect from others, who out of an empty*

Affectation of Wit and Knowledge, diſcover their want of both, in Cenſuring at a venture, *and when driven to aſſign a Reaſon for their capricious finding fault, are forced to excuſe themſelves, by ſaying, They took their diſlike upon* Truſt, *and never allowed themſelves the leiſure to* read, *much leſs to* conſider *the Books they are pleaſed to throw away ſome of their hard Words upon.*

To obviate this ſilly Humour, is not worth the Expence of Time; 'tis their Province, and may they long enjoy it; but to ſatisfy the more Judicious *part of Mankind, the Author thinks himſelf obliged to acquaint them with his Reaſons for undertaking this Work, and what they may, and may not, expect to find in it; And then if upon Reading the whole, they don't find their Expectations anſwered, the Author can only ſay, that many Perſons of great Judgment, and celebrated for their Knowledge in this kind of Learning,* (who have read, and approved it) *are under a great miſtake, as well as he that wrote the Hiſtory.*

'Tis true, there are many large Volumes of Engliſh *Hiſtory already extant; but they are ſo* Antique *and* Obſolete, *that they are now ſcarce intelligible; or being built upon the Foundation of the* Monks, *who were the only Writers of former Ages, and repreſented* Men *and*

Things

Things, *Well or Ill, according as they favoured or opposed their Interests, are generally* Partial *and* Erroneous.

Others, of later Date, have only run into the same mistake, but are so engaged in Factions, byas'd to particular Interests, and so incoherent with themselves, and disagreeing with one another, that they wilder *rather than* inform *their Readers. Besides, they are now grown so* Voluminous, Particular, *and* Many, *that they require a good Estate, to purchase them all, and without the whole, no Man thinks himself a compleat* English *Historian.*

These Inconveniencies produced great complaints, for want of such a Work as now (I hope) is in your hands, viz. *an* entire English History, *at a* Moderate *Price,* True *in its Nature,* Brief *in its Narration, yet* Comprehensive *in its Contents; and which is more than all the rest, not Wrote to serve a* Turn, *or support particular* Interest.

To correct some Errors, *supply the* Defects, *and accommodate the* Reader *with what might be useful to him, was the Author's principal Inducement to this Undertaking. To compleat which no Pains have been omitted, in searching* Records, *examining Authentick* Manuscripts, *diligent* Reading, *and* Collecting *from the most approved Authors in*

all Languages; which, as it hath been the Work of ſome Years, ſo I hope it will anſwer the End deſired; However, let it ſucceed as it will, I am ſure it was well meant, and I can ſatysfy my ſelf with the Conſcience of a good Intention.

The Author neithers is, nor deſires to be taken for one of any Self-Intereſted Party, *nor is guilty of ſo much Ill Manners, as to be Cenſorious of thoſe that are, for he knows there is Good and Bad under all Names and Profeſſions; and therefore if he expoſeth any ſort of Men, 'tis not for their Principles, wherein they may differ from others, but for being unſociably Sour, Ill Natured, Troubleſome, always Complaining, and under pretence of mending things that are well, render them intollerable. If ſuch expect to be gratifyed, by* Invectives *againſt ſome, or by* Clawing *other Factions, they will miſs what they ſeek for; the whole being written with a plain, honeſt* Engliſh *freedom, in detecting Seditious Habits, and encouraging Love, Peace, Loyalty and Unity.*

This Compendious Hiſtory contains only matters of Fact, truly related from the beſt Authorities, and where things are dark and dubious, the Arguments on all ſides are fairly recited, and left with the Reader to determine, as his Judgment leads him. When things are taken meerly upon Report, or Opinion, they

they are ſo repreſented, without the vanity of Dogmatizing, Bribing the Readers by ſtudied Arguments, or darkning the Truth, by a Cloud of Eloquent Inſinuations.

Here is no advancing to the Monarchy *into a Deſpotick Tyranny; nor impairing the* Right *and* Power *of Kings, by rendring them leſs than they ought to be; but the Ballance is held even between Sovereigns and* Subjects, *in a Legal Government, and a regular Subordination to Authority; the* good *and* bad *in every Reign, are ſet in their proper Lights, tho' when the Evil is not manifeſt, or Inclination to the more charitable Opinion is diſcovered, becauſe ill Conſequences, by unforeſeen Accidents, are too often the product of ſincere and honeſt Intentions.*

In ſhort, beſides relating matter of Fact in the ſeveral Reigns, the whole Hiſtory labours but with one Deſign, and that is, to ſhew the Excellency of our Engliſh Conſtitution, *the Danger in departing from it, by inclining to other* Models; *and the Care that all Good Men ought to have, in preſerving it in its antient* Glory, Power, Wealth, and Magnificence.

We ſhall ſay nothing in favour of this Fourth Edition, ſave only, that the Hiſtory of Queen ANNE's *Reign is continued from*

from the famous Battle at Blenheim, *down to the Demiſe of that Excellent Princeſs; and that the whole has been reviſed and corrected with great Accuracy.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF *ENGLAND*, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction.

IT is in great Kingdoms, as in mighty Rivers, the higher we trace their Originals, the more we are to ſeek from whence their principal Head and Source doth proceed; and as Objects, by diſtance, are contracted, till they ſcarce become viſible to the Eye, and thoſe things by far removal off, ſeem to be in one Lump, which in themſelves are really ſeparated: So it happens, that among many Pretenders to the firſt Plantation of a Country, it is hard to diſcern to which the Priority is to be given. For the Map of the antient World, by time, is reduc'd to ſo ſmall a compaſs, that the many Colonies, like Rivulets, ſeem to meeet in one Point; and have ſo darken'd and obſcur'd the Lines and Traces of Antiquity, that, of neceſſity, recourſe must Vol. I.

Vol. I. must be had to probable Opinions and Conjectures, those Artificial Glasses, by which the Foot-steps of time are laid more wide and open.

In enquiring out the first Inhabitants of this Island, we now call *England*, I don't intend to build upon the single Opinion of any one Author, how famous soever; but without relying on any Man's personal Authority, or questioning the Truths of their Narrations, deliver Matters of Fact from a Collection from them all, after diligent comparing them together, and weighing them in the Scales of Reason, Probability, and the Discoveries of succeeding Ages.

See Sir W. Temple's *Introduction to the History of* England.

Britain was by the *Antients* accounted the greatest Island of the known World, and for ought is yet certain may be so still, notwithstanding the late Discoveries of *Madagascar* and *Japan*, which are by some brought into competition with it. It is bounded on the South with *Normandy* and *France*; on the East with *Germany* and *Denmark*; upon the West with *Ireland* and the *Atlantick* Ocean, and on the North with the *Deucalidon* Seas. The length thereof from the *Lizard* Point Southward in *Cornwall*, to the *Straithy Head* in *Scotland*, contains Six hundred and twenty four Miles: the breadth from the Lands end in *Cornwall* in the West, to the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent* in the East, contains Three hundred and forty Miles, it is seated under the Ninth and Thirteenth Climates of the Northern Temperate Zone.

The Island first discovered.

The first Discovery of this Fruitful, Pleasant and Happy Island, according to the best and antientest Historians, was made by the *Phœnicians*, whose Pedigree the Great *Bochartus* derives from *Anak*, and learnedly proves from the Identities of their Names, Scituations, Languages, Institutes, Arts, Manners, Customs, Gods, Rites and Ceremonies, that they were the same with the *Canaanites*, the Land of *Canaan* being familiarly called the Land of the *Phœnicians*, and the *Phœnicians* the *Canaanites*, an example whereof we have in St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, where the Woman † is called a *Canaanite*; and by St. *Mark*'s Interpretation, is made a *Syrophœnician*, which clearly demonstrates they were both of one Original. These were the People so generally famed for promoting Commerce, and distributing Arts and Sciences through the Universe; and that which so early rendred them skilful in *Navigation*, was not only through their *Ambition of Empire*, of their natural *Genius*

* Rahab

us to Maritime Affairs; but through neceſſity of Inventing the beſt and ſafeſt way of eſcaping the Hands of *Joſhua*, who proſecuted them with an Army of *Iſraelites*, who after they had made themſelves Maſters of moſt of the Land of *Canaan*, were driven up into a ſlender Nook of the Earth, too narrow to contain ſo great and numerous a Body, and therefore they built themſelves ſtore of good Shipping, and came from *Tyre* and *Sydon*, to ſeek their Fortunes in other Countries. Vol. I.

Being driven out of their Seats by the *Iſraelites*, they poſſeſſed themſelves of many Places bordering upon the *Mediterranean* Sea, in *Spain*, *Africa*, *Italy*, and other Parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*; and being much inclined to Sailing and Merchandizing, in which they exceeded all other Nations, they afterwards ſailed thro the Streights of *Gibraltar* to make new Diſcoveries, and arriving at the Iſles of *Scilly*, which the *Greeks*, in proceſs of Time, called the *Caſſiterides*, and finding Plenty of *Tinn*, *Lead* and *Skins*, and but thinly inhabited by the *Cimbri*: (who tho' called *Galli*, *Celte*, and *Gallate*, from their Conqueſt of that People, yet according to *Ceſar* himſelf, were a Branch of the *German* Nation.) With theſe Inhabitants, I ſay, the *Phenicians* traded, hot divulging this Voyage to any, * and in exchange for their *Tin* and *Lead*, gave them *Salt*, *Earthen pots* and *BrazenWares*. Proceeding further into *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire*, and other Parts, they planted Colonies of their own, and gave this Iſland the Name of *Bratanac*, which in the *Phænician* Tongue, ſignifies a *Country or a Field of Tin*.

How Britain was first named

* Strabo. l. 3. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 8. Sancho. Herodatus de Caſſiteridibus. Diod Sic. l. 5. Cambden Solinus. Ortelius.

Tin and Lead found in England.

This Treaſure they ſtudiouſly concealed from the World, being exceeding Jealous, leſt the *Source* and Head of their Trade being diſcovered, the buſy *Grecians* might put in for ſharers of their Profit; but notwithſtanding all their care, about the declining of the *Phænician* State, the *Grecians* began to trade in theſe Parts, and agreeably to the Vanity and Fraud of the *Greek* Nation, who ambitiouſly endeavouring to faſten all Honour of Primitive Knowledge upon their own Anceſtors, obſcur'd the Antiquity of moſt Nations, and nam'd People according to their own Fancies. For having received the names of Places, as well as moſt other Things, of great concern from the *Phænicians*, they either new modell'd them according to their own Idiom, or quite changed them in ſound, tho' not ſignification, and thus impoſed new Fables of their own, inſtead of the antient Original; and changed the Word *Bratanac* into

Vol. I. into Βρεταvικη, and in time to Βρεταvια and so, at length, the Denomination of the Isles of *Scilly*, gave the Name of *Britannia* to this great Island.

And as the *Greeks* did by the Word of *Britannia*, which was derived from the *Phœnicians Bratanac*, the like they have done by the name *Albion*, claiming it as their own, when it was derived from a *Phœnician* Word. And as great is their mistake, who say it came from the *Latins*, *Albis*, *Rapibus*, for it was not known to the *Greeks* by the name *Albion*, long before the *Romans*; and therefore I encline to the Opinion of *Bochartus*, who says, and learnedly proves, that both the *Latin Albus*, and the *Greek*, are both originally derived, either from the *Phœnicians*, *Alben*, signifying White, or from *Alpin*, which signifies a high Mountain in the *Phœnician* Tongue, and that which confirms me in this derivation of the Word is, that there are many high Cliffs where the *Phœnicians* landed, which the antient *Britons* from them call *Pens*, to this Day.

Hercules, *Captain of the* Phœnicians.

The *Phenicians* under their Captain and Country-Man *Hercules*, (tho' some say *Himilcar*) having first built several Cities on the *Streights*, and possessed themselves of *Tartessus*, *Erythea* and *Sades* Islands, with great part of the Continents of *Spain* and *Africk*, lying on the Sea Coasts, as many Monuments of their Language and Customs do evidence, discovered also the Western Sea before the *Trojan* War, * and *Milton* says, that he thinks the Word *Albion* has some relation to those Actions in *Lybia*, *quasi Alebion*, so called by the *Phœnicians*, which is also a very probable Conjecture, and confirmed by a great Author. The precise time of their Descent into *Britain*, is rather to be guessed at, than certainly fixed; tho' the Current of Antiquity says, that the *Phœnicians* discovered this Island long before the first Olympaid, the beginning of which, according to the *Julian* Account, was in the Year 3938, from the Year of the World 3256, and from the Building of the Temple, 236.

* Strabo I. 1.

* Herodot. in Melpomene.

Hercules, *from whom descended.*

This *Hercules*, Captain of the *Phœnicians*, was the Son of *Demarus*, King of *Tyre*, as his Name *Melicartus* signifies, namely, King of the City, for so the *Phenicians* called *Tyre*. He was called by the *Greeks* Μακνεις, from the *Phœnician Macaria*, signifying terrible. From his admirable skill in Navigation, the *Grecians* made him the God of the Sea. He is feigned by many to be contemporary with *Moses*, and to have flourishrd in the days of *Joshua*, when the *Israelites* expell'd the *Canaanites* from their

their Land, part of them flying into *Boetia*, part into *Africa* and *Spain*. This is manifeſt out of two Pillars found in the Kingdom of *Tangier*, not far from the *Streights* Mouth, with a *Phænician* Inſcription, thus *Engliſhed*. Vol. I.

WE FLY FROM THE FACE OF JOSHUA, THE SON OF NAVE THE ROBBER.

By which it appears, that the *Phænicians* in thoſe Days began to frequent thoſe Parts. And tho' the *Greeks* attribute thoſe Voyages to their own *Hercules*, yet the Temple upon the *Streights* being dedicated to that God, manifeſtly proves him to have been a *Phænician*, for he was worſhipped according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Phænicians*, and not of the *Grecians*. Several Authors * are very particular upon what ground it was built, and the occaſion of it.

* Strabo. Appianus Diodorus Appian. Philoſtratus. *Voyages and Conqueſts of* Hercules.

But to return to *Hercules*, leaving his own Native Country, and being follow'd by a Multitude, who were forced to the ſame neceſſity, he coaſted about *Spain* and *Africa*, built many Cities, conquer'd *Iberia*, and is ſaid to have come to *Gaul*, where he built * *Aleſia* and * *Nemauſus*. In a Battel againſt the *Ligurians*, when he wanted Weapons, it is ſaid to have rained Stones to ſupply that defect. He is alſo ſaid to have paſſed the *Alps*, but that *Livy* looks upon as fabulous. From his War with the *Ligurians* he ſailed into the Weſtern Sea, and why may he not be ſuppoſed to be in *Britain* alſo? For as upon the Sea Coaſt of *Belgium* there was an Altar inſcribed to *Hercules*, ſo in *Devonſhire* there was a Promontory called by his Name, which to this Day retains ſomething of it in two little Towns, *Hartlow* or *Hertland*, alias *Herton*, as alſo in the Promontory it ſelf called *Herty-point*.

* Alais. * Nismes, *Two Cities in* Languedoc.

After his Death, he was worſhipped as a God by all Nations, and in *Britain* by the name of *Ogmius*. There is but one place in *Britain* bearing his Name, and that is *Hartlow*, where many Effigies of him have been dug up in ſeveral places. He was pictured drawing a Multitude of Men after him, with Golden Chains proceeding from his Mouth, and faſtened to their Ears, to ſhew his Eloquence, and a Globe in one Hand, with a Compaſs in the other, to ſhew his Excellent Skill in Geometry and Aſtronomy. This is a Relation of the true *Phænician Hercules* called *Ogmius*, as far as it concerns our preſent purpoſe. As for his great Labour and

Hercules's *Hiſtory*.

Vol. I. and Atchievments, I have purpoſely omitted them, becauſe they ſeem rather *Allegories* than real Actions, and require rather a skilful *Mythologiſt*, than an honeſt Hiſtorian. His Credit was great in the World in theſe Primitive Ages, in regard of his many Voyages, which made all the ſucceeding Heroes covet to be called by his Name, and many of his Exploits, no queſtion, were worthy of Eternal Memory; but here we are to bewail the Calamity of thoſe Times, who never thought they ſufficiently advanced the Dignity of thoſe they deſigned to praiſe, unleſs they ſtretch'd their Atchievements beyond the bounds of Credibility.

Arguments proving the Phænicians *trading in* England.

That the *Phænicians* traded, and inhabited in a great part of this Iſland, may be obſerv'd, for that *Meneg*, a great part of *Cornwall*, is of *Phænician* derivation, and ſignifies kept in by the Sea. * And in this *Peninſula*, which retains its *Phænician* Name, there is a Fortification of Stones only, without Cement and Mortar, (*Rudes & informes Saxorum compages* †) which was the way of the Eaſtern Nations. This rude heap of Stones the Inhabitants to this Day call *Erth*, taking its Name from the Lake on which it lies, for the *Phænicians* called all Lakes *Arith*; but the truth of the *Phænicians* being here, does not depend upon Conjectures, but is evidenced by Authentick Authors, ſo that I need not mention the famous Hill *Godolcan*, which includes in its Name, plenty of Metal; nor that *Penn*, a Hill, came from the *Phænician Pinnah*, ſignifying the ſame thing, ſince we find it moſt uſed in thoſe Parts of *England* only, which were moſt frequented by the *Phænicians*: As to inſtance in the South of *Cornwal* only, we have *Penroſe*, *Penſans*, *Pengarſick*, *Penwarron*, *Pondennis*, *Penwin*, *Pentuan*, *Penrock*: To which may be added, that infinite number of Towns beginning with *Tre*, as *Treewoſe*, *Trenowth*, *Tregenno*, *Trevaſcus*, *Trenona*, *Treworgan*, *Treliſtick*, *Trefuſus*, *Tremardart*, *Tregonoe*, all which proceed from the *Phænician*, *Tira*, and by contraction *Tra*, ſignifying a Caſtle, and were Forts built by them to ſecure their Trade.

* Jornandus ex Cornelio

* Tacitus

Ancient Britiſh *words derived.*

Here I might alſo add innumerable *Britiſh* and *Gauliſh* Words, that are of a *Phænician* Original, which Mr. *Cambden* brings to prove them to be one and the ſame Nation, tho' there is a greater ſimilitude between the *Britiſh* and the *Phænician* Tongue, than between the *Britiſh* and *Gauliſh*. And I cannot but wonder, there ſhould be any Diſpute, cencerning whence the firſt Inhabitants

Inhabitants of this Iſland came to us; For it is not to be doubted, but that we did receive them from the Continent of *France*, but whether from that part now called *Belgium*, or from *Picardy*, or any other particular Place, is impoſſible to be known. Mr. *Cambden* fetches his Antiquities but a little higher than *Julius Cæſar*'s Days, and if he will bring the *Britons* from thoſe particular *Gauls*, which then Inhabited that Country, I think it is not reaſonable to allow it him, becauſe it was at leaſt ſeven or eight hundred Years after the *Phænecians* traded into thoſe Parts, in which time *Gallio* had many and great Revolutions, nothing being more common in thoſe Days, than great Fluxes and Refluxes of, and Incurſions made by whole Nations. Vol. I.

CHAP. II.

The Greeks *in* Britain, *and why they came.*

HAving diſcourſed of the *Phænicians* being in this Iſland, long before the *Greek Coleus* diſcovered theſe Weſtern Parts, and that our Tin and Lead were Commodities of value in the *Mediterranean* Sea, and the Word *Britannica* known many Years in thoſe Parts, before ever the *Greeks* had ſo much as the leaſt knowledge of theſe Iſlands, I come now to treat of the *Greeks* Arrival in *Britain*, the Diſcovery of the *Caſſiterides*, or *Britannick* Countries, which before they had only known by Hearſay, and of which they had written ſo much upon the Relations of the *Phænicians*, that *Pliny* * ſays, *Britain* was famous in the *Greek* Monuments long before the times of the *Romans*. * Plin. Nat. Hiſt.

The uſefulneſs of theſe excellent Commodities from *Britain* into thoſe Parts, made the *Greeks* very curious in ſearch of them, which the *Phænicians* concealed from them, as well as from the *Romans*, leſt it ſhould be a Diminution of their own Traffick. And that this is true, *Strabo* * in his Geography witneſſeth in this memorable Paſſage; *At the beginning*, ſaith he, *the* Phænicians * Strabo l. 3 Geogr.

nicians *alone traded from* Britain *to* Cades, *and concealed from others this Navigation*; for when a *Roman* Veſſel followed a certain Maſter of a Ship, that they themſelves might learn the Traffick, he out of ſpite ran his Ship on purpoſe upon the Sands, and having brought them that followed after into the ſame danger of Deſtruction, himſelf eſcaped Shipwrack, and out of the common Treaſury receiv'd the worth of the Goods he had loſt. Now if this Diligence was uſed by the *Phænicians*, how zealous ought we to be of the Exportation of ſome of our Native Manufactures, for Fear of prejudicing our own Country?

The Greeks *early in* Britain.

But tho' the *Greeks* were later than the *Phænicians* in theſe Coaſts, yet they were far earlier than Mr. *Cambden* will acknowledge them, which I mention, becauſe the Derivation of the Word *Britannia* depends altogether upon the true ſtating of this Matter: For if the *Greeks* arrived here not above One hundred and ſixty Years, or thereabouts, before *Cæſar*'s time, under *Phileus Truromonites*, as Mr. *Cambden* out of *Arhenæus* ſeems to imitate, higher than which he will not admit the Antiquity of the *Britons*, then his notion of Painting their Bodies might have ſome pretence; but if the *Greeks* were here in thoſe early Days, when 'twas no ſtrange thing for Travellers to find rude Nations uncloathed, it cannot be ſuppoſed this Iſland, of all others, ſhould meet with the ill luck to have a Name ſtampt upon it, as a perpetual Badge of its Savage Cuſtom and Barbarity: And that *Brit* or *Brith*, ſignifying *Britain*, came from *Brith*, ſignifying Painting, or colouring their Skins, which he, erroneouſly, ſays, originally gave Name to the *Britons*. And tho' we meet not with *Britons* oftner in the Writings of the antient *Greeks* is no wonder, when we conſider it was ſo remote from them, that their Hiſtorians concern'd themſelves only with the Actions of their own Country-men; That *Briton* was ſo foreign a Concern to them, as to the Polity of their Government, altho' they were concern'd in their Traffick, that we can no more admire that we hear of it no oftner in their Authors, than that the *Romans* (whom for their increaſe and growth the whole World began to have an Eye on) were ſo lately diſcovered to them: Certainly it would be in vain to infer, becauſe the *Romans* were not mentioned in *Thucidies* or *Herodotus*, that therefore the *Greeks* had no knowledge of *Italy*.

The

Vol. I.

Where the Greeks *landed.*

The Places where the *Greeks* firſt landed, is gueſſed by ſome to be the two Iſlands *Man* and *Angleſey*, or one of them; and the Reaſons given are, becauſe the *Druids*, whoſe Names prove of *Greek* Originals, principally reſided in theſe two. Thither all reſorted as to publick *Seminaries*, that deſired to be inſtructed in their Learning, or would be initiated into their Religion; and here they continued, tho often removing to and fro, till King *Cratilinth* in the Year 277, with great difficulty, drove them out.

The Druids *what they were.*

The *Druids* were Prieſts, Men of ſtrict Lives, ſequeſtred from the World. Here they taught and diſcourſed of nothing but Vertue and Piety, the Principles of Divinity, Morality, the Immortality of the Soul, and the World to come, and they had ſo much Authority. that they were made Judges of Controverſies both in *Britain* and *Gaul*.

Arguments that the Greeks *were in* Britain.

The Footſteps of the *Greek* Language is evidently ſeen, not only in particular *Britiſh* Words, which agree in Sound and Senſe, but in the very Nature and Idiom of the two Languages. Some are of Opinion that the *Greek* Characters were uſed in *Britain*, till they were changed by the *Romans*, who always were very careful to obtrude their Language upon thoſe they overcame, as a certain ſign of Dominion over them; and this I am inclined to credit, becauſe *Cæſar*, after the Conqueſt of the *Helvetij*, found their publick Records written in *Greek* Characters. The ancient *Greeks* had but Two and Twenty Letters, no more had the *Britons*, and as afterwards the *Greeks*, for Conveniency, received two more into their Alphabet, ſo have the *Britons*.

Beſides the peculiar Conformity of Idiom, which the *Britons* have with the *Grecians*, the Numerals of both Languages are moſtly the ſame; and the *Britons*, beſides the Names of Numbers, have a whole Lexicon of Words, whoſe Original is undoubtedly *Greek*, of which I could ſet down many Examples out of Mr. *Sherrington*, moſt of which have no ſynonimous Words to expreſs them. If any object, that in the *Saxon* Language there are likewiſe many Words which may be refer'd to the ſame Original, as appears in Mr. *Camden*'s *Remains*; let them conſider that their Number is not ſo great, and that the Idioms of the two Languages are very different, which is not ſo with the *Britiſh* and *Greeks*, as is viſibly ſeen in their flexion of Words and Aſpirations, by which

nicians *alone traded from* Britain *to* Cades, *and concealed from others this Navigation*; for when a *Roman* Veſſel followed a certain Maſter of a Ship, that they themſelves might learn the Traffick, he out of ſpite ran his Ship on purpoſe upon the Sands, and having brought them that followed after into the ſame danger of Deſtruction, himſelf eſcaped Shipwrack, and out of the common Treaſury receiv'd the worth of the Goods he had loſt. Now if this Diligence was uſed by the *Phænicians*, how zealous ought we to be of the Exportation of ſome of our Native Manufactures, for Fear of prejudicing our own Country?

The Greeks *early in* Britain.

But tho' the *Greeks* were later than the *Phœnicians* in theſe Coaſts, yet they were far earlier than Mr. *Cambden* will acknowledge them, which I mention, becauſe the Derivation of the Word *Britannia* depends altogether upon the true ſtating of this Matter: For if the *Greeks* arrived here not above One hundred and ſixty Years, or thereabouts, before *Cæſar*'s time, under *Phileus Truromonites*, as Mr. *Cambden* out of *Arhenæus* ſeems to imitate, higher than which he will not admit the Antiquity of the *Britons*, then his notion of Painting their Bodies might have ſome pretence; but if the *Greeks* were here in thoſe early Days, when 'twas no ſtrange thing for Travellers to find rude Nations uncloathed, it cannot be ſuppoſed this Iſland, of all others, ſhould meet with the ill luck to have a Name ſtampt upon it, as a perpetual Badge of its Savage Cuſtom and Barbarity: And that *Brit* or *Brith*, ſignifying *Britain*, came from *Brith*, ſignifying Painting, or colouring their Skins, which he, erroneouſly, ſays, originally gave Name to the *Britons*. And tho' we meet not with *Britons* oftner in the Writings of the antient *Greeks* is no wonder, when we conſider it was ſo remote from them, that their Hiſtorians concern'd themſelves only with the Actions of their own Country-men; That *Briton* was ſo foreign a Concern to them, as to the Polity of their Government, altho' they were concern'd in their Traffick, that we can no more admire that we hear of it no oftner in their Authors, than that the *Romans* (whom for their increaſe and growth the whole World began to have an Eye on) were ſo lately diſcovered to them: Certainly it would be in vain to infer, becauſe the *Romans* were not mentioned in *Thucidies* or *Herodotus*, that therefore the *Greeks* had no knowledge of *Italy*.

The

Vol. I. *Where the* Greeks *landed.*

The Places where the *Greeks* firſt landed, is gueſſed by ſome to be the two Iſlands *Man* and *Angleſey*, or one of them; and the Reaſons given are, becauſe the *Druids*, whoſe Names prove of *Greek* Originals, principally reſided in theſe two. Thither all reſorted as to publick *Seminaries*, that deſired to be inſtructed in their Learning, or would be initiated into their Religion; and here they continued, tho often removing to and fro, till King *Cratilinth* in the Year 277, with great difficulty, drove them out.

The Druids *what they were.*

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Vol. I. Letters they are easily resolvable into others of the same kind.

The Customs and Manners of the ancient Britons.

THE most ancient Order of People in *Britain* were the *Bardi*, who were before the *Druids*, altho in time, these got the start of the other in point of Esteem. They were, as * *Strabo* writes, Poets and Songsters and at this Day are call'd by our *Britons Bards*. *Possidonius* and *Festus* write, that they sang, in Recitative Musick, the Praises of great and good Men; and *Diodorus* calls them Composers of Verses only; and to that purpose must that of *Hesychius* be interpreted, who writes, the *Bardi* were ἀοιδοί, which is to be read ἀοιδοί, Singers or Poets. This sort of People were, no doubt, at first of a Religious Order, and made use of in the Deifying of Great Men, singing the Praises of Heroes at their *Apotheosis*, which in ancient Times was not only esteem'd glorious for the Dead and useful to the Living, but also a Religious Service to the Gods.

* Strabo.
Possidonius.
Festus.
Diodorus
Hesychius.

The Bardi, *what they were.*

The *Greeks* receiv'd this manner of composing Songs from the *Phœnicians*, and also their very Letters themselves; but that which perswades me to believe that the *Britons* received this Custom immediately from the *Phœnicians*, and not from the *Grecians*, is, because the *Britons* preserve the very *Phœnician* Name, *viz. Bardi* entirely, altho the *Greeks*, according to their Custom, translated it into Ἀοιδοί, signifying the same thing. In continuance of time, the *Druids* were esteem'd before the other, and the *Bardi*, who were formerly the only Religious Order, and whose Composures were employ'd in the most Solemn Rites, and whose Persons were honourable, degenerated, by degrees, into common Ballad-makers, and they who formerly sang *of the Essence and Immortality of the Soul, the Works of Nature, the Course of Celestial Bodies, the Order and Harmony of the Spheres, the Praises of the Gods, the Encomiums and Vertues of great Men*, became the Publishers of idle and empty Genealogies, in which they study'd more their own Gain, than the Advancement of Vertue. Instead of rehearsing the past Actions of worthy Men, they gave themselves up to the composing of Mystical Rhymes, stuft with Prophecies of Things to come, to Charms, Spells, and Incantations, Magical Arts and Necromancy,

of

of which Sir *John Price* in the Defence of his *British* History says, the *Welsh* are prodigiously addicted to at this Day. Vol. I.

The British Druids, what they were.

The next Order of People in *Britain* were the *Druids*, who did not totally abolish all the Customs and Opinions of the *Bards*, but retained the most useful Parts of them, as the Immortality of the Soul, to which they added the Transmigration of it, according to the Opinion of *Pythagoras*; about whose time, or a little after, according to common computation, the *Greeks* enter'd this Island. The Habits and Fashions of the *Druids* are described in *Latin* by Mr. *Selden*, * as they were taken out of old Statues found in *Germany* about *Wichtelberg*, and runs thus in *English*: There were six in number † found at the foot of the Mountain, which abounding with Pines, was therefore call'd *Piniferus*, and in the *German* Tongue *Wichtelberg*, upon the Confines of *Voitland*, in a certain Monastery, which being dug and exposed to view, *Conradus Ciltes* (who was then present) in his Judgment, thought to be the Figures of the ancient *Druids*. His Description, and the Place where they were found, he thus delivers: *At the Gates of the Temple they were placed seven foot in heighth, bare footed, their Heads covered with a* Greekish *Hood or Coul, with a budget by their side, and a Beard descending to their very middle, and about their Nostrils plated out in two divisions; in their Hands was a Book and a* Diogenes *Staff, which is supposed five foot in length, a severe and morose Countenance, and a Forehead down-look'd and sorrowful, and, as much intent upon the matter, their Eyes fixed upon the Earth.*

* Janus Ang. l. 1. p. 32.

† Apud P. Merulam in Cosm. part 2. l. 3.

The Authority of the Druids.

These *Druids* were Men of great Authority, subject only to their Primates, and distinct from the Civil Government. They excommunicated Offenders, and a Person so interdicted, was reckoned in the number of the *Profani*, i. e. *Wicked Wretches*. They were Judges of all Controversies, both publick and private; the sole Interpreters of Religion; they proclaimed publick Sacrifices as they saw occasion, and sacrificed Men as well as Beasts, which were for the most part Enemies or Malefactors, but sometimes innocent Natives, which made them to be feared and reverenced by the People. They were exempted from the service of War, and payment of Taxes. They had the *Oake*, from whence they derive their Names, in great Veneration, but especially the *Misseltoe* upon it, and never perform'd any Sacrifice without it.

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Men burnt in Sacrifices.

Among other Sacrifices, common to the *Britons* and *Gauls*, this was one; they made a Statute or Image of a Man, in vast proportion, whose Limbs consisted of Twigs, weaved together after the manner of Basket-work, which they filled with live Men, and setting it on fire, barbarously destroy'd the poor Creatures in the Smoak and Flames. Now, as they had always something which visibly represented the occasion of the Solemnity, so there is nothing so easily occurs to our first Apprehensions, as that they might do it in remembrance of the *Phœnicians*, who were Men of vast and exceeding Stature, and for a long time had subdued and kept them under, and, without doubt, if credit may be given to the *British* History, these were those Giants that so long infested the Land: Wherefore in publick Detestation of that Slavery they once endured under them, this vast figure of a Man, in Wicker-work, might be introduc'd, as in scorn and derision of them, having now lost their Power over them, altho' the cause why they were first made (as it often happens) might be forgotten, and the Representation only remain.

An Ancient Custom in burning Women.

Mr. *Selden* records a custom also among the *Britons*, that when any great Man died, his Relations made strict inquiry of his Wives, if they suspected cause, concerning his Death; and if they found them guilty, they proceeded against them with Fire and other Torments; and to this custom Sir *Edward Cook* refers the Law of *England* for burning Women that kill'd their Husbands. *Cæsar* reports, that the *Britons* esteemed it unlawful to eat either Hares, Hens or Geese, but kept them only for their pleasure. Their usual Diet was any sort of Prey, as Venison, Fruit or Milk, tho' they had not the Art of making Cheese of it. Their Drink was made of Barley, and they so inured themselves to hardship, that they could endure any Cold, Hunger or Labour whatsoever.

The Habits of the Britons.

Their Garments, call'd by *Varro*, *Gaunacum*, from whence our word *Gown* seems to be derived, was a long Covering in shape of a Cassock, made of course Wooll, having a Nap upon it on both sides, after the manner of Frieze. It was call'd by the Greeks *παυνὰκ* and was thought by some of 'em to be a *Persian*, by others to be a *Babylonish* Garment. Another Garment the *Britons* had, called *Gradracus*; it was of divers colours, like a *Scotch* or *Irish* Plad, looking very gaudy; and though in our Days it would look very odd and ridiculous

diculous, yet certainty is was then worn by the prime Nobility and greatest *Britannick* Princes. The Habits of the *Western Britons* were remarkable for their length and colour, and the Staff they carried, argues that some Eastern Colonies, and especially the *Phœnicians*, traded with them; and tho' by the black colour of their Hair and Garments, their swarthy Complections and their Staves, *Tacitus* makes them look like Furies in a Tragedy, yet are they describ'd by the same Author, * to be of a *gentle and kind disposition, of a fair and honest behaviour, simple and sincere in their Conversation:* And *Diodorus Siculus* † says the *Britons, have not the Craft and Subtilty of other Nations, but are a fair condition'd People, of plain and upright dealing in the World.* Vol. I.

* Tacitus.

† Diod. Sic.

The *Britons* had all things in common amongst them, and would not admit of any Propriety at all, after the manner of the *Germans* described by *Cæsar*, from whom, in all probability, they descended: Insomuch, that the same Author * alledgeth, that if ten or twelve of them agreed together in the promiscuous use of one Woman, the issue they had were brought up by a common stock, tho' they were reputed his more especially, who married the Mother in her Virginity. This incestuous custom I conceive was only used by the wilder *Britons*, tho' it continued a long time after the *Romans* had subdued this Island; for we read that *Julia*, the Empress of *Severus*, twitted the Wife of *Argentocorus* with it, who briskly reply'd in this manner, *We* British *Women do herein differ from you* Roman *Ladies, for we satisfy our selves with accompanying with the worthiest Men openly, but you with every base Fellow in a Corner.*

All things in common among the Britons.

* Cæsar. Com.

These are the most memorable Customs used by the Ancient *Britons*, in which they agreed sometimes with the *Gauls*, sometimes with the *Germans*, according as they were derived from either; and some Customs we have particularly shewed they had from themselves, of which no account can be given, and others also which could have no other Original but from the *Phœnicians* or *Grecians*, which Originals are evidently shewn out of the Names of the Customs themselves. In all which, as likewise in their manner of Waring, there seems such an apparent similitude between the aforesaid Nations, that they seem rather Neighbours, than to be so far disjoyn'd as they are.

The Customs of the Britons *in their Wars.*

Britain, at the first Entrance into it by *Julius Cæsar*, was divided into a great many petty States and Governments, insomuch, that the different Interest of Princes was the cause of continual Wars and Dissentions among them. Sometimes Ambition, only to increase their Rule and Soveraignty, prompted some to make Incursions on their Neighbours, so that they who had the greatest desire to remain quiet, were obliged to be always in a posture of defence, and to be ready against such Invasions, whose greatest strength and force lay in their being swift and sudden in their Attempts. Sometimes the *Druid* Interest engag'd the Secular Power in its Quarrels, every Prince desiring to advance a Creature of his own to the Primacy and Superintendency over the whole Island; and the whole Nation being always in a War-like posture, it is no wonder to hear some Ancient Authors say, *that every one delighted in picking Quarrels; that it was their daily exercise to be skirmishing; that they were continually going out in Parties, Fortifying and Intrenching, many times rather out of delight, than any necessity:* For being constrained to keep standing Forces, it was absolutely necessary they should be kept in Exercise. But the greatest Bone of Contention among them, and which never suffered these Dissentions to heal and close up, was the eternal Feud, as I suppose, between the *Inland Britons*, the first Possessors of the Island, and those that came over from *Gaul* and *Belgium*. These drove all the ancient Inhabitants from all the Sea Coasts, seizing their Estates, and securing the Trade of the Island into their own Hands. And altho', in process of Time, these different sort of People mix'd in their Alliances, Language, Customs, and Religions, yet the first injuries of the Invaders, was, no doubt, upon every occasion, severely resented by the Inlanders; and I believe in their common Union against *Cæsar* and the *Romans*, was never heartily forgotten.

Dissentions among the Britons.

This being the Posture of Affairs in *Britain*, at that time, no wonder that *Cæsar* at his first Arrival was so deceived in his Expectations, for by the small Preparations he made at his first Invasion, we may guess what a mean Opinion he had of the Temper, Courage and Conduct of the *Britons*; and at his second Attempt, by the increase of the Levies, and number of Ships, being in all Eight Hundred Sail, we may, on the other hand

The Britons *a Warlike People.*

hand, comprehend what warm Entertainment he encountred the first time from them; so that the Courage of the *Britons*, and their Skill in War, is not to be question'd, *Cæsar* himself giving them a fair Character in respect of both. Vol. I.

It therefore only remains, that their manner of Fighting, with the several Customs they us'd, differing from their Neighbouring Nations, be describ'd and explain'd. *Their manner of Fighting.* The first and most memorable Thing that occurs, is their fighting in Charriots, after the manner of the antient *Greeks* in the *Trojan* Wars, which *Cæsar* relates as a wonder to find them in the Western parts of the World. These Charriots were exceedingly well harnessed and armed. At both ends of the Axle-trees they fastened Hooks and Scythes, which being furiously driven into the Enemy's Battle, they made whole Lanes of Slaughtered Men, the Scythes cutting them off in the middle, who did not speedily give way, and such as escap'd the Scythes, were caught up by the Hooks, and hanging upon them, were miserable Spectacles, suffering intollerable Pains and Torments. *Their scythed Charriots.* These sort of Charriots were call'd *Covine*; and in the *British* Tongue, at this day, *Cowain*, signifies to carry in a Waggon. Another sort of Charriots which the *Britons* employ'd in their Wars, was the *Essedum*, call'd by the *Phœnicians Hassedae*, by the *Greeks* Σατιvε. These carried only Armed Men, the Charrioteers rode thro' all the parts of the Battle, throwing their Darts, and when they had wrought themselves into the Enemy's Horse, they leapt from their Charriots and fought on Foot; the Charriot Guiders in the mean time withdrew a little from the Battle, and placed themselves so, that if their Party were over-powered, they might retreat with ease and security. By this means they perform'd the Swiftness of the Horse, and the Steddiness of the Foot, and by daily Exercise, attain'd to such Perfection, that in the steepest Descent of a Hill they could keep their Horses to a full Career, stop of a sudden, turn short, run upon the Spire Pole and Beam of the Charriot, stand upright upon the Harness of their Steeds, and immediately leap into their Charriot. By these Arts they often foil'd *Cæsar* and his heavy Legions.

For this reason they never fought in Clusters but kept a convenient distance, that they might relieve one another as they saw occasion, and retiring when weary, came on again as soon as they had refresh'd their Horses.

Vol. I.

Cassibelan *the* British *General.*

By this scattered way of Fighting, the *Romans* knew not which way to bend their main Strength, make Excursions, or Forage, so that by the Conduct of *Cassibelan* the *British* General, the *Roman* Legions were in a manner made useless, and served only for a Refuge to the Horse, who were often beaten upon them. Other Charriots they had for Carriage and Pleasure, but these were the only two they employ'd in their Wars. The Harnesses wherewith they were equipp'd, were not only substantial, but curiously wrought and engrav'd. Their strong Holds and Towns, according to *Cæsar* and *Strabo*, were nothing else but a round Spot of Ground, fenced about with Trees fell'd for that purpose, and secur'd on all sides with a Ditch and a Rampire; and this served them in their Retreats, and is all that can be learn'd of their general Method of Fighting. We will now proceed to Particulars.

Their Weapons and Engines.

The *Britons* were very swift in running, and burthen'd not themselves with any Armour, but what they could throw away at Pleasure. They carried a Shield and a short Spear, in the Nether part whereof hung a Bell, by the shaking of which they thought to amaze and affright their Enemies: Those that were Naked wore Daggers, and a Sword girded to their Middles with an Iron Chain, besides which they had their *Mongonale*, an Engine to fling Stones, which the *French* call *Mangoneaux*, the *Greeks* Μαγγανον; but whether brought by them or the *Phœnicians* into these Parts, is worthy of Doubt, since in the *Phœnician* Dialect *Manganon* signifies the same Engine.

Before the *Britons* undertook any War, they enquired into the Entrails of Beasts, and sometimes of Men; and by this Practice, judged whether Success was portended or not: They sometimes fought under the Conduct of Women; discoloured their Faces, and shaped their Bodies into divers Figures; they also used Superstitious and Magical Exclamations in the beginning of their Battels, with many Rites and Usages, which will more properly be shewn in the course of this History, seeing they relate to the *Britons*, after they were subdued by the *Romans*, and are not of Date ancient enough to be placed here, where nothing was design'd to be spoken of, but was almost of equal standing with the first Plantation of the Island itself.

It

Vol. I.

The British *Idolatry, their several Gods and Superstitious Rites.*

It is certain, by the Testimony of *Cæsar* and other approv'd Authors, that the *Britons* had the same Gods with the *Gauls*, and agreed with them in their Manner of Worship, using the same Religious Rites and Superstitious Ceremonies; nor indeed could it be otherwise; for the *Druids*, who were the common Priests of both Nations, took such care to preserve the Unity of Religion, that both had an equal number of the same Gods and Ceremonies, which were perform'd upon set Times of the Moon, that the Day might be celebrated uniformly by both Nations. These Gods were introduc'd by the *Druids*, and so worship'd in *Britain* before *Gaul*, and from hence were translated into that Nation; and tho' in many particular Places the People might have private and Tutelar Gods, whose Denominations extended not beyond a Hill, River, Fountain or Spring; and which *Gildas* numbers amongst the *British* Idolatry; yet as to those Gods, call'd by the *Latins*, *Dij majorum Gentium*, of the highest Rank, and whose Power was universal, they were equally common to both Nations. These were *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, and abundance of others. For when the *Romans* entred this Island, a way was cut open for all the Luxurious Pomp, and such a multitude of *Roman* Gods, that it is hard to distinguish the Deities of one Nation from another, and since it would signify but little if it were done, for that reason shall be totally omitted.

Tutelar Gods, what.

The History of Brute *exploded.*

Now Time having utterly ruined the Reputation of the *British* History, as containing many things altogether impossible, and others very improbable and fabulous, I shall take nothing from it. Several others have been reproach'd with the History of *Brute*, as *Henry* of *Huntington*, and *Sigebartus Gablesensus*; but if they treat of *Brute* and his *Trojans* Arrival in *Gaul*, and Passage into *Britain*; yet the composing his Genealogy, methodizing the Circumstances of his Life, timing his Entrance, and the Succession of his Line, depend all upon the credit of *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, of whom Mr. *Sherington** ingenuously confesseth, *That these Tales might be invented, and so obtruded upon the Vulgar*; and *William* of *Newborough*, who liv'd in the Age of *Geoffery ap Authur* of *Monmouth*, writes thus of him: *In these Days*, saith he, *a certain Writer is risen up, who deviseth foolish Fictions of the* Britons, *his Name is* Geoffery; and a little after, *With how little Shame, and with what great Confidence does he frame his Lies.* *Scriverus* also in his Preface to the Anti-

*de Orig. Angl.

Geoffery of Monmouth, *his Character.*

Vol. I. Antiquities of ancient *Batavia*, falls severely upon *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, and gives his History the Name of *Groots Grove*, *lang dicke taste lijck ende unbescaemte leugen*; *A most impudent Lie*, *a great one*, *a heavy one*, *a long thick one*, which, like the *Egyptian* darkness, was so palpable it might be felt. And since never any Lie had so many Dimensions given it before, nor so much ascrib'd to it, there is no necessity for our Apologizing for our leaping over it, and passing on to the History of the *Romans* invading *Britain*.

The Romans *invade* Britain, ante Christ. 54

Julius Cæsar having, about Fifty four Years before *Christ*, subdued most part of *Gallia*, quieted the *Germans* and stopt their Incursions into his Province, by locking up the *Rhine*, upon pretence that the *Britons* had assisted his Enemies, he resolves upon an Expedition into *Britain*, and having sent *Caius Volusenus* to gain what Intelligence he could of the feasibility of this Design, and left *Sulpitius Rufus* with sufficient Force, to make good the Port, and secure his return, if he should not succeed in his Enterprize on *Britain*; he, at the latter end of Summer, at the third Watch of the Night, with Eighty Ships of Burthen, and some Gallies for his chief Officers, sailed from *Bulloign* for the *British* Shoar, with Five and Twenty Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Five Hundred Horse, which were to follow. The next day, between Ten and Eleven in the Morning, *Cæsar* and his Shipping came upon this Island, where he saw the Hills cover'd over with *Britons*, in Martial Array, to oppose his Landing, and the Cliffs that ran out into the Sea, and hung over it, giving the *Britons* advantage of throwing their Darts and Javelins upon the Shoar beneath. This place was found too hot for his Landing.

Cæsar *lands at* Deal *in* Kent.

Cæsar therefore till Three a Clock lay at Anchor, till the rest of his Fleet came up, and having given the necessary Orders to his Officers, weighs Anchor, and with a favourable Wind and Tide sails along the Coast towards *Deal* in *Kent*. The *Britons* watch'd his Motions, and sending their Horse and Charriots before, followed with their Infantry, and with undaunted Courage ran into the Sea, and fought the *Romans* under their very Ships, not suffering any to land without the loss of their Lives. *Cæsar* finding he was not able to land by Force, order'd his Engines and Slings to be set up in all his Galleys, and the Showers of Stones so annoy'd the naked *Britons*, that they were forced to keep at a greater distance

Suetonius Cæsar. Com. 12. Cic. Art. l. 4. Ep. 17

distance, but still bravely defending their Country with the hazard of their Lives, and re-advancing when the Engines had done playing, to the great Terror of the *Romans*. Vol. I.

A second Engagement between the Romans *and* Britons.

In this general Consternation of the *Romans*, an Ensign of the Tenth Legion leaps out of the Ship, and says aloud, *Fellow Soldiers, Desert, if you please, your Ensign, and betray it to the Enemy, I for my part will perform my Duty to the Commonwealth and my General.* The Soldiers recollecting their Spirits, with one consent followed their Leader, which began a terrible Fight on both sides, wherein the *Romans* suffered much Damage, and the *Britons* managed their Advantages with great Prudence: At length the *Roman* Foot being all disembark'd, and put into some tolerable Order, another sharp Dispute began, wherein the wearied *Britons* were put to Flight, or rather retir'd, observing that the *Romans* had no Horse to follow them, which proved a great vexation to *Cæsar*, and was the first time he was ever heard to complain of his Fortune.

The Britons *make Peace and break it.*

The *Britons*, for what Cause is uncertain, sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to treat of Peace, which he upon promise of sending Hostages, consents to. The mean while, the People being disbanded and sent home, the adjoyning Princes met together, and submitted themselves and their States to *Cæsar* at his Camp, which is supposed to have been at *Barnham Down*. Thus had the *Britons* made their Peace, but several Disasters having befallen the *Romans* in their Ships and Galleys, the *Britons* take new Counsels; and one of the *Roman* Legions being sent out to Forage, and no suspicion of War, the *Britons* fell upon them, kill'd some, and routed the rest. *Cæsar* advised of this Misfortune, hastens to their Aid, but considering this was not a time to offer Battle, leads back his Legions to the Camp, without taking Revenge of the Injury; for many Days after the Weather proving foul, the *Romans* kept their Camp, and the *Britons* employ'd themselves in posting *Courriers* to all Parts, signifying that now was the time, the Enemy being reduced to small and inconsiderable Numbers, to free their Country for ever from the like Invaders. But this design was not so successfully executed, as rashly attempted by the *Britons*; for tho' upon this Summons there flocked to them great Numbers of Horse and Foot, yet after a short Dispute, the *Britons*, not able to endure the Force of the disciplined Legions, fled in disorder, and were pur-

Vol. I. pursued, but with greater Destruction of Towns and Villages, than of their Persons, *Cæsar* burning every thing that lay in his way, and returning to his Camp with blazing Tokens of his Victory. After this Defeat, the *Britons* again send Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, and he considering himself reduced to a necessity of forsaking the Island, or perishing for want of Provisions, the Winter Season drawing on apace, and that this Offer would credit his Retreat, not only with Safety, but a shew of Honour, having this to say, *That he was attended at his Departure with the States of* Britain, *and all the Signs of Submission, tho' there wanted the Substance*; the Peace was concluded, upon sending double the number of Hostages to him when he should be on the Continent; which was never intended by the *Britons*, and in vain expected by *Cæsar*. So that his Atchievements in this Island, were not so great as he makes them in his first Expedition, and gave *Suetonius* occasion to say, That he only discovered, but did not deliver up this Island to the *Romans*, and *Lucan* is positive that he was beaten out of it.

Cæsar *retreated into* Gallia.

Territa quæsitis ostendit verga Britannis.
He sought the Britons *out, and then he fled.*

After this Expedition, *Cæsar* with his shatter'd Fleet, about midnight makes for the Continent, and after some stay in *Gallia*, takes his Journey to *Rome*, where the Fame of his Actions, sent by his own Letters, prevented his Arrival, and twenty Days Supplication was decreed by the Senate.

Cæsar having ordered his Officers, while he was absent at *Rome*, to repair his old Vessels, and to build Six Hundred new ones, and with Adventurers, and other Vessels, having made them up (as *Athæneus* from *Cotta* says) a Thousand; at his return from *Rome*, embarks at *Bulloign* with five Legions of Foot, amounting, by computation, to 62000 *Romans*, and their Allies, and two thousand Horse. Leaving a sufficient strength to make good the Port, and secure his return, he weighs Anchor, and stands for the Place where he landed the Year before, and finding no Enemy to oppose him, for the *Britons* at the sight of such a vast Fleet as cover'd the Sea, had forsaken the Defence of their Shoars, and retired into the higher Countries, he forthwith landed his Men, and having chosen a convenient Place to encamp in, at the third Watch of the same Night, advances

Cæsar's *second Expedition into* Britain, Ant. Ch. 23.

ances with his main Body in quest of the Enemy, when after marching twelve miles, he finds them drawn up on the Banks of a River, commonly thought the *Stowr* in *Kent*. The *Britons*, with their Horse and Charriots, having the upper Ground, opposed the *Romans* March, but were driven from their Ground by the *Roman* Cavalry, and from their Fortifications in the Woods by their Infantry; but as they were pursuing, notice is brought to *Cæsar*, that his Fleet, by violence of Weather, was almost totally ruined, at which News he commands his Forces to halt, and in haste returns to the Ships, and there with his own Eyes was witness of the sad ruins of his Navy. Forty Ships were utterly lost; others, although put upon great Difficulties, and suffering considerable Damages, yet not being pass'd hopes of Recovery, he sets all Hands on work to repair them, and with great labour and toil draws them within his Camp, and encompasses them in the same Trenches. Vol. I.

His Fleet shatter'd.

Having thus made every thing secure, he returns to the Place from whence he had driven the *Britons*, and there found far greater Numbers assembled under the Conduct of *Cassibelan*, between whom and the *Romans* there were many Skirmishes, with various Successes: For *Cassibelan* wisely making use of the *British* way of Fighting, quick, by Parties, and pretended Flights, the heavy Legions were wearied out, and foil'd, and their Spirits spent upon an unstable and dodging Enemy; so that if *Cassibelan* had been steddy, and not more consulted his Honour than his Interest, the *Romans* must of necessity have been obliged either to quit the Country, or by throwing off their Armour, conform to the *British* way of Fighting. Next Day the *Britons* kept the Hills, and seeing the *Romans* Foraging fell upon them with great fury; but the *Roman* Horse being seconded by their Foot, the *Britons* had no leisure to rally, and so were put into great Confusion, many of them Slain, and the rest generally routed.

The British *way of fighting.*

Cæsar made privy to *Cassibelan*'s Intentions of not engaging his main Body in a pitch Battle, drew his Army towards the *Thames* about *Coway*, near the *Oatlands*, and perceiving the Enemy in great numbers, drawn up on the other side to obstruct his Passage, the Bank set with sharp Piles, after the manner of Pallisadoes, and the Ford knock'd full of sharp Stakes under Water, his Soldiers

The Romans *pass the River* Thames.

diers wading up to their Necks in Water, with great Reſolution aſcended the Banks; which the *Britons* being terrify'd at the ſight of, beſtow'd a few Darts upon them, deſerted their Banks, and retired with their Cattle into the Woods and Faſtneſſes, which extreamly ſtreightened the *Romans*, for want of Proviſions, as well ſubjecting them to Slaughter by Sallies from ſecret Places. Amidſt all theſe difficulties, *Cæſar*, according to his uſual Fortune, when his Affairs had the worſt aſpect, is acquainted with a Diſſention among the *Britons*, and hopes of a ſupply for his half ſtarv'd Army. The *Trinobantes* (*Middleſex Britons*) as it uſually happens, when the Ruin of a Country proceeds from it ſelf, maintained a Faction againſt *Caſſibelan*, for killing their pretended King *Immanuentius*, and baniſhing his Son *Mandubratius*, who fled to *Cæſar* for Succour, and he obliging *Mandubratius* in *Gallia* with his Protection, ſends him home to the *Trinobantes* for Proviſions for *Cæſar*'s Army, with great Praiſes and loud Acclamations of the Goodneſs and Generoſity of the Conqueror, which ſo prevail'd among other *Britons*, that the Inhabitants of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Surry*, *Suſſex*, and other Places, ſent their ſeveral Reſignations of their Eſtates to *Cæſar* by their Ambaſſadors.

A Diſſention among the Britons.

Part of them revolt.

Cæſar *marches to* Verulam, *near now St* Albans.

This dangerous Revolt adding new life to *Cæſar*'s deſigns, when his hopes were even expiring, he marches directly to *Verulam*, the Head Quarters, and ſtrongeſt hold of *Caſſibelan*, and finding it as all the *Britiſh* Towns were, only encompaſs'd with a Ditch, and a mud Wall, and all the Avenues blockt up only with great Trees lying over-thwart them, *Cæſar* ſtorms it at two Places at once, and *Caſſibelan* fled out at a Poſtern Gate, and loſt the principal Seat, and greateſt Magazine of his Kingdom. At the ſame time, the *Kentiſh* Princes attempting upon the *Roman* Camp, with great Slaughter and Confuſion were totally routed, and *Cingetorix*, one of their Princes was taken Priſoner. *Caſſibelan*, informed of this Defeat, the Calamity of his Subjects, and the Treachery of his revolted Cities, *after having perform'd what Man could do for the Preſervation of his Country*, makes terms for himſelf by the Mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*, and ſends Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, who willingly accepted of them: And enjoyning him not to moleſt *Mandubratius*, nor the *Trinobantes*, admitted him to a Peace; and having ſettled the Tribute which the *Britons* ſhould annuall

Caſſibelan *defeated, makes Peace.*

nally pay the Senate of *Rome*, and commanded Ho- Vol. I.
ages only, *Cæsar* draws his Army to the Sea, embarks
d returns to the Continent. This is the account of
Cæsar's second Expedition, taken out of his own Com-
entaries; tho' other eminent Writers relate, that in
is *British* Proceedings he was too favourable to himself.
Nevertheless, at his arrival at *Rome*, he was attended by
long Train of *British* Captives, some of which he em-
oy'd about the Tapestry Hangings in the Theatre,
herein he had caused to be curiously woven the Figures
the *Britons*, and his Victories over them; of which
irgil writes,

Purpuraeque intexti tollant Aulea Britanni.

Thus were the poor *Britons* either continually Specta-
ors of the Calamities of their Country, or else the con-
ant Witnesses of *Cæsar*'s Vanities; tho' we cannot say
uch worse of the *Romans, than that they beat us into some
ivility*, who otherwise had continued longer in a bar-
arous and savage Life. After the Death of *Julius Cæsar*,
is Successor *Octavianus Cæsar Augustus* contemn'd this
land, as *Strabo* would have * it believ'd, tho' the truer * Strabo
Cause was the Civil War among the *Romans*, and other l. 1.
nore urgent Affairs. About Twenty Years after, † all † Ante
which time the *Britons* liv'd at their own dispose, *Au-* Christ. 32
ustus, in imitation of *Cæsar*, intended an Expedition hi-
her, but was diverted by a Revolt in *Pannonia*, and Di-
urbances in *Spain* and *Gallia*. *Tiberius* little cared to
xtend the Bounds of the Empire, and therefore made
o Attempts against the *Britons*. *Caligula* made a Pre-
ence to do it, but did not; but *Claudius*, about Forty
Three Years after Christ, desirous to do something to
ain himself the Honour of a Triumph, at the Perswa-
ion of certain Fugitives, makes Choice of this Island
or his Province, and sending *Plantius* the *Prætor* before
im, who had no extraordinary Success, *Claudius*, like
n Eastern King, besides his *Roman* Legions, and Aux-
lliaries of *Germans* and *Gauls*, carried with him many
arm'd Elephants to terrify the *Britons*, and to amaze
hat Courage, which to that time no Force could daunt.
With this Equipage he embarks, crosses the Channel,
joins *Plantius*, and having success, his Army saluted him
with the Name of *Emperor*. Afterwards he disarm'd
he *Britons* only, without Confiscating the Goods of
he Nobility and Gentry, for which Clemency of his,

Claudius *his Expedition into* Britain.

they

* Tacit. an. 14. they erected Temples and Altars to him, and with * Sacrifice worship'd him as a God. Leaving *Plantius* to subdue what remain'd, he return'd to *Rome*, from whence he had been but six Months absent, and in *Britain* but sixteen Days, sending the News of his Victories before him, tho' but in a small part of the Island. To whom the Senate, as for Archievements of highest Merit decred excessive Honours, *Arches*, *Triumphs*, *Annual Solemnities*, *and the Sirname of* Britannicus, *both to him and his Son.* *Plantius* after this, employing his Forces to conquer farther, found Work enough to deserve at his return to *Rome*, a kind of Triumphant † Riding, side by side, with the Emperor into the Capitol.

† Suet. Clau. 5. 24.

A. D. 50. *Vespatian* under *Plantius*, had thirty Conflicts with the *Britons*, in one of which being in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescued by his Son *Titus*. Two powerful Nations he subdued here, above twenty Towns and the *Isle of White*; for which he receiv'd at *Rome* Triumphal Ornaments, and other great Dignities; *for that City in Reward of Virtue, was always magnificent: And long after, when true Merit was ceased among them, lest any thing resembling Virtue should want its due Honour, the same Rewards were yet allow'd to the very Shadow and Ostentation of Merit.* *Ostorius Scapula* succeeded *Plantius* in Quality of *Pro-Prætor*, whom the *Britons* continually perplexed with Inroads into those Countries, that had submitted to the *Romans*. He sets out against them, and having routed, disarm'd them; but the *Icenians* disliked these Proceedings, tho' they were in Alliance with the *Romans*, they revolt, and others, animated by their Examples, rose, and warily encamp themselves; but were overpower'd by Numbers. *Ostorius* next bends his Force against the *Cangians*, wasting all even to the Sea of *Ireland*, whom the *Brigantes* attempting new Matters, drew back to settle first what was unsecure behind him: Of which some being punished, others forgiven, they gave over; but the *Silures*, no way tractable, were not to be suppress'd without a Set War. Their Leader was *Caractatus*, who having gain'd an advantageous Post, went up and down encouraging his Officers and Soldiers, saying, *This is the Day, and this is the Field, which will be the Recovery of our Liberty, or the beginning of perpetual Slavery:* And then invoking his glorious Ancestors, who drove out *Cæsar* the Dictator, and who had hitherto preserv'd them from Bondage, and their Wives and Children from Dishonour, it so heighten'd their Courage, that they all resolved

The Acts of Vespatian *and* Titus.

Caractatus *his Conduct and Misfortune.*

resolved to gain their Liberties, or dye bravely in attempting it; which proved true, for they were overcome by the *Romans*, and after a seven Years War, which spread his name as far as *Rome*, *Caractatus* was brought a Prisoner before the Tribunal of *Claudius*, to whom he spoke after this manner: *If any Moderation in Prosperity had been as great as my Birth and Dignity were eminent, I might have come a Friend, rather than a Captive to the City; nor could you have disdain'd an Alliance with one descended from such Ancient and Royal Blood, and who Commanded many Nations. My present Condition to me is Dishonorable, but to you is Glorious. I had Horses, Charriots, Men, Arms and Riches, and it can be no wonder that I contended not to lose them; but if there be a necessity that you must command all things, then by Consequence my Fate must be Subjection. If I had sooner been betray'd to you, my Misfortunes had been less notorious, and your Conquest less renowned, and in your severest determining of me, both will be soonest forgotten; for if you condescend that I shall Live, by that Act of Grace, the Praise of your Clemency, which is so near Divine, will remain to perpetuity.* *His Speech to Claudius.*

Claudius, moved at such a Spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the Nobleness of his bearing it, freely gave him Pardon, as also his Brothers, and his Wife and Daughter, who were Captives with him. To *Ostorius*, Triumph is decreed, and his Act in Conquering *Caractatus* esteemed no less meritorious, than *Scipio*'s taking King *Syphax*, or *Lucius Paulus*'s conquering the *Macedonian* King *Perseus*. But the Fortune of *Ostorius* did not attend his Conduct here; for the *Silures* had such various successes against the *Romans*, that *Ostorius*, wearied out with so vexatious an Enemy, and sensible that his Reputation daily decayed, died for very Anguish and Grief, while the *Britons* rejoyc'd at the loss of so considerable a Commander. *He is pardoned.*

About the Year of our Lord 56, *Claudius* died, *Nero* succeeded in the *Roman* Empire, and *Aulus Didius* succeeded *Ostorius* in the Lieutenancy of *Britain*. *Nero* was an idle and dissolute Prince, and if shame and fear had not deter'd him, would have withdrawn all his Forces from *Britain*. *Didius* was well stricken in Years, and fitted for Affairs which requir'd rather a Cautious than an Active Commander, and so we find him; for having, in some measure, put a stop to the Incursions of the *Silures*, and cooped them up within their Bounds, he applied himself to secure what his Predecessors *Plautius* Nero *succeeds* Claudius.

and *Oſtorius* had gain'd. In the mean time the *Britons* choſe *Venutius*, a Prince of the *Brigantines*, to be their Leader. He was married to *Cartiſmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, who firſt perſwaded him to an Alliance with the *Romans*; but ſhe who had betray'd *Caractatus*, and her Country, to adorn the Triumph of *Claudius*, and thereby was grown Powerful and Gracious with the *Romans*, preſuming on the Reward of her Treaſon, Abdicated her Husband, Married *Vellocatus* his Squire, and conſer'd that Kingdom upon him. *Venutius* made War upon him, and ſhe imploring the Aid of the *Romans*, eſcap'd the Puniſhment that was due to her Luſt, Treachery and Deceit. This eſpouſing a diſhonourable Cauſe, arrogantly intermeddling in his Domeſtick Affairs, and upholding the Rebellion of an Adultreſs againſt her Husband, ſo enrag'd *Venutius* againſt the *Romans*, that he gave them their Fill of War and Bloodſhed. *Didius* growing old, *Nero* ſent *Virannius* to his aſſiſtance, and he dying in his firſt Year, *Suetonius Paulus*, an excellent Soldier, was ſent in his room. Succeſs a while attended his Conduct, but at length overconfident of his Actions, and the *Britons* being intolerably oppreſſed, they re aſſumed their wonted Courage, took *London* and *Verulam*, and in this Maſſacre about Seventy Thouſand *Romans*, and their Aſſociates, loſt their Lives; none were ſpared or ranſomed, but all taſted of a lingring or preſent Death: No Cruelty, that either Outrage or the Inſolence of Succeſs could put into their Heads, was unacted. The *Romans* Wives and Virgins were hang'd up all naked, their Breaſts cut off, and ſewed up to their Mouths, that in the grimneſs of Death, they might ſeem to eat their own Fleſh, while the *Britons* fell to Feaſting and Carouzing in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddeſs of Victory. But not long after, the Security of the *Britons*, upon this Advantage, and the Folly of giving up themſelves to the Conduct of a Woman, *Boadicea*, they were as ſeverely requited by the *Romans*, thro' the prudent Management of *Suetonius*; for in the next Encounter, Fourſcore Thouſand *Britons* died upon the ſpot, with the loſs only of four hundred *Romans*, and as many more wounded. The loſs of ſo great an Army, conſiſting of no leſs than Two Hundred and Thirty Thouſand, was ſo unſupportable a Grief to *Boadicea*, that ſhe ended her Days with Poyſon, or, as others ſay, ſickned out of Grief, and died.

Cartiſmandua's *Perfidity, Treachery and Rebellion.*

A. D. 50.

The Romans *beaten, and barbarouſly uſed* Dion. *lib.* 62.

80000 Britons *ſlain.*

Not

Not long after, *Suetonius* resign'd his Command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britons*, nor they him, was thought to have proceeded from the Love of Peace, which indeed was his Love of Ease and Sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* followed his Steps, usurping the Name of gentle Government, to Remissness and neglect of Discipline; for which, and other Misdemeanors, being accused by *Roscius Cælius*, Legate of a Legion, he was deserted by his Soldiers, and forced at length to fly the Land. *Vitellius*, then Emperor, sent *Victius Bolius* hither, under whose Lenity, though not tainted with any other Crime, nothing was transacted against the *Britons*. *Petilius Cerealis*, by Appointment of *Vespasian*, had to do with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battels, and some of those not unbloody, tho *Venutius* held them tack, remaining to the end unvanquish'd, and some part of the Country unconquer'd. A.D. 69. A.D. 70.

Cerealius succeeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who, by taming the *Siluries*, gained much Reputation. In the last Year of *Vespasian*, *Julius Agricola* was sent hither, who Victoriously extended the *Roman* Limits in *Britain* beyond all his Predecessors. He drove the *Ordovices* through difficult Places, almost to the final Extirpation of that People. He conquered the Island of *Mona*, a Work left unfinished by *Paulinus*. He equally divided the Impositions of Corn, and by his sweet Demeanour he allured many Cities to come in voluntarily. He instituted the Customs of Civil Life, and caused the Noblemen's Sons to be educated in the Liberal Arts. He had a peculiar Excellency in Fortification, so that no Sconce, or Fortress, of his raising, was ever known to be forced, yielded up, or quitted. He made such Havock of his Enemies by Sea and Land, as is almost incredible. These perpetual Exploits Abroad, won him wide Fame; but by *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was as punishable as open Crimes, he was hated: For he maligning the Glory of his Actions, in shew, decreed him Honours, but in secret deviseth his Ruin, and therefore *Agricola* was commanded Home, for performing too much of what he was sent to do. *The Conduct of Agricola.* A.D. 100. *Great Virtue always in danger.*

The next thing we hear of *Britain* is, that under *Trajan* the Emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. Under *Adrian*, *Dion* govern'd this Island, and being called away to suppress a Tumult among the *Jews*, left things at such a pass, as caus'd the Emperor to take a Journey hither in Person, who distinguish'd by a Wall made A.D. 134.

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Not long after, *Suetonius* resign'd his Command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britons*, nor they him, was thought to have proceeded from the Love of Peace, which indeed was his Love of Ease and Sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* followed his Steps, usurping the Name of gentle Government, to Remissness and neglect of Discipline; for which, and other Misdemeanors, being accused by *Roscius Calius*, Legate of a Legion, he was deserted by his Soldiers, and forced at length to fly the Land. *Vitellius*, then Emperor, sent *Victius Bolius* hither, under whose Lenity, though not tainted with any other Crime, nothing was transacted against the *Britons*. *Petilius Cerealis*, by Appointment of *Vespasian*, had to do with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battels, and some of those not unbloody, tho *Venutius* held them tack, remaining to the end unvanquish'd, and some part of the Country unconquer'd. A.D. 69. A.D. 70.

Cerealius succeeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who, by taming the *Siluries*, gained much Reputation. In the last Year of *Vespasian*, *Julius Agricola* was sent hither, who Victoriously extended the Roman Limits in *Britain* beyond all his Predecessors. He drove the *Ordovices* through difficult Places, almost to the final Extirpation of that People. He conquered the Island of *Mona*, a Work left unfinished by *Paulinus*. He equally divided the Impositions of Corn, and by his sweet Demeanour he allured many Cities to come in voluntarily. He instituted the Customs of Civil Life, and caused the Noblemen's Sons to be educated in the Liberal Arts. He had a peculiar Excellency in Fortification, so that no Sconce, or Fortress, of his raising, was ever known to be forced, yielded up, or quitted. He made such Havock of his Enemies by Sea and Land, as is almost incredible. These perpetual Exploits Abroad, won him wide Fame; but by *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was as punishable as open Crimes, he was hated: For he maligning the Glory of his Actions, in shew, decreed him Honours, but in secret deviseth his Ruin, and therefore *Agricola* was commanded Home, for performing too much of what he was sent to do. *The Conduct of Agricola.* A.D. 100. *Great Virtue always in danger.*

The next thing we hear of *Britain* is, that under *Trajan* the Emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. Under *Adrian*, *Dion* govern'd this Island, and being called away to suppress a Tumult among the *Jews*, left things at such a pass, as caus'd the Emperor to take a Journey hither in Person, who distinguish'd by a Wall made A.D. 134.

A.D. 181. with great Stakes faſtened together in manner of a ſtrong Mound, 80 Miles in length, what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*. No ancient Author names the Place, but old Inſcriptions and Ruin it ſelf, ſhews it went along between *Solway Frith* by *Carliſle*, and the Mouth of *Tine*. In his time *Priſcus Luinius* was Lieutenant here. *Antoninus Pius* reigning * the *Brigantes* (always impatient of Servitude) breaking in upon *North Wales*, part of the *Roman* Province, were driven back by *Lollius Urbicus*, † who drew another Wall of *Turves* between the *Frith* of *Dunbritton* and *Edinborough*, to fence our Incurſions from the North. With like ſucceſs *Marcus Aurelius*, then Emperor, by his Legate *Calphurnius Agricola*, ended a new War.

* Pauſan. *Archad.*

† Capitolin. vit. Anton.

Commodus, after him, obtaining the Empire, in his time, as among ſo many different Accounts may ſeem moſt probable, † *Lucius*, a ſuppoſed King in ſome parts of *Britain*, the firſt of any King in *Europe* we read of, *Received the Chriſtian Faith, and this Nation was the firſt that, by Publick Authority, profeſſed it.* Tho' *Gildas* confidently affirms, that the Chriſtian Religion was taught here by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joſeph of Aramathea*, in the latter Days of *Tiberius*; but theſe Things are moſt proper to be determined by the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, which the beſt of them have done, with giving little Credit to ſuch uncertain Relations.

† Beda. *The firſt Chriſtian King in* Europe.

Afterwards the Northern People broke in upon the *Roman* Province, and waſted it far and near, inſomuch, that the Emperor diſpatch'd hither one of his beſt Commanders, *Ulpius Marcellus*. He, endued with all *Nobleneſs of Mind, Frugal, Temperate, Mild and Magnanimous, in War Bold and Watchful, Invincible againſt Lucre, and the Aſſaults of Bribery*, what with his Valour, and theſe his other Vertues, quickly ended this War, that had ſuch a dangerous Aſpect, and had himſelf like to have been ruin'd by the Peace, which he brought home, for preſuming to be ſo good, under ſo ill an Emperor. After his departure the *Roman* Legions fell into Sedition among themſelves, and would have choſen another Emperor, and *Helvius Pertinax*, who ſucceeded Governor, found it ſo hard a Task to appeaſe them, that once in a Mutiny he was left for Dead among many Slain, and at length was forc'd to ſeek a Diſmiſſion from his Charge. After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government, but was commanded to reſign it to *Junius Severus*, who, worn out with Age and Infirmities, committed the Care of this Iſland to *Antoninus* his Eldeſt Son, who did lit-

Ulpius Marcellus *ſent into* Britain. A.D. 183.

tle

tle damage to the *Britons:* Whereat *Severus* more o- A.D.211
vercome with Grief than any other Diſeaſe, ended his Life at *York.* After his Deceaſe, his Impious Son *Antoninus Caracalla* concluded a Peace with the *Britons*, took Hoſtages, and departed to *Rome.* Under *Gordian* the Emperor, *Nonius Philippus* govern'd here. Whilſt *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonſous*, a great Drinker, for a while bore himſelf for Emperor, but being vanquiſh'd in a bloody Fight at *Cullen* by *Proclus*, he hang'd himſelf, and gave Birth to a Jeſt, *Here hangs a Tankard, not a Man.*

Caruſius *uſurps the Govennment of* Britain.

Now *Caruſius* uſurps the Government of *Britain*, and having made Peace with *Maximinianus*, *Diocleſian's* adopted Son, kept it till he was overthrown by *Conſtantius.* The *Britons*, their Wives and Children, with great Joy go out to meet *Conſtantius*, as one whom they acknowledge their Deliverer from Bondage, and the Inſolency of *Caruſius* and *Alectus.* After *Diocleſian* had divided the Empire with *Galerius*, *Britain* was added to his other Provinces, where either in preparing, or returning with Victory from an Expedition againſt the *Caledonians*, he died at *York*, and his Son *Conſtantine* coming Poſt opportunely from *Rome*, was named by his Father on his Death-bed, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army ſaluted Emperor. He had ſome Bickerings in the North, and then paſſed into *Gallia.* After four Years he returns, till a new War with *Maxentius* called him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his Vicegerent. He deceaſing, *Conſtantine* his Eldeſt Son enjoy'd it for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this ſide the *Alps*, and this Iſland alſo; but falling to Civil War with *Conſtans* his Brother, was ſlain by him; who, with his third Brother *Conſtantius*, coming into *Britain*, ſeiz'd it as Victor. In his Time the *Arian* Doctrine gave this Iſland no ſmall Diſturbance: A Land, ſaith *Gildas*, *Gready of every new thing, Stedfaſt in nothing.* To appeaſe this Sedition and Hereſy, *Conſtantius* appointed a Synod of more than 400 Biſhops to aſſemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's Charges, which the reſt refuſing, three only of the *Britiſh*, Poverty conſtraining them, accepted. Under *Julian*, whom *Conſtantius* made *Cæſar*, we read of nothing happening here, but that *Palladius*, one of his great Officers was baniſh'd hither.

Conſtantine *relieves* Britain.

Valentinian being Emperor, and the *Attacots*, *Picts* and *Scots* waving up and down, and harralling the South Coaſts of *Britain*, *Valentinian* firſt ſends *Severus*,

High Steward of his House, and soon re-calls him. Then *Jovinus* sends *Theodosius*, a Man of tried Valour and Experience, who setting upon the dispersed and plundering Enemy, laden with Spoil, and recovering the Booty which they led away, and were forced to leave there with their Lives, he restores all to the right Owners, save a Portion to his wearied Soldiers. This done, he applies himself to reform things out of Order, and so reduc'd all things, that the Province, which but lately was under the Command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new named *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London*, *Augusta*, and then returned to the Emperor. About five Years after came hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with the Authority of a *Tribune* over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good Service, were in high Estimation. *Maximus* a *Spaniard* by Birth, and now General of the *Roman* Armies here, discontented that *Theodosius* was prefer'd before him to the Empire, assumes the Imperial Purple, and with the Power and Strength of *Britain*, passes into *France*, there slays *Gratian* and without much difficulty, in the space of five Years, obtains his part of the Empire, but at length was overthrown by *Theodosius*. By this means the South of *Britain* being exhausted of her Youth, and what there was of the *Roman* Soldiers drawn off, *Britain* became a Prey to Savage Invasions of *Scots* from the *Irish* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North, and was wholly exposed to those barbarous Robbers. Under these Troubles the *Britons* sent several Messages to *Honorius* the Emperor, but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it self, which the same Year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letter to consult the best way to save themselves, and acquits them of the *Romish* Jurisdiction. Thus expired this great Empire of the *Romans*; first in *Britain*, soon after in *Italy* it self, having born chief sway in this Island, if we reckon from the coming of *Julius Cæsar*, to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which *Honorius* wrote those Letters of discharge into *Britain*, the space of Four hundred sixty two Years. And with the Empire fell also, what before in this Western World was chiefly *Roman*, viz. *Learning*, *Valour*, *Eloquence*, *History*, *Civility*, and even *Language* it self; all these together, as it were with equal Pace, diminishing and dwindling into Savageness and Barbarity.

The Acts of Theodosius.

A.D 373.

Maximus *usurps the Purple.*

The Britons *deserted by the* Romans.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Deſolate Condition of the Britons.

THE *Britons* being thus left without the Protection of the *Roman* Empire, and their Land in a manner emptied of all their Youth, conſumed in Wars Abroad, or not caring to return Home, themſelves through long Subjection, ſervile in Mind, ſlothful of Body, and unacquainted with the uſe of Arms for many Years, ill ſuſtained the violence of thoſe barbarous Invaders, the *Picts* and *Scots*, who now daily growing upon them, they with mournful Letters and Embaſſies ſollicit the Aid of the *Romans*. *Honorius* at their Requeſt ſpares them one Legion, who with great Slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders; but no ſooner was the Legion returned, but the greedy Spoilers land again in great Numbers, Waſting, Slaying, and Depopulating all before them. Meſſengers were ſent again to *Rome*, begging their Aſſiſtance, and that they would not ſuffer a whole Province to be deſtroyed, and the *Roman* Name, ſtill ſo Honourable among them, to become the ſubject of barbarous Scorn and Inſolence. The Emperor at their ſad complaint, with what ſpeed was poſſible, ſends another Legion to their aſſiſtance; who coming ſuddenly upon thoſe ravenous Multitudes, that only minded Spoil, ſurprize them with a terrible Slaughter. They who eſcap'd, fled back to thoſe Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with Booty. The *Romans*, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aſſiſt, declaring that it ſtood no longer with the Eaſe of their Affairs, to make ſuch laborious Voyages, in purſuit of Vagabonds and Robbers, of whom neither Glory nor Gain could be the Fruit of their Labours, exhorted the *Britons* to manage their own Affairs with Prudence and Courage, and betake themſelves to handle defenſive Arms, rather than baſely receive Bonds and Slavery. The *Scots* and *Picts* in manner differing ſomewhat from each other, but ſtill unanimous to rob and ſpoil, hearing the *Romans* intended to return no more, ſwarm again into this Iſland, more confident than ever, and took Poſſeſſion as

A.D. 418.

The Picts *and* Scots *invade* Britain.

Gildas.

A.D. 442.

Another Legion ſent from Rome.

A.D.442. Inhabitants, while the *Britons* by ſloth and inteſtine Feuds, contributed to their own Ruin. They that were not quite deſpoil'd, ſend Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Conſul of *Rome*, with this Superſcription. * *To Ætius thrice Conſul, the Groans of the* Britons. And after a few Words, complain thus: *The* Barbarians *drive us to Sea, the Sea drives us back to the* Barbarians; *thus branded up and down between two Deaths, we periſh either by the Sword, or by the Sea*; but the Empire, at that time overſpread with *Huns* and *Vandals*, was not in a condition to afford them any aſſiſtance. Thus rejected, and wearied out with flying from Place to Place, and more with Famine; ſome ſubmitted, others kept in Woods and Mountainous Places, from whence ſallying out, and with the *German*'s help, they at length gave a ſtop to the Inſulting Foe, with many ſeaſonable Defeats, and the *Scots* return'd home, and the *Picts* began to ſettle in the utmoſt Parts of the Iſland, ſometimes making Inroads upon the *Britons*.

* Malmsbury. l. 1. C. 1. p. 8.

A.D.446. *The* Briton's *Letter to the Conſul.*

The Briton's *Luxury.* They thus rid of their Enemies, till the Ground, which after ſo long Ceſſation, yields Fruit in abundance; but Wantonneſs and Luxury, the uſual Companions of Plenty, growing up as faſt, and at length expoſing them to former Calamities: To repreſs them they elect themſelves ſeveral Kings to manage the Wars againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, whom they now heard were coming again to kill all, and poſſeſs the Land from end to end. But e'er their coming, as if the Inſtruments of Divine Juſtice had been at ſtrife which of 'em ſhould firſt deſtroy a wicked Nation, the Peſtilence foreſtalling the Sword, ſwept them away ſo faſt, that the Living could ſcarce bury the Dead. Under theſe Afflictions, and the Fears of their Approaching Enemies, they conſult with their King *Vortigern*, to provide ſome better means than heretofore againſt theſe continual Annoyances from the *North*; and by advice of all, it was determined, that the *Saxons* ſhould be invited into *Britain* againſt the *Scots*. The *Saxons* were a Barbarous and Heathen Nation, famous for nothing but Robberies and Cruelties committed againſt their Neighbours. They were thought, by Ancient Writers, to be deſcended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythians* in the North of *Aſia*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, towards the declining of the *Roman* Empire, and uſing Piracy from *Denmark* all along thoſe Seas, poſſeſs'd at length, by intruſion, all that Coaſt of *Germany*,

Gildas.

A.D.447. *A great Plague.*

What the Saxons *were, and from whence they came.*

many, which took thence the name of *Old Saxony*, lying between the *Rhine* and *Elbe*, and from thence North, as far as *Fidora* the River bounding *Holsatia*. Such Guests as these, the *Britons* with *Vortigern*, who was now King over all, invited hither by Ambassadors, in these Words: *Worthy* Saxons, *hearing the Fame of your Prowess, the Distressed* Britons, *wearied out, and over-press'd by a continual Invading Enemy, have sent us to beseech your Aid. They have a Land Fertile and Spacious, and to your Commands they bid us to surrender it. Heretofore we have liv'd with Freedom, under the Obedience and Protection of the* Roman *Empire. Next to them, we know none Worthier than your Selves, and therefore become Suppliants to your Valour. Leave us not under the Power of our Enemies; and what you are pleas'd to Impose, we shall willingly submit to.* The *Saxons* finding themselves intreated to accept what they would have gladly wish'd for, make this reply to the Ambassadors: *Be henceforth assur'd of the* Saxons, *as faithful Friends to the* Britons, *and who will stand by them in all their Necessities, as well as in their best Fortune.* The Ambassadors return joyfully, and with News as welcome to their Country, whose sinister Fate had now blinded them for Destruction. The *Saxons* first consulting their Gods, furnish out three long Galleys, or Kyules, with a chosen Company of Warlike Youth, under the Conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*. These mixt with two other Neighbouring People, *Jutes* from *Jutland*, and *Angles* from *Anglen*, by *Sleswick*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arrive here in the Year of our Lord 450, and were received with much Good Will of the People first, then of the King, who, after some assurances given and taken, bestows on them the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, where first they Landed, for a Place to dwell in, which before they wanted. They had not been here long without Employment: For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*, whom not expecting to meet a new opposition, the *Saxons*, tho' not till after a hot Encounter, put to flight more than once, slaying in the Fight, as some *Scotch* Writers affirm, their King *Eugenius*, Son of *Fergus*.

A.D. 447. *The* Saxons *invited into* Britain. Ethelwerd. Malmsbury. Witichind. l. 1. p. 3. Malms. Witichind.

Gildas. A.D. 450.

Bede.

The Saxons *Land in the Isle of* Thanet. Nennius. Malms.

Hen. Hunting Ethelwerd. Bed. Nin. *The* Scots *and* Picts *beaten.*

Hengist, General of the *Saxons*, seeing *Britain* to be a rich and fruitful Country, and its Princes and People given to vicious Ease, invites others to share in his good Success, who coming with Seventeen Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without

Hengist *invites in more* Saxons.

suspicion

A D. 450. ſuſpicion, upon terms of bearing the Brunt of War againſt the *Picts*, receiving a Stipend, and a place to inhabit in. With theſe was brought over the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, *Rowena*, a Virgin of extraordinary Beauty, who won ſo much upon *Vortigern*'s Fancy, tho' already married, that he conſented to give *Hengiſt* the whole Circuit of *Kent*, if he would beſtow his Daughter on him.

Vortigern marries Rowena.

The Marriage conſummated, *Hengiſt* ſtill encroached upon the King's Favour, and got leave for *Octa* and *Ebiſſa*, his own, and his Brother's Son, to come over with forty Ships, who poſſeſſed *Northumberland*, under pretence of awing the *Scots*; notwithſtanding this they complain that their Monthly Pay was in Arrear, which being paid, they next complain their Pay was too ſmall for the danger they underwent, and threaten open War, unleſs it be augmented. *Guortimer* the King's Son, ſeeing his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, bends his utmoſt endeavour to drive them out. The *Saxons*, on the other ſide, league with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and iſſuing out of *Kent*, committed ſuch horrid Devaſtations, that Towns and Colonies were overturn'd, Prieſts and People Slain, Temples and Palaces what with Fire and Sword, lay altogether heap'd in one common Ruin. *Vortigern* nothing better'd by theſe Calamities, committed Inceſt with his Daughter, for which being cenſured in a great Synod of Clerks and Laicks, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, retir'd into *Wales*, and built a ſtrong Caſtle in *Radnorſhire*. The *Saxons*, for what cauſe is unknown, return'd Home. Some ſay, after four Battels, they were driven from the Iſle of *Thanet*, into their own Ships that carried them Home, by *Guortimer*, after his Father's Depoſition. *Guortimer*, now poiſon'd by *Rowena*, and dying, *Vortigern* re aſſumes the Government, and in the Year 455 fights a Battle againſt *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* near *Ailsford* in *Kent*: After which *Hengiſt*, with his Son *Eſca*, took on him the Title of King of *Kent*, and peopled it with *Jutes*; and knowing how to handle *Vortigern*, without Warring, wheedles him into a Treaty at a place appointed, whither they were to repair without Weapons. *Hengiſt*, who intended Treachery, appointed his Men to be ſecretly Arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch Word was, *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is *Draw your Daggers*; which they obſerving, when the *Britons* were throughly heated with Wine, the *Saxons* every one diſpatch his next Man

The Saxons Revolt.

Are driven out by Guortimer.

King of Kent.

A horrid piece of Treachery.

lan with their Poniards, to the number of three hun- A.D.450.
red. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Cuſtody,
ll he ranſom'd himſelf, by granting them the Counties
f *Eſſex*, *Suſſex* and *Middleſex*: Who thus diſmiſs'd,
etir'd into his Caſtle in the *North Wales*, where living
bſcurely with his Wives and Children, at length was
urnt in his Tower by Fire from Heaven.

The *Saxons*, after much Miſchief done, whether by Conſtraint, or of their own accord, moſt of them return into their own Country, leaving a fair opportunity to the *Britons* to revenge themſelves the eaſier on thoſe that ſtaid behind; which e'er long they practiſed; and under the Conduct of *Ambroſius Aurelianus* *, the laſt virtuous Heroe of the *Roman* Stock, defeated the late Victors in a memorable Battle, *Ambroſe*, after another victorious Encounter, was made chiefeſt Monarch of this Iſland, reign'd 32 Years, and was poiſon'd by a *Saxon* Phyſician in the Year 497.

The Saxons *return home.*

**Who built the* Stonehenge *in* Wiltſhire

In the Year 477, *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting* and *Ciſſa*, arrive at a Place in *Suſſex* call'd *Cymenſhore*, in three Ships, and kill'd many *Britons*. Four Years after died *Hengiſt*, the firſt *Saxon* King of *Kent*. His Son *Ocric*, ſirnam'd *Oiſc*, ſucceeded him, and contented himſelf with his Father's Acquiſitions. *Ella* three Years after the Death of *Hengiſt*, began his Kingdom of the *South Saxons*, peopling it from old *Saxony*, now *Holſtein* in *Denmark*. *Kerdic*, another *Saxon* Prince landing here, had the ſame Succeſs againſt the *Britons* that oppoſed him. After him *Porta*, another *Saxon*, with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships, arrives at *Portſmouth*, did great Exploits, and the *Britons* attempting to regain their Loſſes, 5000 of them, and their Leaders, were kill'd by *Kerdic*. About this time *Ella*, the firſt *South Saxon* King, dies, whom *Ciſſa*, his youngeſt Son, ſucceeded. At the ſame time *Uffa* made himſelf King of the *Eaſt Angles*. In the Year 571, *Titilius*, his Son, became Potent. And not much after *Sleda* erected the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*. *Kerdic*, the ſame in Power, forbore the Name of King 24 Years after his arrival, and then ſo firmly founded the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*, that it ſubjected all the reſt at length, and became the ſole Monarchy of *England*. Here our Hiſtorians are very dark, and the *Saxon* Relaters are as fabulous as *H* of *Huntington*; and that we may not rely upon either, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before them, and every way more credible, though not partial to

Hengiſt *dyeth*, A. D. 489.

The Kingdom of the South Saxons.

The Kingdom of the East Angles.

The Kingdom of the East Saxons.

the

Gildas *an Author of Credit.*

the *British* Valour, says, the *Romans* were foil'd as often as the *Britons*; for, besides the first Victory of *Ambrose*, and the interchangeable Successes long after, he tells us, that the last Overthrow which they received at *Baden Hill*, was not the least, whom some Authors, tho' erroneously ascribe to the Conduct of *Arthur*, and that this was the last of twelve great Battles which he fought Victoriously against the *Saxons*; tho' whether there was such a Man as *Arthur*, is still to be doubted, unless we had better Authorities than the Monk of *Malmsbury*, *Ennius* or *Monmouth*, who sets him up with the blustring Title of *Pendragon*. But not to contest farther about Uncertainties, in the Year 547. *Ida*, the *Saxon* began the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*, built the Town of *Babbanburg*, and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Alla* descended also from *Woden*, but by another Line, set up a second Kingdom in *Deira*, the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it thirty Years. *Ethelbert* was the first raiser of Civil War among the *Saxons*, by which means the *Britons*, but chiefly by the Victory of *Baden*, for the space of Forty Years, ending in 571, received no great Annoyance from the *Saxons*, tho' the Peace they enjoyed, by ill using it, was more pernicious to them than the War; for afterwards the *Saxons* began afresh to assault them. *Cuthulf*, Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedenford*, now *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, and *Keaulin* and *Cuthwin*, his Sons, gave them a great Overthrow at *Deorrham* in *Glouceſterſhire*, slew three of their Kings, and took as many Cities. The last of those *Saxons*, who rais'd their own Atchievements to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, first Founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom.

The Kingdom of Bernicia.

The Kingdom of Mercia.

Once more the *Britons* e're they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew their Courage, for meeting *Keaulin* at *Wodens Beorth*, *Wodens Mount* in *Wiltſhire*, they ruined his whole Army, and chased him out of his Kingdom; from whence flying, he dyed the next Year in Poverty, who a little before was the most Potent, and indeed Sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. The same Year *Keola* succeeded his Brother *Keaulin*: *Wiuba* succeeded *Creda* the *Mercian* King, and *Ethelfred* in *Northumberland*, in the room of *Ethelrick*. Thus omitting Fables, you have had a view of what with reason can be relied on for Truth, transacted in *Britain* since the *Romans* quitted their Jurisdiction.

A.D. 592.

The

The *Saxons* now poſſeſſing *Seven Abſolute Kingdoms*, *The* Saxon Heptarchy.
Ethelbert King of *Kent*, to encreaſe his own Greatneſs, marries *Bertha*, the King of *France*'s Daughter, tho' a Chriſtian, who was to enjoy the free Exerciſe of her own Religion: And not long after the Chriſtian Religion, by the great Care of Pope *Gregory the Great*, in ſending *Auſtin*, whom he deſign'd for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, and other zealous Monks, whoſe preaching the Goſpel, and exemplary Holy Lives, firſt converted the King, and afterwards the greateſt part of the *Saxons*. *Ethelbert*, who was always a Favourer of Civility in that rude Age, by all the Demonſtrations of Care and Kindneſs to the Church and Church men, ſhew'd how gratefully he receiv'd the Benefit of his Chriſtianity. No ſooner was he dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took a Courſe to extinguiſh the true Religion; the like did the three Sons of the Chriſtian King *Sebert*, by all kinds of Prophaneneſs; but Divine Vengeance overtook them all; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell often into Fits of Diſtraction, and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Fight againſt the *Weſt Saxons* periſhed with all their whole Army. *Eadbald*, or *Etholbald*, was afterwards converted, and built a Chappel within the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*. The Seventh King of *Kent* was *Ercombert*, a Vertuous and Religious Prince, who firſt enjoyn'd the Obſervation of *Lent*, and divided *Kent* into Pariſhes. The Eighth King was *Egbert*, who obtain'd the Kingdom by murdering his Nephews. The Eleventh King was *Withred*, who built St. *Martin*'s Church in *Dover*. The laſt of *Kent* was *Baldred*, who, overcome by *Egbert* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, left *Kent a* Province to that Kingdom, in the Year 827. A.D. 596.

The Second Kingdom of this *Heptarchy* was the *South Saxons* began by *Ella* in the Year 488. containing *Suſſex* and *Surrey*. It continued 13 Years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom *Ciſſa* being the Second, founded the City of *Chicheſter*, and reigned, as is commonly reported, 76 Years. *Berthan*, the laſt King was overcome by *Ina*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and his Kingdom became a Province of that Kingdom *An.* 601. which alſo happen'd in the Reign of the *Britiſh* King *Ambroſius*. *The Kingdom of the* South Saxons.

The Third Kingdom of the *Heptarchy*, was that of the *Weſt Saxons*, began by *Cerdic Anno* 519. containing *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire* and *Berkſhire*; continued 561 Years, during the Reign of nineteen Kings, of whom *Cerdic* was the firſt. The Sixth King *The Kingdom of the* West Saxons.

Kinglis

Kinglis. was the first Christian in this Kingdom, converted by *Berinus* an *Italian* Divine. The Seventh was *Kenwald*, who founded the Cathedral of *Winchester*, and the Abbey at *Malmsbury*, whose Wife *Segburg* was afterwards elected Abbess of *Ely*. The Eleventh King was *Ina* who made many good Laws, yet extant in the *Saxon* Tongue, and are translated into *Latin* by Mr. *Lambert*. He built the Abbey of *Glassenburg*, and out of Devotion to the See of *Rome*, enjoyn'd every one of his Subjects that was worth in Goods in his House *Nineteen Pence*, to pay yearly upon *Lammas day*, One Penny to the Pope. At length he took the Religious Habit, and died at *Rome*, and his Wife was made Abbess of *Bark'n* near *London*. The Thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first gave leave for the Dead to be buried within the Walls of Cities. The Fourteenth King was *Sigibert*, who, for his Cruelty and Exactions, was forced by his Subjects to fly into the Woods to hide himself, and was there slain by a Swinherd. The Fifteenth was *Kerwolth*, Founder of the Cathedral at *Wells*, who was slain by *Kynoard*, whom he had Banished. *Birthric* was the Sixteenth King, who was poisoned by *Ethelburg* his Queen, by his tasting Poyson, which she had prepared for one of his great Officers.

Peter Pence.

The Fourth Kingdom of the *Heptarchy* was the *East Saxons*, began by *Erchenwyn*, *Anno* 527, containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*: It continued 281 Years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings, of whom the Third was *Sebbert*, who first built the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, which had been the Temple of *Diana*; and also the Church of St. *Peter's Westminster*, then called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple *Apollo*. The Ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty Years peaceable Reign, abdicated the Government, and became a Religious in St. *Paul's* Church, *London*, and was there buried. The Twelfth was *Offa*, who after eight Years went to *Rome*, was shav'd a Monk, and died in that Habit. The Fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons* subdu'd, and made his Kingdom a Province of his own.

The Kingdom of the East Saxons.

The Fifth Kingdom was that of the *North Humbers*, began by *Ella* and *Ida*, *Anno* 527, containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*. It continued 379 Years during the Reign of Three and Twenty Kings, of whom little is related till we come to *Ethelfryd*, the Seventh King, who

The Kingdom of the North Humbers

Caerlegion, now *Winchester*, massacred twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was at length kill'd himself by *Redwald*, King of the *East Angles*. The Thirteenth King was *Osred*, whose Wife *Carthuga* loathing his Bed was divorced, and built a Nunnery at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where, in a Religious Habit, she ended her Days. The Sixteenth King *Cednulph*, after eight Years Reign, laid aside his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk. To this King the Venerable *Bede*, a *Saxon* and a Priest in the Monastery of *Werimouth* near *Durham*, dedicated his *English History*, which he continued from the first Entry of the *Saxons* into this Island to the Year 731. which, according to his own account, was 285 Years. The last King of *Northumberland* was *Oswald*, after whose Death this Kingdom also submitted to the *West Saxons*, who became absolute in the whole Island.

The Sixth Kingdom was *Mercia*, began by *Crida*, *Anno* 522. containing *Huntingtonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Derby*, *Oxford*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Gloucester*, *Stafford*, *Buckingham*, *Bedford and Hertfordshires*. It continued 220 Years, during the Reign of twenty Kings, eight of whom in a continued Succession, kept the Imperial Crown of the *Heptarchy*; for, tho' others reign'd as Kings in their own Territories, yet among them one was always Supreme Head of the rest, and was called King of *Engelond*, till *Egbert* reduced them all into one. The Fifth of these Kings was *Penda*, the first Christian among them, who built the Cathedral Church at *Medeshamsted*, now *Peterborough*. The Tenth King *Ethelwald*, built the Monastery of *Crowland*. The Eleventh King *Offa*, much enlarg'd his own Territories, reign'd 39 Years, and founded the Monastery of St. *Albans*. The Thirteenth King was *Kenwolph*, who built the Monastery of *Winchcomb* in *Gloucestershire*, where his Body is Interr'd. The Eighteenth King was *Withlafe*, who overcome by *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*, held his Country afterwards as Tributary to the Conqueror. *Kingdom of* Mercians.

The Seventh Kingdom was the *East Angles*, began by *Offa*, *Anno* 577, containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*. It continued 353 Years, during the Reign of Fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was *Sigibert*, who † first introduced Christianity in his Dominions, and after three Years was shaved into a Monk of the Abbey of *Cumbreburg*, which he founded; but being violently drawn from thence by his Subjects, to encounter *Kingdom of the* East Angles.

† *Others ascribe this to King Redwald.*

counter the *Mercian* King *Penda*, and refuſing to uſe any other Weapon than a White Wand, was Slain in Battle. The Fourteenth King was *Ethelbert*, a Learned and Religious Prince, who, being invited by *Offa* the *Mercian* King, to marry his Daughter *Elfred*, was murder'd by him at his Court at *Sutton Wallis* in *Hereſordſhire*: To attone for which Crime, he built the Cathedral Church at *Hereford*, vainly perſwaded by the then reigning Superſtition, that Heaven might be bribed to commute for Murder by building Churches, which were but too often the Monuments of their Founder's Impiety. The Fifteenth King was *Edmund*, an upright and zealous Chriſtian, who ſuffered great Cruelties from the *Danes*, for his Poſſeſſions, but much more upon the account of his Religion, in which continuing Conſtant, the Pagan *Danes* beat him with Clubs, ſcourg'd him with Whips, and at laſt bound him to a Stake, and ſhot him to Death with Arrows, whoſe Body was buried in a famous Town, that from this occaſion was called St. *Edmunds Bury*. After his Death, the *Eaſt Angles* Country was poſſeſs'd fifty Years by the *Danes*, till *Edmund*, Sirnamed the Elder, expelled them, and made that Kingdom a Province to the *Weſt Saxons*.

Thus it appears, by what means and degrees the *Britons* loſt, and the *Saxons* gained the Poſſeſſion of this Iſland. For after *Vortigern*, *Anno* 355. had called in the *Saxons* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, every *Britiſh* King that ſucceeded him, loſt ſome part or other of it to the *Saxons*, till at laſt in the Year 689, *Cadwallader*, the laſt *Britiſh* King, loſt it all. Then the *Saxons* contending among themſelves for Sovereignty, they ſtill gained one upon another, till at laſt *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, in the Year 818. reduced them all under his Subjection, and called this Iſland *England*, from the *Angles*, from whence he came hither: After whom they were no longer called *Saxon* Kings, but Kings of *England*, and ſo continued till the *Danes* in the Year 1017. made an Interruption; of whoſe Diſturbances we now come to treat.

A. D. 818. England *firſt called ſo.*

The

The Life and Reign of King Egbert, *the First Sole Monarch of* England *after the Heptarchy.*

THE Sum of things in *England*, or the greateſt part thereof, being in time reduc'd under the Power of one Man, *Egbert*, and him one of the worthieſt; which, as far as can be collected from good Authors, was by none attained to at any time heretofore, unleſs in Fables; Men might with ſome Reaſon have expected from ſuch an Union Peace and Plenty, Greatneſs, and the flouriſhing of all Eſtates and Degrees of Men; but it unhappily fell out to the contrary. For ſoon after happen'd Invaſion, Spoil, Deſolation, Slaughter of many, and Slavery of the reſt, by the forcible Intruſion of a fierce and powerful Nation, commonly called *Danes*, and ſometimes *Dacians*, and by others thought to be the ſame People with the *Norman*, as barbarous as the *Saxons* themſelves were firſt reputed, if not more cruel, and without Pretence; for the *Saxons* were firſt invited hither, and in conſideration of their Services, were allow'd to be Inhabitants; but theſe unſent for, and unprovoked, came only to deſtroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is before related, came moſt of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmark*, as the *Daniſh* Hiſtorians affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the ſame People, then in this Invaſion *Danes* drove out *Danes*, their own Poſterity; and *Normans* afterwards none but ancienter *Normans*. Which Invaſion perhaps, had the Heptarchy ſtood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneaſily reſiſted, while each Prince and People, excited by their neareſt Intereſts, had more induſtriouſly defended their own Bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Governor, ſent oftimes from the remote Reſidence of a ſecure Monarch. Though, as it fell out in thoſe Troubles, the leſſer Kingdoms revolting from the *Weſt Saxon* Yoke, and not aſſiſting each other, too much concerned with their own Safety, it came to no better paſs; while ſeverally they ſought to repel the Danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it at a greater diſtance. A.D. 802. Danes *drive out* Danes

But when Heaven has determin'd to put a ſinful Nation under Servitude, who are prepared by their own Vices, for no other condition than Slavery, all Eſtates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God was

A Retaliation.

now pleaſed to puniſh our Inſtrumental Puniſhers, tho' now Chriſtians, by other Heathens, by juſtly retaliating Invaſion for Invaſion, Spoil for Spoil, Deſtruction for Deſtruction. The *Saxons* were now grown full as wicked as the *Britons* were at their Arrival, broken with Luxury and Sloth, either Secular or Superſtitious; for laying aſide the Exerciſe of Arms, and the Study of Virtuous Knowledge, ſome betook themſelves to vicious Practices in wordly Affairs; others to Religious Idleneſs and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and deluſive Viſions; and which were eaſily perceiv'd to be ſuch by enjoyning things repugnant to the Goſpel, as inſignificant Rites and Ceremonies, to which they added the Oſtentation of Alms, oftentimes got by Rapine and Oppreſſion, and prodigally beſtowed as the Expiation of Cruelty and Bloodſhed, And then what could be expected, when Religion was a Stranger to Sincerity, and their Morals corrupted by Inhumane Crimes, but that Vengeance would overtake them?

Egbert, in the higheſt pitch of Glory, having enjoy'd his former Conqueſts ſeven peaceful Years, his Victorious Army long ſince disbanded, and the Exerciſe of Arms, perhaps, laid aſide by his fancied Security, was wholly unprovided againſt a Storm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landed in the 32d Year of his Reign, waſted the Iſle of *Shepey* in *Kent*. *Egbert* the next Year raiſing an Army, for he had heard of their Arrival in Thirty five Ships, gave them Battel near the River *Carr* in *Dorſetſhire*, the Event of which Encounter was, That the *Danes* kept the Field, and encamp'd on the ſame Ground where they fought. Two great *Saxon* Commanders, *Dudda* and *Oſmund*, and two Biſhops, as ſome ſay, were ſlain in this Fight.

Danes *invade* England.

A.D. 832.

A.D. 833.

This was the only Check of Fortune we read of, that *Egbert* met with in all his time; for the *Danes* returning two Years after with a great Navy, and joyning Forces with the *Corniſh* Men, who had leagu'd with them, were utterly overthrown, and put to flight. Of theſe Invaſions againſt *Egbert*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory is not ſilent; whether out of their own Records, or ours may be juſtly doubted; for of theſe Times at Home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to Outlandiſh Chronicles, than any Records of their own. The Victor King *Egbert*, as one who had done enough for one Reign, after ſuch proſperous Succeſſes, the next Year Death put a period to his Days, in the Year 836.

He

He was Crown'd abſolute Monarch of *England*, *A. D.* 819. and was buried at *Wincheſter*: But his Bones were ſince taken up, and with others beſtowed in Cheſts, and ſet upon the Wall on each ſide of the Cathedral Church, with this Inſcription. *King* Egbert's *Death.*

Hic Rex Egbertus *pauſat cum Rege Kenulpho,*
Nobis egregia Munera uterque tulit.

He had Iſſue *Ethelwolph* and *Ethelſtan*, and one Daughter, named *Egdith*, commonly called St. *Edith*, who was Governeſs of a Monaſtery of Ladies at *Polleſworth* in *Warwickſhire.*

The Life and Reign of King Ethelwolf.

ETHELWOLF, Son of *Egbert*, who ſucceeded his Father, is deſcribed to be a Man of mild and peaceable Temper, not inclined to War, nor affected with Soveraignty, and therefore being contented with the ancient *Weſt Saxon* Bounds, he gave his Brother's Son *Ethelſtan*, as ſome write, the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Eſſex*. But the *Saxon* Annaliſt, whoſe Authority is elder, ſays, That both theſe Countries and *Suſſex* were bequeathed to *Ethelſtan* by *Egbert*, his Father. The unwarlike Diſpoſition of *Ethelwolf* gave Encouragement, and eaſier Entrance to the *Danes*, who came again, the next Year, with Thirty Three Ships; but *Wolfheard*, one of the King's Chief Commanders, drove them back to *Southampton* with great Slaughter. *Ethelhelm*, another of the King's Valiant Captains, with the aſſiſtance of the *Dorſetſhire* Men, had at firſt like ſucceſs againſt the *Danes* at *Portſmouth*, but being reinforced, they kept their ground and routed the *Engliſh*. Worſe was the ſucceſs of Earl *Herebert*, at a place called *Mereſmen*, who was ſlain with the greateſt part of his Army. The Year following, in *Lindſey* alſo, *Eaſt Angles* and *Kent*, much miſchief was done by their landing in thoſe Parts; where, the next Year, embolden'd by ſucceſs, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter* and *London*, with no leſs cruel Hoſtility, giving no reſpite to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*. They yet returned with the next Year in Thirty Five Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good their Ground In A.D. 836.

A.D. 836. *Northumberland* the Tributary King *Eandred* deceasing, left the same Tenure to his Son *Ethelread*, driven out in his fourth Year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation, hastening out to Battle against the *Danes* at *Alvetheli*, fell with the greatest part of his Army; and *Ethelread*, like in Fortune to the former *Ethelread*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was slain the fourth Year after. *Osbert* succeeded in his room.

Success against the Danes.

Next Year, in the Southward Parts, the *Danes* met with some stop in the course of their outrageous Insolencies; for *Earnulf*, with the *Somersetshire* Men, *Alston* the Bishop, and *Osric*, with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the River's Mouth of *Pedridax*, slaughter'd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a great Victory. This Repulse, for ought we read, cool'd their Courage for six Years, and then they renew'd their Invasion, but with little better success; for *Keorle* an Earl, assisted with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and overthrew them at *Wiggambeork*, with great Destruction. As prosperously were they fought with, the same Year at *Sandwich* by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealker* his General, where their great Army was beaten, nine of their Ships taken, and the rest were driven from that Shoar, and winter'd in the Isle of *Shepey*. Nevertheless, with fifty Ships they entred the *Thames* Mouth, and made Excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, destroy'd both; but *Asser* says, they only plundered that City. This was counted a lucky Year to *England*, and gain'd *Ethelwolf* great Reputation; and two Years after fighting against the *North Welsh*, as troublesome to his Confines, he reduc'd them to Obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son *Alfred* to *Rome*, well accompanied, when he was but five Years of Age, whom *Leo* the Pope afterwards consecrated King of *England*, and adopted him his Son. *Ealker*, with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Hudda* with those of *Surrey*, fell upon the *Danes* at their landing in *Thanet*, and at first drove them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on both sides, as made the loss equal; but yet this hindred not the Solemnity of a Marriage between *Burhead* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelswida*, King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter.

Ethelwolf's *Donation to the Church.*

Ethelwolf, finding himself unable to resist the *Danes* by any humane Power, and seeing them still grow upon him, in hope of Divine Assistance, dedicated the tenth part of his own Lands to God,

and

nd alſo thoſe of his own Kingdom, and employ'd them for the maintenance of Maſſes and Pſalms for his Proſperity againſt his Enemies. And now thinking he had done a commendable thing, that he might purchaſe the Pope's Applauſe, he takes a long and troubleſome Journey to *Rome*, with his young Son *Alfred*, and continues there a twelvemonth, when he ſhou'd rather have been in *England*, to quell the growing Power of his *Daniſh* Enemies. In his return, he took to Wife *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles* the *Bald*, King of *France*. But thus neglecting the Affairs of his Kingdom, *Ethelbald*, his Eldeſt Son, *Alſtan* his truſty Biſhop, and *Enulf*, Earl of *Somerſet*, conſpired againſt him, and endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. This Diſturbance was look'd upon as the Fore-runner of a Civil War; but the King abhorring Civil Diſcord, was willing to purchaſe his own Quiet at the price of half his Kingdom: It was divided between him and his Son, and in the dividend the worſe half was allotted to the King, which the Nobility abhorr'd, and offer'd their Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of the whole; but the King diſſwaded them from it, and ſat down contented with what was allow'd him. A.D.836.

In the *Eaſt Angles*, *Edmund*, lineally deſcended from the ancient Stock of thoſe Kings, a Youth of 14 Years of Age, but of great hopes, was, with the conſent of all but his own, crown'd King at *Bury*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the *Picts* having been driven out of their Country by the *Scots*, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid againſt *Donaldus*, King of *Scots*, to recover their ancient Poſſeſſion. *Osbert* undertook this Expedition in Perſon; worſted the *Scots*, took their King Priſoner, and purſued his Victory beyond *Sterling Bridge*. The *Scots* unable to reſiſt any longer, had a Peace granted them on theſe Conditions: That they ſhould quit all they poſſeſs'd within the Wall of *Severus*: That the Limits of *Scotland*, beneath *Sterling Bridge*, were to be the River *Torth*, and on the other ſide *Dumbritten Frith*; from that time ſo called of the *Britiſh* then ſeated in *Cumberland*, who had joyn'd with *Osbert* in this Expedition, and ſo far extended the *Britiſh* Limits on that ſide. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themſelves acknowledge, who are not apt to diſparage their own Country, how much have our own Hiſtorians been wanting to the Honour of *England*, in paſſing over with *The Bounds of Scotland.*

A.D. 836. silence such a memorable Exploit, confess'd by them that are wont rather to extenuate than to amplify any considerable Action perform'd by the *English* in *Scotland?*.

Ethelwolf *in Holy Orders.*

King *Ethelwolf* from his Youth was much addicted to Devotion, and therefore was committed to the care of *Helmestan*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and by him to *Swithin*, the Learned Monk, where he took such a liking to a Contemplative Life, that he was profess'd a Monk, made a Deacon, and Elected, if not Consecrated, Bishop of *Winchester*; of all which Vows and Orders, at his ascending the Throne, he was absolved by *Gregory* the Fourth, and his Bishoprick he bestowed on *Swithin*. This King rebuilt the School at *Rome*, built by King *Offa*, bearing the Name of *Thomas the Holy*. He confirm'd the *Grant of Peter Pence*, and for his Hospitable Entertainment at the Pope's Court, covenanted to Pay a hundred Marks annually to St *Peter's* Church, another to St. *Paul's* Light, and a third to the Pope himself. He was easy in consenting to divide the Kingdom with his Son, at the Instance of his seditious Nobles; yet he treated his Queen majestically, tho' he knew it displeas'd them. At his approaching end, he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*; to the younger he gave *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey* and *Sussex*, and to the elder all the rest. He dy'd at *Stanbridge*, *Ann. Dom.* 857. and was first buried where he deceas'd; but afterwards his Corpse was removed to the Cathedral Church in *Winchester*.

King Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert, *Jointly.*

A.D. 857. ETHELBALD, an unnatural and disloyal Son to his Father, as soon as he came to his Crown, and had opportunity to discover his wicked Inclinations without controul, fell into a another detestable Sin, tho of a contrary Nature to the former, and that was, too much Love to his Father's Wife, whose coming into the Kingdom he violently opposed, and made it one pretence to rebel against his Father, and share with him in the Government of the Kingdom: But now the Scene is changed, and his Love is become as vehement as his hatred sometime was, and therefore having unlawfully married

An incestuous Marriage.

married her, he takes her to his Bed; but Vengeance would not suffer him to enjoy her long, nor dishonour a Crown by his wearing it; for he died at three Years end, without doing any thing worthy of a King, or fit to be transmitted to Posterity. He reign'd two Years with his Father, as an impious Usurper, and three Years after him as unworthy of Inheriting. He had the good luck not to be molested by the *Danes* during his Reign, and that I reckon his Misfortune, because it gave him leisure to compleat his Condemnation, by living more securely in detestable Incestuous Pleasures; which *Asser*, an Eye-witness of those Times, has given us no cause to believe he repented of. He died in the Year 860. and was first buried at *Sherburn* in *Dorsetshire*, but afterwards was removed to *Salisbury*.

King Ethelbert *alone.*

ETHELBALD being taken away by Death, the Government of the whole Kingdom descended by rightful Inheritance to *Ethelbert* his Brother, who, tho' a Prince of extraordinary Virtue, matchless Innocency and Integrity, had as short a Reign as his faulty Brother, and that much more unquiet and troublesome. Once or twice in his Reign, the *Danes* under the Conduct of *Hungar* and *Hubba*, invaded *England*, and spoil'd all before them to *Winchester*, not sparing those Places that were dedicated to Religion; among others the goodly Monasteries of *Bradley*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely* and *Huntingdon*, they levell'd with the Ground; murder'd the Monks, ravish'd the Nuns, and slaughter'd all within their Power; but in their return from *Winchester*, they were encounter'd by *Osric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Berkshire*, and were beaten to their Ships, and forced to leave their Booty behind them. Five Years after, they landed again in *Thanet*, and the *Kentish* Men, wearied out with such frequent Alarms, agreed with them for a certain Sum of Money; but before the Peace could be ratified, and the Money collected, the *Danes*, impatient of delay, by a sudden Eruption in the Night, soon wasted all the East of *Kent*. Nine Battles this King fought with the *Danes* in one Year, in most of which he came off Victoriously; but at last received a

A. D. 860.

The Barbarity of the Danes

wound, whereof he died, and was buried in the Church of *Sherburn* in *Dorſetſhire*.

King Ethelred.

A.D. 866. ETHELRED, the third Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his firſt coming to the Crown, was entertain'd with a freſh Invaſion of the *Danes*, led by *Hungar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who had now got Footing in the *Eaſt Angles*. There they took up their Winter Quarters, and coming to Terms of Peace with the Inhabitants, they furniſhed themſelves with Horſes, and got many Troops of their own. Theſe Pagans, *Aſſer* ſaith, came from the River *Danubius*. Thus equipp'd for a longer Expedition, the next Year they ventured to make their way over Land, and over *Humber*, as far as *York*, whoſe Inhabitants they found embroil'd in Civil Diſſention ready to their Hands. They had thrown out their King *Osbert*, and *Ella*, Leader of another Faction, was ſet up in his room; who both, tho' late, and admoniſh'd of their common Danger, towards the end of the Year united their Powers, encountred the *Danes* and prevail'd; but purſuing them over eagerly into *York*, then but ſlenderly fortify'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where ſlaughtered, both within and without the City; their Kings were both ſlain, and their City burnt; the reſt, as they could make their Peace, over-ran and vanquiſh'd as far as the River *Tine*; and *Egbert*, of *Engliſh* Race, was made their King. Next Year the Victorious *Danes* entred into *Mercia*, and wintered in and about *Nottingham*. *Burhead*, then King of that Country, unable to make Reſiſtance, implores the Aid of *Ethelred*, and young *Alfred*, his Brother; who aſſembling their Forces, and joyning with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer the *Danes* Battle; but they not daring to come out, kept themſelves within the Caſtle, ſo that no great Fight was hazarded in that Place. At length the *Mercians*, wearied with long ſuſpence, entred into Conditions of Peace with their Enemies. The *Danes* returned back to *York*, and continued there a Year, committing great Cruelties. Thence imbarking to *Lindſey*, and all Summer deſtroying that Country; about *September* they came with like Fury into *Keſteven*, another part of *Lincolnſhire*, where

A great Fight near York.

A great Fight in Lincolnſhire.

where *Algar* the Earl of *Howland*, now *Holland*, with the Neighbouring Auxillaries joyning all together, gave Battle to the *Danes*, ſlew great multitudes of them, with their Kings, and purſued the reſt to their Tents; but the Night following *Gothen*, *Baſcai*, *Osketil*, *Halfden* and *Hamond*, five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*. *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from ſeveral Parts, with Forces and Spoils, a great part of the *Engliſh* began to ſlink home. *Algar*, and thoſe Officers and Soldiers that were willing to run his Fortune, next Day ſtood in Order of Battle, facing the *Danes*, and ſuſtaining the brunt of their Aſſaults; but not being able to reſtrain his Men from purſuing their counterfeited Flight, by which they open'd and diſorder'd their Body, they fell into the Snare of their Enemies, ruſhing back upon them. *Algar* and his Captains, all reſolute Men, retreating to a Hill ſide, and killing ſuch as followed them, and many of their own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of ſlaughtered *Danes*, which they had made round about them. The *Danes* then marching further into the Country of the *Eaſt Angles*, overthrew Earl *Vulketul*, with his whole Army, and took up their Winter Quarters at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* aſſaulting them, was, with his whole Army, put to flight, himſelf bound to a Stake, ſhot to Death with Arrows, and his whole Country ſubdued.

The next Year, with great Supplies, they march'd towards the *Weſt Saxons*, the only remaining People, who had Strength or Courage enough left to oppoſe them. They came to *Reading*, and about three days after ſent out three Detachments of Horſe under two Earls to forrage the Country; but *Ethelwolf*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, encountred them at a Village call'd *Englefield*, ſlew one of their Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four days after came in the King himſelf and his Brother *Alfred*, with the main Body; and the *Danes* iſſuing out, a bloody Fight began, wherein Earl *Ethelwolf* loſt his Life, and the *Danes* kept their Ground. Four days after they came to another Conflict at *Aſhdown*; the *Danes* embattell'd in two great Bodies, led by their two Kings *Baſcai* and *Halfden*, and the other by ſuch Earls as were appointed. The *Engliſh* divided their Forces after the ſame Order. King *Ethelred* engag'd againſt their Kings, tho on the lower Ground. and coming from his Prayers, attack'd 'em with ſo much Courage, that *Baſcai* (the *Daniſh* Hiſtorians call him *Ivarus*, the Son of *Rignerus*)

Two other great Fights.

nerus) was slain. *Alfred* engag'd against the Earls, and making the Onset before his Brother came into the Field, charged them with so much Resolution, that most of the Earls were slain in the Shock, and the *Danes* turn'd their Backs, many thousands of them being cut off, and the rest pursued till Night overtook them.

About two Months after this, the King and his Brother fought the *Danes* again at *Mertun*, in two Bodies, as before; in which Engagement it is hard to say which had the Advantage of the Day; so darkly do the *Saxon* Annals deliver their Meaning. Yet these I take, (for *Asser* is silent) to be the ground and basis, upon which the Monks comment and gloss at their Pleasure. This Fight was followed by a dreadful Summer Plague. Of all these terrible Invasions of the *Danes*, from *Ethelwolf*, till their two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of their Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes or Earls, the *Danish* Histories of the best Reputation say nothing at all; so much Wit or little Conscience they had, to leave any Memory of their brutish, rather than manly Actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as was mention'd before, from *Asser*, from the *Danube*, rather than from *Denmark*, more probably some barbarous Nations of *Prussia* and *Livonia*, who had not long before seated themselves more Northward on the *Baltick Sea*. In a Fight near *Basing*, King *Ethelred* received the mortal Wound, whereof he dy'd at *Wittington* in 872, and was buried at *Wynburn* in *Dorsetshire*, with this Inscription.

The Danish *Annals imperfect.*

In hoc loco quiescit Corpus Sancti Ethelredi Regis West Saxonum, Martyris; qui Anno Domini 872- 23 *die Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Paganorum occubuit.*

King Alfred.

A.D. 872. Wilton *Fight.*

ALFRED, the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had scarce perform'd his Brother's Obsequies, and the Solemnity of his own Coronation, before in haste, and with a very small Force, he encounter'd the *Danes* whole Army at *Wilton*, wherein, for the greatest part of the Day, he put them to the worst; but unwarily following the pursuit, gave part of them Advantage to rally, who made themselves Masters of the Field. This Year, as is affirm'd

ffirm'd in the *Annals*, nine Battels were fought againſt he *Danes* on the South ſide of the River *Thames*, beides innumerable Excurſions made by *Alfred*, and oher Commanders. One King and nine Earls were ill'd; and now both ſides being weary, a League or ruce was concluded at the Years end. However, next ear the *Danes* took their march to *London*, now exoſed as a prey to Vulturs, and there they winter'd. The ext Year they roved back to the parts beyond *Humber*, ut winter'd at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the *Merians* a third time concluded a Peace with them; but his laſted no longer than till they had a mind to break t; for removing their Camp from *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyſhire*, and there winterng, they forc'd King *Burhed* to fly into Foreign Parts, making ſeizure of his Kingdom, and he, taking the direct way to *Rome*, with far better Reaſons than his Anceſtors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the *Engliſh* School. From *Rependune* they diſlodg'd to the River *Tine*, ſpoiling all before them, and three other of their Kings, *Cuthrun*, *Oskitel*, and *Andwynd*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and continued there a Twelvemonth. *Alfred* reſolving to try his Fortune that Summer with a Fleet at Sea, (for he had found that the want of Shipping, and the neglect of Navigation, had expoſed the Land to thoſe continual Pyracies) met with ſeven *Daniſh* Rovers, took one, but the reſt eſcap'd; for the *Engliſh*, at that time, were but little experienced in Sea Affairs. *Alfred*'s firſt motion in the following Year, was to meet the *Danes* at *Warham* Caſtle, where, either by Policy, or they ſuſpecting the greatneſs of his Army, he brought them to ſuch terms of Peace, that they ſwore to him upon a *Hallowed Bracelet*, forthwith to depart the Kingdom; but falſifying that Oath, by Night, with all the Horſe they had ſtole away to *Exeter*, and continued there all Winter. The *Daniſh* Fleet next Year plying about the Weſt, met with ſuch a Tempeſt near *Swanſwick*, as wracked 120 of their Ships, and left the reſt eaſie to be maſtered by thoſe Galleys which *Alfred* had ſet out to guard the Coaſt, and ſtreighten *Exeter* of Proviſions, while he was laying Siege to it. The loſs of the *Daniſh* Navy ſo mightily diſtreſs'd them, that they were willing to ſubmit to any Terms, gave him as many Hoſtages as he required, and ſwore all the Oaths they could invent to keep their Covenanted Peace, and were a little while true to their Pro-

The Danes drive out King Burhed.

They promiſe to be gone.

Promiſes; for Summer coming on, they departed into *Mercia*, part whereof they divided among themſelves, and left part to *Kelwolf* their ſubſtituted King.

After *Chriſtmas* following, all their Oaths they had ſwallowed being digeſted and forgotten, they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, depopulating the Country round about, diſpoſſeſſing ſome, and driving others beyond Sea. King *Alfred* himſelf with a ſmall Company, was forced to keep among the Woods and fenny Places, and for ſome time all alone ſojourned (as *Florent* ſaith) with *Dunwolf* a Swineherd, who for his great Devotion and Aptitude to Learning, was afterward made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The King about *Eaſter*, not deſpairing of his Affairs, built a Fortreſs call'd *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*, where he valiantly defended himſelf and his Followers, and ſometimes made very ſucceſsful Sallies upon his Enemies. Not long after he rode to a place called *Ecbryt-Stone*, in the Eaſt part of *Selwood*. Thither reſorted to him the *Somerſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire* Men, with many out of *Hampſhire*; with whom he marched to *Ethendune*, now *Edington* in *Wiltſhire*, gave Battle to the whole *Daniſh* Forces, put them to flight, and beſieging their Caſtle, took it in fourteen Days. *Malmsbury* writes, that in this time of his Receſs, he took upon him the habit of a Fiddler; by this means gaining Acceſs to the King's Table, and ſometimes to his Bed-chamber; and ſo got knowledge of their Secrets, their careleſs Encamping, and found a way to ſurprize them. The *Danes*, broken by this Misfortune, gave the King more Hoſtages, and renewed their Oaths to depart out of the Kingdom: Some of them performed their Covenants, and ſailed into *France*, and paſſed into *Flanders*, both which they entered, conquering and waſting the Country; inſomuch, that the *French* and *Flemings* were no more able than the *Engliſh*, by Proweſs or Policy, to prevent the *Daniſh* Inundation.

Alfred *beats the* Danes.

Alfred, thus rid of his Enemies, and intending for the future to prevent their Landing, three years after, with more Ships and better provided, put to Sea, and firſt meeting with four Ships of theirs, took them, and threw the Men overboard. Then he met with two others, wherein were two of their Princes, and took them alſo, but not without ſome loſs of his own. After three years, another Fleet of them appeared in theſe Seas, ſo numerous, that one part thought themſelves ſufficient to enter upon *Eaſt France*; the other came to *Rocheſter*, and be-

eſieged it; they within ſtoutly defending themſelves, till *Alfred*, with great Forces, coming down upon the *Danes*, drove them to their Ships, leaving for haſte all their Horſes behind them. *Alfred* ſpent the next Year in repairing *London*, much ruined and depopulated by the *Danes*. After thirteen Years reſpite of Peace, another *Daniſh* Fleet of two hundred and fifty Sail, from the Eaſt part of *France*, arriv'd at the Mouth of a River in *Eaſt Kent*, called *Limen*, near to the great Wood *Anred*, famous for length and breadth. Into that Wood they drew up their Ships, four Miles from the River's Mouth, and built a Fortreſs. After them, *Haeſten*, with another *Daniſh* Fleet of eighteen Ships, entred the Mouth of the *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a place called *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceiving their Intentions were to joyn the next Year, got together his Forces, and encamp'd ſo as to be ready to engage the firſt that ſhould ſtir out. In concluſion, marching up and down, both Armies met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*, and the *Danes* were put to flight. The next Year the Peſtilence raged extremely, and ſwept away abundance of People of all degrees and qualities; and in this Calamity, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *Eaſt Angles*, continually troubled the *Weſt Saxons*, eſpecially by Stealth, robbing on the South Shoar, in certain Gallies; but the King cauſing others to be built of his own Invention, which were higher, ſwifter, and ſteadier than thoſe in uſe with the *Danes*, he ſent ſome of them againſt ſix *Daniſh* Pyrates, which had done much damage in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, and parts adjoyning. The Fight betwixt them was ſmart and doubtful, partly on the Water, and partly on the Sands, not without the loſs of ſome eminent Men on both ſides. The Pyrates at length were either ſlain or taken; and being brought to *Wincheſter*, by the King's Command were executed. The ſame Year, not fewer than twenty of their Ships, and all the Mariners periſhed on the Sea Coaſts, toward the Southward of this Iſland. And *Rollo* the *Dane*, or *Norman*, landing here, as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* writes, tho' not in what part of the Iſland, after an unſucceſsful Fight againſt thoſe Forces which firſt oppoſed them, ſailed into *France*, and conquer'd that Country, which ſince that time has been called *Normandy*.

This is the Sum of what paſs'd in three Years againſt the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, ſet down ſo perplexedly by the *Saxon* Annaliſt, that ſometimes it can be

ſcarcely

scarcely understood, whether what is set down relates to the *Danes* or *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three Years of Peace, he liv'd after his usual manner, not idly or voluptuously, but in all Virtuous Employments, both of Body and Mind. He was of Person comlier than all his Brethren, of a pleasing Tongue, and a graceful Behaviour, ready Wit and Memory; yet, through the fondness of his Parents, towards him, had not been taught to read till the twentieth Year of his Age; but his great desire of Learning soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems Day and Night, which, with great Attention, he heard repeated by others. He was ingenious in every thing, but made all give Place to his Devotions. He thirsted after all Liberal Knowledge, and often complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, and in his middle Age, so little leisure from Wars, and the Cares of his Kingdom, that he could not make such a Progress in his Studies, as he much desir'd. However, he found leisure sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate what he could to his People, by Translating Books out of *Latin* into *English*, as *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda*'s History, and others; and would not suffer any unlearned Man to bear Office, either in Court, Church or Kingdom. At twenty Years of Age, before he was King, he took to Wife *Egelswitha*, Daughter of *Ethelred*, a *Mercian* Earl. From the time of his exercising Regal Authority, no Man more patient in hearing Causes, nor more exact in doing Justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant. He was severe in punishing unjust Judges, and obstinate Offenders, Thieves especially; so that Justice in his Reign, seem'd not only to flourish, but to triumph. No Man was more frugal of his Time and his Revenue, and no Man wiser in the Disposal of them. He was born at *Wanading*, now *Wantage*, in *Berkshire*, where anciently was a Mannor House of the Kings of *England*. He dyed in the Year 901. much lamented of his Subjects, and his Body was first buried at *Winchester*, next removed into the Church of the New Monastery, and lastly, his Body, Monument, Church, and Monastery, were all removed without the North Gate of the City, since called *Hide*.

Alfred's *Character.*

His Birth, Death and Burial.

The

King Edward *the Elder.*

EDWARD the Son of *Alfred*, ſucceeded his Father, who in Learning was much his Inferiour, but in Power and Extent of Dominion far exceeded his Father. The beginning of his Reign was greatly diſturb'd by *Ethelwald*, an Ambitious young Man, Son of the King's Uncle, or Couſin German or Brother, for his Genealogy is variouſly deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal Right of Succeſſion to the Crown with *Edward*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Wynburn* in *Dorſetſhire*, ſaying, There he would either live or dye; but being encompaſs'd with the King's Forces, his heart fail'd him, and he ſtole out by Night and fled to the *Daniſh* Army beyond *Humber*. The King ſent after him, but not overtaking the Fugitive, found his Wife in the Town, whom he married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be returned again to the ſame Place. About this time the *Kentiſh* Men fought with good Succeſs againſt a multitude of *Daniſh* Pyrates, at a Place called *Holme*. He alſo overcame the *Welſh*; but more by the Humility and Kindneſs he ſhew'd to their Prince *Leolyn*, than by Force of Arms; but yet he muſt not have all the Glory of his Time, ſome muſt be imparted to his Siſter *Elſtede*, who married to *Ethelred*, Earl of *Mercia*, and had a Daughter by him, but with ſuch grievous and intollerable Pains in her Labour, that ſhe refuſed her Husband's Bed for ever after, ſaying, *It was a fooliſh Pleaſure that was attended with ſuch exceſſive Pains*; and therefore after her Husband's Death, choſe to follow the Wars, aſſiſting her Brother againſt the *Welſh* and the *Danes*, whom ſhe brought to be at her own Diſpoſal. Dying, ſhe was buried at *Glouceſter*, in the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, which her Husband and herſelf had built. King *Edward* himſelf, after he had reign'd 24 Years, died at *Farrington* in *Berkſhire*, *Anno* 924, and was buried in the new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, which his Father and himſelf had wholly finiſhed. He had by three Wives, ſix Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his Eldeſt Son *Athelſtan* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grand-father King *Alfred*, Knighted with his own Hands, in an extraordinary manner. His ſecond Son *Alfred*, he loved ſo entirely that he cauſed him to be crowned King with himſelf, which yet he enjoy'd but a ſhort time, being early

A.D. 901.

His Succeſſes in War.

His Iſſue.

early taken away by Death. His third Son, *Elseward*, dy'd soon after his Father.

His fourth Son, *Edwyn*, out of Jealousy of State, was by his Brother *Athelstan*, put into a little Pinnace, without either Sail or Oars, and committed to the Mercy of the Sea, only accompanied by a Page; which so afflicted the young Prince with Grief and Sorrow, that he leapt over-board, and drowned himself. His fifth and sixth Sons, *Edmund* and *Eldred*, came in Succession to be both Kings of *England*. His Eldest Daughter, *Editha*, was married to *Sithric*, the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, and after his decease she entered into a Monastery, which she began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickshire*, and there ended her Days. His second Daughter *Elstede*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of *Ramsey*, in the County of *Southampton*, where she died, and was buried. His third Daughter, *Eugina*, was first married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*; and after his Decease, to *Herbert*, Earl of *Vermandois*.
A.D. 920. His fourth Daughter, *Ethelbred*, was profess'd a Nun in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was some time the Head Town, and gave Name to the whole Country of *Wiltshire*, anciently call'd *Edaldon*. So that we may perceive, that in those times of Religion, *when there was least Knowledge, there was most Devotion*. His fifth Daughter, *Edhold*, was married to *Hugh*, surnamed the *Great*, Earl of *Paris*, and Constable of *France*. *Edgith*, his sixth Daughter, was married to *Otho*, Emperor of the West. His seventh Daughter, *Elgina*, was married to a Duke of *Italy*; and his eighth Daughter, *Edigna*, to *Lewis*, Prince of *Aquitain* in *France*.

King Athelstan.

A.D. 924. ATHELSTAN, notwithstanding the Defect in his Birth, by being born of a Concubine, being of a full Age, and discovering many signs of a vertuous Inclination, was prefered to the Crown before his Legitimate Brethren, who were not at Years of Maturity. He was crown'd at *Kingston*, as *Malmsbury* says, according to his Father's Will; but not without some opposition from one *Alfred*, and his Accomplices, who being unwilling he

e ſhould reign, conſpired to ſeize him after his Father's death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conſpirators being diſcovered, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was ſent to *Rome*, to aſſert his Innocency before the Pope; where, taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediately, was carried out by his Servants, and died three Days after, to the Terror of all perjured Perſons. The King ordained many good Laws, relating as well to the Clergy as the Laity, among which one was the apprehending of Felons, that ſtole above Twelve pence, and were above Twelve Years of Age. Of this King there is one thing related, that ſeems ridiculous, and another that may ſeem miraculous. For, what can be more ridiculous, than that going to viſit the Tomb of St. *John of Beverly*, and having nothing elſe worth offering to the Saint, he preſented his Knife in Devotion to the Image? Yet the miraculous one is more apparent; for going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good Succeſs, he prayed alſo, that God would ſhow ſome ſign of his rightful Cauſe; and thereupon ſtriking with his Sword, he ſtruck it an Ell deep into a hard Stone, which remained ſo cloven a long time after; but whether this be true, or no, 'tis certain he obtain'd many great Victories againſt the *Danes*, the *Scotch*, the *Iriſh*, and againſt the *Welſh*, whoſe Princes he brought to be Tributaries to him, and to pay him yearly twenty Pound weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and five and twenty hundred Head of Cattle, beſides a certain number of Hawks and Hounds for his Recreation.

A. D. 924.

A dreadful Example.

Athelſtan's *Victories.*

He alſo took *Exeter* from the *Corniſh Britons*, who, till that time had equal Right there with the *Engliſh*, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *Britiſh* People are with the River *Wye*. Thus, dreaded of his Enemies, and renowned far and near, about three Years after he died at *Glouceſter*, and was buried with great Solemnity at *Malmsbury*, where he had laid his two Couſin Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelſtan*, who were ſlain in his Wars againſt the *Danes*. He was thirty Years old when he came to the Crown, of great Maturity in Wiſdom from his Childhood; ſo that *Alfred* his Grandfather in Bleſſing him, was wont to pray that he might live to enjoy the Kingdom, and therefore when he was but a Child, put him into a Soldier's Habit. He had his Education in his Aunt *Elſted*'s Court, of whoſe Virtues, more than Female, has been already related, which is ſufficient to prove that his Mother, though not a married

His Death and Character.

A.D.924. ried Wife, was of such a Parentage, that the Royal Line did not disdain to foster her Issue. His Sisters he gave in Marriage to the greatest Princes, *Egliff* to *Otho*, Son of *Henry* the Emperor; *Edgith* to a certain Duke about the *Alps*; *Edgrue* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, descended from *Charles the Great*; *Ethilda* to *Hugo*, King of *France*, who sent *Alduff*, Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all these great Allies, especially from the Emperor and King of *France*, came extraordinary rich Presents; Horses of an excellent Breed, Sumptuous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Vessels of Onyx, and other precious Things, to a great Value. The only Blemish left upon his Memory, was exposing his Brother *Edwyn*, who, by Oath disavow'd the Treason he was accused of, and desired a fair Hearing; but these were but Songs and Ballads, as the Author of them confesses; which add also, that *Athelstan*, when his Anger was over, repented of the Fact, and put his Cup-bearer to Death, who perswaded him to do it; which came to pass by a Word falling from the Cup-bearer's own Mouth, who slipped one Day with one Foot as he waited with the King's Cup, and recovering himself with the other, said aloud, and fatally, as it prov'd to him, *See how one Brother helps another*. Which words the King laying to Heart, and considering how ill he had done to make away his Brother, first reveng'd himself on him that advised him to it, and then enjoyn'd himself a seven Years Pennance; and, as *Matthew* of *Westminster* says, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant to this Day, among those of other *Saxon* Kings.

The Blemish of his Reign.

King Edmund.

A.D.940. EDMUND, at eighteen Years of Age, succeeded his Brother *Athelstan* (who was never married) a Prince of great Hopes and undoubted Valour; for in the second Year of his Reign he freed *Mercia* from the *Danes*, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Derby* and *Leicester*, where they were suffered to live by King *Edward*; but it seems they gave no good Proof of their Fedelity. *Simeon* writes, that *Anlaff* set-

ting

ing out from *York*, and having wasted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by King *Edmund* at *Leicester*; but before they came to Blows, a Peace was concluded betwixt them by the Mediation of *Otho* and *Wulstan*, the two Archbishops, with the Conversion of *Anlaff* to Christianity, and the Division of their Limits North and South by *Watling-street*. But Spiritual Kindred little availed to preserve the Peace betwixt them, for two Years after, we find him driving out *Anlaff* from *Northumberland*, and bringing the whole Country into his own Subjection. The next Year King *Edmund* harrassed *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Malcomb*, King of *Scots*, on condition that he should assist him by Sea and Land against the *Danes*: But the Year after, King *Edmund* himself by a strange Accident, came to an untimely Death, which happened after this manner: As he was Feasting among his Nobility on St *Austin*'s Day, at his Mannor of *Puckle Church* in *Gloucestershire*, to celebrate the Memory of the first Conversion of the *Saxons*; he 'spied *Leof*, a noted Thief, whom he had banished, sitting among his Guests, and being exceedingly transported with Anger, as he justly might, at such a view, he rose hastily from the Table, caught the Thief by the Hair, and pulled him to the ground. The Thief, who, from such rough handling, expected nothing less than Death, resolved not to die unrevenged, and thereupon gave the King a Mortal Wound in the Breast with a short Dagger. This was transacted in a Moment, before the Guests at the Table could turn them, or know what the Bustle meant; but when they saw the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the Murderer, and hewed him to pieces, who, like a wild Beast at a Bay, finding himself surrounded with Weapons, laid about him so desperately, that he wounded some others before he fell. The King was buried at *Glastenbury*, whereof at that time *Dunstan* was Abbot.

A. D 940. *His Victories.*

His Death, by whom, and how.

King Edred.

A.D.946. IN right of a lineal Succeſſion, the Eldeſt Son of *Edmund* ought to have ſucceeded to the Crown; but he being a Child, *Edred*, the third Brother of *Ethelſtan*, was Crown'd King at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, who degenerated in nothing from the celebrated Vertues of his Illuſtrious Anceſtors. *Northumberland* he totally ſubdued to his Obedience, and the *Scots*, without refuſal or delay, ſwore Allegiance to him. But the *Northumbrians*, who were always of doubtful Faith, and ſubject to change Maſters, elected one *Eric*, a *Dane*, to be their King; but *Edred* entering into *Northumberland*, and returning with Spoils, *Eric* fell upon his Rear; which *Edred* perceiving, ſoon ſhook him off, and preparing to make a ſecond Inroad, the *Northumbrians* rejected *Eric*, ſlew *Amancus*, the Son of *Anlaff*, and with many Preſents appeaſing *Edred*, re-ſubmitted to his Government. About this time, *Wulſtan*, Archbiſhop of *York*, being accuſed to have ſlain certain Men of *Thetford*, in revenge of their Abbot, whom the Townſmen had killed, was committed by the King to cloſe Cuſtody; but upon farther Conſideration, was enlarged and reſtored to his Biſhoprick. *Malmsbury* writes, that his Crime was, to have connived at the Revolt of his Countrymen; but the certainty is ſcarce known. This Prince was ſo devout and humble, that he ſubmitted his Body to be chaſtis'd, at the Will of *Dunſtan*, Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and committed all his Treaſure and Jewels to his Cuſtody. He made St. *German* in *Cornwal* a Biſhop's See; which continued ſo, till *Canutus* annexed it to the Epiſcopal See of *Kirton* in *Devonſhire*, both which Sees, *Edward* the Confeſſor tranſlated to the City of *Exeter*. He died in the Year 955. and was inter'd in the old Minſter without the City of *Wincheſter*; whoſe Bones, with other Kings, are to this Day preſerved in a gilt Coffer, fixed upon the Wall in the South ſide of the Quier. His Iſſue were *Elfrid* and *Bertfrid*.

The Archbiſhop of York *committed.*

King

King Edwin *or* Edwy.

EDWYN, the Son of *Edmund*, being now at Age, after his Unkle *Edred*'s Death, took upon him the Administration of the Government, and was Crown'd at *Kingston* by *Otho*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. His lovely Person firnam'd him the *Fair*: His Actions are diversly reported by *Huntingdon*, and not thought otherwise than worthy of Commendation; but *Malmsbury*, and such as write after his Copy, take the liberty of saying that he married, or kept as a Concubine, *Algiva*, his near Kings woman; and some add, that he kept both her and her Daughter for the same lewd purposes. They report him so inordinately given to his Pleasures, that on the very Day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with his Mistress, which so offended his Barons, that they sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest amongst them, to request his return. The Bishop entering the Chamber where they were, not only interrupted his Dalliance, and rebuked the Lady, but taking him by the Hand, between Force and Perswasion, brought him back to his Nobles. The King, highly displeased at this kindness, which he interpreted an Affront, and perhaps instigated by his Mistress, who had an absolute Power over him, not long after sent *Dunstan* into Banishment, rifled his Monastery, and stock'd it with married Priests, and became an utter Enemy to the whole Order of Monks. Hereupon, *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, pronounc'd a Separation or Divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which most nettled *William* of *Malmsbury* against him, was giving that Monastery to Secular Priests; or, to use his own Phrase, *made it a Stable of Clerks*: But at length these Indignities offered to the Church, were so resented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up his Brother *Edgar*, leaving to *Edmund* the *West Saxons* only; with Grief whereof, after four Years Reign, he ended his Life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hide* at *Winchester*. Mean while *Elffin*, Bishop of that Place, after the Death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*; and going the same Year to *Rome* for his Pall, was frozen to Death upon the *Alps*.

A.D. 955.

Edwin's *lewd Life, and Deposition.*

He is deposed, and dies.

King Edgar.

A.D.959. EDGAR, by his Brother's Death, being now King of all *England*, at sixteen Years of Age, called home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no War all his Reign, yet was always well prepared for it. He govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour and Prosperity; and from thence gain'd the name of Peaceable; highly extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Virtues. His Care and Wisdom was great in guarding the Sea Coasts with stout Ships, by which he wisely kept out Strangers, and prevented Foreign Wars; tho' by their too frequent Resort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their Vices unawares. Thence the People, says *Malmsbury* learnt of the Outlandish *Saxons* Rudeness, of the *Flemish* Daintiness and Softness; of the *Danes* the beastly Sin of Drunkenness. In Winter and Spring he usually rode the Circuit through all his Provinces, to see Justice equally administred, and the Poor not oppressed. Thieves and Robbers he almost rooted out of *England*, and wild Beasts of Prey altogether; enjoyning *Ludwall*, King of *Wales*, to pay him the yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves; which he did two Years together, till the third Year no more were to be found, nor never after. Whatever was the Cause, he was not Crown'd till the 30th Year of his Age, but then it was done at *Bath* with great Splendor and Magnificence, in the Feast of *Penticost*.

Edgar's Wisdom and Policy.

In the Year 974. one *Swaling*, a Monk of *Croyland*, died in the 142d Year of his Age; and another soon after him in the 115th, in that fenny and waterish Air; which makes it the more remarkable. The next Year King *Edgar* went to *Chester*, and thither summoned all the Kings that held of him, to do him Homage; by name *Kerid*, King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Maccuse* of the Isles, five Kings of *Wales*, *Dufwal*, *Huwal*, *Griffith*, *Jacob*, *Judethil*; and these he had in such awe, that going one Day into a Galley, he caused them to take each Man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he sat in State in the Stern, saying, 'That then his Successors might glory in being Kings of *England*, when 'they had such Honour done them'. And perhaps the Divine Power was displeased with him, for insulting and taking

Excess of Vanity and Pride.

taking too much Honour to himself, since we read that A.D. 955.
in the next Year, in the heighth of his Glory, and prime of his Age, he was taken out of this Life by Sickness. *Cambden*, in his description of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*'s, wherein appears, that all the Isles, as far as *Norway* were under his Obedience; and that he had subdued the greatest part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*; but of this other Authors make no mention.

In his Youth, having heard much of the Beauty of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar*, Duke of *Devonshire*, he sent Earl *Athelwold* to see her, that if she answer'd the Report, he might demand her in Marriage. He at first View liked her so extreamly, that he perfidiously courted her for himself, and with her Parents Consent obtained her. Returning therefore but with slender Commendations of her Features, he took off the King's Thoughts from any farther Prosecution of this Amour: But the Intrigue coming to light, and the King heated with the Abuse which his Favourite had put upon him, yet dissembling his Sense of his Injury, pleasantly told the Earl, that on such a Day he intended to visit him, and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his Welcome, but in the mean time bid his Wife deform her self, lest the King should be attracted. The Lady, that by this time was not ignorant how *Athelwold* had stept between her and the King, dresses her self against his coming, with all the Advantage that Art could give her, and it took effect: For, the King, being more inflamed with her Beauty, upon the sense of the Injury, in having so long been defrauded and robbed of her, resolved not only to recover his intercepted Right, but to punish the Interloper: And therefore appointing a Day of Hunting in *Harewood*, he drew him aside, and struck him through with a Dart, which gave him a Wound, of which he died immediately. Some censure this Act as cruel and tyrannical; but all Circumstances considered, I will only say, he must be a Man of extraordinary Patience and Perfection, that would not have done the like. The King, without delay, took *Elfrida* to Wife, who, to expiate her former Husband's Death, tho' she had no hand in it, covered the Place where his Blood was shed, with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. To say he had no other Faults, were to unman him, though it may be rather wondered he had so few, and so soon left, coming at Sixteen to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Virtues were so many and so ma-

A piece of Treachery.

The Revenge of Disloyalty

A.D. 959. ture, since he died before the Age wherein Wisdom in others does attain to any Ripeness. However, with him died all the *Saxon* Glory, for henceforwards is nothing heard of but their Declining and Ruin under a double Conquest.

King Edward *the Younger.*

A.D. 975. EDWARD the Eldest Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfleda* his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to Right, and his Father's Will, placed in the Throne; *Elfrida* his second Wife, and her Faction only repining, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred*, a Child of seven Years old, prefer'd before him; that she, under that pretence, might have governed the Kingdom. Mean while, Comets were seen in Heaven, portending not only Famine, which followed the next Year, but Troubles to the whole Realm; which not long after ensued. The Troubles began in *Edwin*'s Days, between Monks and Secular Priests, being now revived, drew the Nobles into Parties. *Elfere*, Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, being, as it was said, corrupted with Gifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had placed them, and filled the Convents with Secular Priests and their Wives. *Ethelwyn*, Duke of the East *Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, opposed them, and raising an Army, defended the East *Angles* from those Intruders. To appease these Tumults, a Synod was called at *Winchester*, and nothing being there concluded, a general Council, both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Caln* in *Wiltshire*; where, while the Dispute was hot, especially against *Dunstan*, the Room wherein they sat fell upon their Heads, killing some, maiming others. *Dunstan* only escaping upon a Beam that did not fall, and the King by reason of his tender Age. This Accident quieted the Controversy, and brought both the Parties to close with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while, the King addicted to a Religious Life, and being of a peaceable and quiet Temper, suffered all things to be carried according to the ambitious Will of his Step-mother, and her Son *Ethelred*, who were displeased that the Name of King was only wanting

New Commotions.

ng, and therefore plotted to take off King *Edward*; which ſhe accompliſhed after this manner. *Edward* one Day being wearied with Hunting, Thirſty and Alone, whilſt his Attendants followed the Game, hearing that *Ethelred* and his Mother lodged at *Corveſgate* (*Cambden* ſays, *Corfe* Caſtle in the Iſle of *Purbeck*) he went innocently thither: She welcom'd him with great pretence of Kindneſs, commanded Drink to be brought in, for it ſeems he did not light off his Horſe, and while he was drinking, cauſed one of her Servants, whom ſhe had before privately inſtructed, to ſtab him with a Poignard. The harmleſs, but unhappy young King, little expecting ſuch a Treatment, put Spurs to his Horſe and rode away; but fainting through loſs of much Blood, he fell from his Horſe, and one Foot hanging in the Stirrup, he was dragg'd up and down the Woods and Grounds, till in the end his Body was left Dead at the Gate of the Caſtle. He was firſt buried at *Warham*, and afterwards remov'd to the Minſter at *Shaftsbury*. He reign'd about three Years, and not long after the Place of his Burial grew famous for Miracles. *Elfrida*, the Murdereſs, at length repenting of the Fact, to extirpate her Guilt, and pacify his crying Blood, founded the Monaſteries of *Almsbury* and *Worwel*, in the laſt of which ſhe dy'd and was buried.

A.D.975.

King Edward *murder'd*

King Ethelred.

ETHELRED, like a Plant ill ſet, did not proſper long on the Ground, whoſe Entrance was in Blood; the Middle of his Reign Miſery, and the End Confuſion. *Dunſtan*, tho' very unwillingly, ſet his Crown upon his Head at *Kingſton*, preached there on that occaſion, and prophetically foretold the Calamities that would follow ſuch a barbarous Murther; ſaying, 'For that thou haſt 'aſpired to the Crown, by the Death of thy Brother, 'murdered by thy Mother: Thus ſaith the Lord, The 'Sword ſhall not depart from thy Houſe till the Kingdom be tranſmitted to a Stranger: Nor ſhall thy Sin, 'nor the Sin of thy ignominious Mother, with her 'Counſellors, be expiated but by a long and bloody 'Revengement. And this was ratified in the event, for the

A.D.978.

A.D.978. the Monarchy dropt to pieces, and was conquer'd b Foreign Nations, within the ſpace of fifty Years.

For the *Danes* having now been ſo long Inmates a mong the *Engliſh*, were ſpread all over *England*; an this opportunity of a young and ſlothful Prince, drew over ſuch multitudes of the ſame Nation, that all th Coaſts, and other Places, were made the open Roads fo Ruin and Deſtruction by their barbarous Inhumanities The *Saxons* had now ſubdued the *Britons*, and ap proach'd towards a ſettled Monarchy, without Suſpicio of the *Danes*, who pretended to live peaceably among them: But at length the *Danes* perceiving the Feud among the *Saxons*, as if pre-ordain'd to revenge th Injuries of the *Britons*, began with Blood and Slaughte to re-aſſault the *Saxons*, and drew over continually ſuc additional Forces to their Aſſiſtance, that the *Saxon* ſcarce knew where to make head againſt them; for i encountred in one Place, they aſſail'd another; inſo much, that *Ethelred* was conſtrain'd to buy his Peace a the Price of 10000 *l.* This, however, little avail'd him

The Original of DaneGelt

For the *Danes* finding the Benefit of this Market, rais' the Price almoſt every Year; and yet *Ethelred* never en joy'd what he bought, for the Land was ſtill inſulted, i one Place or other, by continual Invaſions and Spoils and impoveriſh'd both by War and theſe Taxations which were the firſt we find in our Annals that were eve laid upon the Kingdom; but were continued man Ages after, when the Cauſe was removed; and in th end became the only Remedy in the Kingdom's Dan gers, and its Prince's Avarice and Neceſſities.

This Compliance in *Ethelred* enlarg'd both the means and covetous Deſires of his Enemies; and at length *Swain*, King of *Denmark*, and *Aulafe*, King of *Norway* came over in Perſon to receive their Reward and Hire for committing Outrages againſt their Neighbours; and were both return'd with great Sums of Money; and *Aulafe*, the better natured Prince, with Baptiſm. To theſe Calamities from Abroad, were added Diſloyal-

Breach of Faith brings in Ruin.

ties, Breach of Faith, and want of Reſpect at Home, the uſual Attendants on a ſinking Fortune. The treacherous *Aelfrick* the Admiral, *Fran*, *Frithigiſt*, *Goodwin*, *Edrick*, *Turkettle*, the Navy and Land Forces were either diſcourag'd, or betray'd. *Wolnod*, a Nobleman, Outlaw'd for Miſdemeanours, made Depredations on the Coaſt. The general Defection of the Nobility is aſcrib'd (tho' it be cauſeleſsly) to the Pride of *Ethel-*

red

ed, who yet we find more Unfortunate than Weak; for the many desperate Battels he fought, the good Laws he made, and the Provisions he ordered to supply all important Occasions, evidently shew he was not much behind the best Princes, save only in his Fortune. Not long after the *Danes* taking *Southampton*, and many other of the best Towns, *Swain*, their King, returns to raise new Contributions and Bribes for committing Spoils and Bloodshed; 48000 Pounds were granted him in a General Assembly of the States held at *London*, for a Peace, or rather a Paction of Slavery, under the former No tion; but the breathing time scarce lasted a Year, when greater Occasions of mischiefs were given by a general Massacre of the *Danes*, contrived by the *Saxons*, and effected by the King's Command. A. D. 1022.

The Massacre of the Danes.

Hune, a great Commander in War at that time, suggested the Insolencies of the *Danes*, in violating the Wives and Daughters of Great Men, with many other intollerable Disorders, which gave them the Name of *Lord Danes*, which afterwatd became a word of Derision, signifying a *Lazy Lubber*. The King sent out a secret Commission; that on the Festival of St. *Bricius*, the 13th of *November* 1002. all the *Danes* should be massacred that liv'd among the *English*; which was executed with such Rigour, that in *Oxford* the *Danes* flying for Refuge into the Church of St. *Frideswide*, the *English* set the Church on Fire, and many of the *Danes* were burnt in it: And the sudden slaughter thro' the whole Kingdom in one Instant, shew'd the Concurrence of an inveterate Malice and Rancour, never to be conciliated between the two Nations.

Notice of these enormous Proceedings, were soon communicated to King *Swain*, who wanting neither Power nor Provocation, enter'd *England*; and this Wrong giving him a Pretence to Right, that had none before, and the People not being so willing to defend their ill Deeds as to commit them, they would rather give him Possession of their Country, than put him to the trouble of gaining it with his Sword. Therefore the greatest part of the Kingdom submitted to him, except the City of *London*, which *Ethelred* fortify'd; and in which the Citizens nobly resisted, till he left them, and fled into the *Isle of Wight*, and afterwards into *Normandy*, whither he had sent *Emma*, his Queen, with her two Sons *Alfrid* and *Edward*, from the Rage of the Tempest. Within two Months, *Ethelred* was recalled home by the People

Swain *wins* England.

He dies.

A. D. 1092. People of *England*, upon the Death of *Swain*, who was upon the Point of being Crown'd King, having taken Hoſtages and Oaths of Fealty; but dying ſuddenly, left his Son *Knute* to ſucceed, and accompliſh what he intended. *Ethelred* returning home, was ſoon furniſh'd with an Army, with which he encounters *Knute* in *Lindſey*, and drove him to Sea again; wherewith enrag'd, he miſerably mangled and diſmembred the Hoſtages, ſent them home, and himſelf, with the Spoils his Father and he had gotten, return'd to his Country, to make greater Preparations for the Proſecution of his Purpoſes. Within the Year *Knute* returns, lands at *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and all the Weſt Part ſubmits to his Obedience. Now *Ethelred* languiſhing in Mind and Body, *Edmund*, his Son, ſirnam'd *Ironſide*, to oppoſe South to South, was employ'd againſt this furious Invader.

King Edmund *Ironſide.*

A. D. 1016. UPON the Death of *Ethelred*, who reign'd thirty ſeven Years, *Knute* was choſen King by moſt of the Clergy and Nobility; but the City of *London*, with the reſt, elected *Edmund*, and furniſh'd him with an Army, with which, and his youthful Courage and Bravery, he won three conſiderable Battels in as many Months, and had obtain'd the fourth at *Eſſendon*, likely to have been the utter Extirpation of the *Danes*, if the falſe and diſloyal *Edrick* had not betray'd him, by withdrawing himſelf and his Forces to the Enemy. This fatal Battel loſt *England*, for here were ſlain the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry. From this Bloody Fight *Edmund* eſcapes to *Glouceſter*, where he ſoon recovered a new Army. And *Canutus* following, and both Armies ready to engage, they agreed to decide the Quarrel in a ſingle Combat, the Victor to enjoy all. This Combat for a Kingdom was fought in the *Iſle of Alney* near *Glouceſter*, by the River *Severn*; and after long and equal fighting, and finding each other worthy, at laſt they caſt away their Weapons, embrac'd and concluded a Peace, upon Terms that *England* ſhould be divided between them, and confirm'd it by Oath and Sacrament. *Edmund* being now but half a King, was, in few Days after, none, being trea-

The Combat in Alney.

reacherously murdered at *Oxford*, by the Procurement f the Traitor Duke *Edric*, who cauſed him to be thruſt nto the Body as he was eaſing Nature: There cutting ff his Head, in hopes to ingratiate himſelf with *Knute*, e preſents him with it, ſaying, 'All hail, thou now ſole Monarch of *England*; for behold, here is the Head of thy Co-partner, which, for thy ſake, I have adventured to cut off. To whom *Knute*, like a brave King, eply'd, 'That for this Service, the Murderer's Head ſhould be advanc'd above all the Peers of his Kingdom; and accordingly ordered his Head to be cut off, nd placed on the higheſt Gate of *London*. But ſome Writers affirm, that King *Edmund* died a natural Death t *London*, when he had reign'd ſeven Months, and that he was buried at *Glaſtenbury*. And ſo the other half of *England* was loſt to the *Daniſh Knute*, which he govern'd more juſtly than he gain'd it.

King Canute *or* Knute.

KNUTE having now got the abſolute Dominion of all *England*, he effected a more civil Life, and to convince the *Engliſh* that he was entirely theirs, he ſends away his Navy and Stipendiary Soldiers to their own Countries; which coſt the Land 83000 Pounds of Silver at once, rather than be peſter'd with them for ever: But the good Opinion he gain'd in this Act of Juſtice, he loſt by ſending *Edwyn* and *Edward*, the Sons of the late King *Edmund*, and *Edwyn*, his Brother, to whom, by Contract, belong'd a moiety of the Kingdom, to be baſely murder'd; tho' by Providence they were all preſerv'd. This Injuſtice he endeavour'd to attone for, by erecting Churches and Monaſteries, and performing many good Offices to his People, he became King of their Affections as well as their Country. Having thus eſtabliſh'd this mighty Kingdom, Occaſion provides him another. The People of *Norway* ſlighting their King, and conſpiring to depoſe him, grew into Factions, which he laid hold on, and with a great Army from *England*, conquers it; makes himſelf the moſt Renown'd and Potent Monarch in thoſe Parts of *Europe*, being entituled King of *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*: And was as like to have been the A. D. 1017.

Root

Root of a Succeſſion, ſpreading into many Illuſtrious Deſcents, as afterward did the *Norman*, having as large an Iſſue-Male as he, beſides he reign'd near as long, was far better belov'd, more bountiful in his Nature, of greater Power and Propenſity to do Good; but it was not his Fate, his Children miſcarried in the Succeſſion, and all this great Foundation fell, in a manner, with himſelf.

King Harold.

A. D. 1038

HAROLD, ſirnam'd *Harefoot*, the Eldeſt Son of *Knute*, ſucceeded King, the firſt Act of whoſe Reign, was the Baniſhment and ſeizing the Treaſure of his Step-mother Queen *Emma*; then putting out the Eyes of *Alfred*, her Son, his Competitor, and committing him to a loathſome Priſon, where he ended his Days: In which barbarous Act, Earl *Goodwin* is ſtain'd with the diſhonourable Epithet of betraying him. Queen *Emma* greatly ſorrowing for the loſs of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately, with ſome of the Nobles who were her faithful Adherents, into *Flanders*, and by that Earl had *Bruges* aſſign'd for her dwelling; wherein having remain'd about two Years, ſhe was viſited by her Son *Hardeknute* from *Denmark*. He had not long remain'd with her there, but *Harold* in *England* having done nothnig worthy of Memory, ſave the Taxing of every Port at Eight Marks of Silver to ſixteen Ships, died in *London*, ſome ſay at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Winchester*. After which, moſt of the Nobility, both *Danes* and *Engliſh*, now agreeing, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Hardeknute*, ſtill at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to come and receive the Crown of *England* as his rightful Inheritance: who, before *Midſummer*, came with ſixty Ships, and many Soldiers, out of *Denmark* into *England*.

A. D. 1041.

King Hardeknute.

AS *Harold* was sirnamed *Harefoot*, for the swiftness of his Running, so *Hardeknute*, for his Intemperance, might be nam'd *Swines-Mouth*, for he delighted in nothing but Gormandizing and Swilling. He began his Reign with the degenerate Act of Revenge, causing the Body of the late King to be Distomb'd, the Head cut off, and thrown into the *Thames*; which being found by a Fisherman, was buried in the Church-yard of St. *Clements Danes*. The Government he committed to the Care of his Mother Queen *Emma*, and the politick Earl of *Kent*, *Goodwin*, who finding the King's Negligence and Weakness, began himself to aspire after the Crown; and therefore thought, by all Methods, to alienate the Hearts of the Subjects from their Prince. But this King had soon the Reward of his Intemperance, for in a solemn Assembly and Banquet at *Lambeth*, Revelling and Carowsing, he suddenly fell down dead, after he had reign'd only two Years, and was buried at *Winchester*. His Death was so welcome to his Subjects, that the Day was commonly celebrated with Pastimes, and call'd *Hogs-Tide*, signifying Scorn and Contempt. With this King ended the Government of the *Danes* in *England*, having only continued Six and twenty Years, under the late Kings, tho' they had harrassed the Kingdom, by times, for the space of Two hundred and forty Years in the whole. So that the *Danish* Power, which could not at first be resisted, at length expired of it self, leaving *England* a King of her own: *Denmark* in Civil Discord about the Succession, and *Norway* returning in Obedience to a Son of *Olave*, recovered their Quiet, and King of their own Nation.

A Day call'd Hogs Tide, *and why.*

King Edward *the Confessor.*

A. D. 1042.

EDWARD, the Son of *Ethelred*, was sent for out of *Normandy*, upon the Death of *Hardeknute*; and by the whole Estates of the Kingdom, was elected King of *England*, and crown'd at *Winchester* by *Edsine*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ann.* 1042. being about forty Years of

of Age. The Kingdom, as having dearly paid for the Admission of Strangers, oblig'd him not to bring any *Normans* with him. The first Act he did, was remission of *Dane Gelt*, imposed by his Father, which, for forty Years past, had amounted to forty thousand Pounds a Year. He was a Prince renown'd for Piety, and fit for no other time than the calm one he enjoy'd. He had no Warlike Disturbances, but in his sixth Year, from some *Danish* Pyrates that infested the Port of *Sandwich*, and the adjacent Coast; and a few Irish Pyrates that enter'd the *Severn*. His Domestick Troubles came only from Earl *Goodwin*, and his Sons, who yet, after many Contests and Affronts, were reconciled, and *Goodwin* receiv'd into as much Favour as formerly. But though King *Edward* forgave his Treasons, Heaven, it seems, would not remit them; for dining with the King on *Easter Sunday*, he was stricken with Death, and died the *Thursday* following, and was buried at *Winchester*. Some render his Death more ominous, and say, as he was clearing himself from the Death of Prince *Alfred*, he wish'd, if he were concern'd in it, he might never swallow a bit of Bread more; and there, by the just Judgment of God, was choak'd by the next Morsel he attempted to eat. Two things are related of this King, which is no way correspondent with the Opinion of his Sanctity: The first was concerning his Mother Queen *Emma*, whom he dispossess'd of all her Goods, and commited her a Prisoner to the Abby of *Warwick*; and more than this, he so far hearken'd to an Aspersion cast upon her of unchaste Familiarity with *Alwyn*, Bishop of *Winchester*, that for her Purgation she was forc'd to pass the Fire *Ordeal*, which was to be perform'd in this manner: Nine Plow-shares red hot were laid in unequal distances, over which she must pass Barefoot and Blindfold; and if she pass'd them unhurt, then she was judg'd to be Innocent, if otherwise, Guilty. And this Tryal she underwent, and came off untouch'd, to the great Astonishment of all the Beholders. The other concerning his Wife, was this: He had married *Edytha* the beautiful and indeed virtuous Daughter of Earl *Goodwin*; and because he had taken Displeasure against the Father, he would shew no kindness to the Daughter: He made her his Wife, but conversed not with her as a Wife, only at Board, but not at Bed, or if at Bed, no otherwise than *David* with *Abishag*, and yet was contented to hear her accused of Incontinency, whereof, if she was Guilty, he

Dane Gelt *remitted.*

A severe Judgment

King Edward's Saintship question'd.

he could not be Innocent. So as what the Virtues were, or which after his Death, she should be reputed a Saint, does not easily appear. It seems he was Chaste, but not without Injury to his Wife; Pious, but not without Ingratitude to his Mother; Just in his present Government, but not without neglect of Posterity: For through his want of Prudence in that Point, he left the Crown to such doubtful Succession, that soon after his Decease, it was translated out of *English* into *French*, and the Kingdom made Servile to a Fourth Foreign Nation. One Ability he is said to have had, which raised him above the Pitch of ordinary Kings, and yet at this Day is pretended to by other Monarchs, that by his Touch only, he cured the Disease, which is now called the *Kings Evil*. His Mother Queen *Emma*, in remembrance of the Nine Plowshares she had passed in her Tryal, gave nine Manors to the Minster at *Winchester*; and himself remembring the Injury he had done her, bestowed on the same Place the Island of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, being about seven Miles in compass. He made also of a little Monastery a most beautiful Church called *Westminster*, where he provided his own Sepulchre, and another Church dedicated to St *Margaret*, standing without the Abbey. This of *Westminster* he endowed with many rich Revenues, and confirmed his Grants under his Broad Seal, he being the first of the Kings of *England*, who made use of that large and stately Impression in their Charters and Patents: He also founded the College of St. *Mary Ottery* in *Devonshire*, and removed the Bishops See from *Cridington* to *Exeter*: And when he had reigned twenty two Years and six Months, ended his Life on the 4th of *January*, in that Room of his Palace at *Westminster*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber*, in the Year 1065. and was buried in the Church at *Westminster*, which he built.

King Harold *the Second.*

HAROLD, the Son of Earl *Goodwin*, was the next Day prefer'd to the Crown, whether by any Title he might pretend to it from the *Danish* King, or by meer Election of the greater part of the Nobility, we cannot say; but it seems the pressing Necessity of the times, which re-

A D. 1065. required more than an ordinary Man to undergo th Burden of War, and the Troubles which the World w like to fall into, by different Claims to the Crown, ca it ſuddenly upon him, as the propereſt Man in th Kingdom, by his Perſonal Merits and Alliance to defe it. Nor did he fail (but in Fortune) to anſwer the e pectations of all Men in this Election, and acted like Politick and Active Prince; but having to do in pe plexed and broken Times, where the Affections of Me were all disjointed, or daſh'd with the Terror of a proaching Evils, he ſoon found more than enough to m nage: His Brother *Touſtain* gave him the firſt Diſturban in his new Government, ſet on by the Duke of *Norman* and the Earl of *Flanders*. He firſt attacks the *Iſle of Wigh* then the Coaſts of *Kent*; and being driven from thenc procures Aid of Foreign Princes, and marches into th Heart of the Kingdom. Near *Stanford Bridge* in *Yor ſhire*, King *Harold* met with a potent Army, and afte a long and ſharp Encounter, ended the Day with Victo ry, and the Death of his Brother *Touſtain*, and the Kin of *Norway*,

A great Fight.

William *the* Norman.

From hence he was called with his weary and broke Forces to a more fatal Buſineſs in the South; for no *William* Duke of *Normandy*, pretending a Right to th Crown of *England*, by the Will and Teſtament of th late King *Edward*, was landed at *Pevenſey* in *Suſſex* near to which Place was fought the great Battel betwee the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Nations. A Battel the moſt me morable of all others; and though moſt miſerably loſt yet moſt nobly fought on the part of *England*; and th many Wounds of *Harold*, killed in that Fight, wit 60974 *Engliſh*, ſhew how much was attempted to ſav their Country from the Calamity of a Foreign Serv tude.

Diſorder cauſes Ruin.

And yet, how ſo great a Kingdom as *England* the was, could with one Blow be ſubdued by ſo ſmall a Pro vince as *Normandy*, is very unaccountable, and can b aſcribed to nothing elſe, beſides God's Deſign in Puniſh ing us for Sin; but the Security of the People, freed from their former Enemy the *Danes*, and by a continued Peace of fifty Years, grown negligent in Arms, debauch'd with Luxury and Idleneſs: The Clergy Licentious, and content with a tumultuary Learning: The Nobility given to Gluttony, Effeminacy and Oppreſſion: The common ſort to Drunkenneſs and Diſorder: And ſome ſay *Harold* was grown inſolent upon his Succeſs at *Stan-*

ford



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JAN



WILLIAM
The Conqueror. 1.

ord, kept the Plunder of the Field to himself, and gave one of it to his Soldiers; that this made them discontented and unruly; and coming to the Battel with many Mercenary Troops, gave occasion to the deplorable loss that attended such concurring causes. Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar way of Fighting with long Bows, which the *English* being Strangers to, tended much to their disadvantage; and yet their own Writers report, that the main Batalia of the *English* consisting of Bills, their ancient Weapons, held so entirely together in a Body close lock'd, that no Force could dissolve them, till the *Normans* feigning to flee, drew them into disorder; and so they excuse the Fortune of the Day. A. D. 1065.

The Body of King *Harold*, after long search, was found among heaps of the Dead, and at the request of his Mother, leave was given to bury it in *Waltham Abbey*, which himself had founded after he had reign'd nine Months only. He was a King whose Life acquaints us with nothing but Misery and Trouble. His Reign was the shortest, but lost more than any other. He left behind him four Sons, *Goodwin*, *Edmund*, *Magnus* and *Wolf*: The two Eldest after the Battel fled into *Ireland*, and from thence made some ineffectual Attempts upon the Western Coasts of *England*. And here ended the Line of the *Saxon* Kings, about five hundred Years after the first coming in of *Hengist*. Thus in the straitest course that the uneven and dark Traces of Antiquity could direct me, I have got over the wide and intricate Passes of former Times, to what is more principally intended. *King* Harold's *Death and the end of the* Saxon *Line of Kings.*

The Life and Reign of William *the First.*

THere were six Dukes of *Normandy* successively in a right Line; the first was *Rollo* the *Dane*, who wrested it from *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*: The second was *William* his Son, call'd *Longue Espee*, *Long Sword*: The third was *Richard* his Son, call'd the *Hardy*: The fourth was *Richard* the Second his Son, call'd the *Good*: The fifth was *Richard* the Third his Son, who by a first Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*. *Richard* succeeding by the name of *Richard* the Fourth, and dying without Issue, the Dukedom descended

cended to *Robert* his ſecond Son by the firſt Venter; which *Robert* was Father of our *William* the Firſt, of whom it is thus reported: That riding Abroad, he paſſed by a Company of Country Maids that were Dancing, and was ſo taken with the graceful Carriage of one of them, whoſe Name was *Herlotto* or *Arlotte*, a Skinner's Daughter (from whence, as ſome conjecture, the word *Harlot* came) that Affection commanding him, and Authority her, ſhe was brought that Night to his Bed, and Ten Months after it appear'd, that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; ſo that he was, as Sir *William Temple* ſays, the Iſſue of a ſudden and ſtrong Inclination, like a noble Plant raiſed in a hot Bed, which gave it ſuch Force and Vigour, as made it proſper and grow to ſo great a height. His Intellectuals were at leaſt equal to his other natural Advantages: And Baſtardy being in thoſe Days no bar to Succeſſion, his Father declared him his Succeſſor; which through many Troubles he kept, and left them to his Poſterity. No Prince ever came ſo early into the Cares and Thorns of a Crown, nor felt them longer engaged in Difficulties and Toils, in Hardſhips and Dangers; his Life expoſed to the Arms of Enemies, and the Plots of Aſſaſſines; his Reign embroil'd by the Revolts of his Subjects, the Invaſions of his Neighbours; and his whole Life, tho' very long, ſpent in the neceſſary and dangerous Defence of his own Title and Dominions, or in the Ambitious Deſigns of acquiring greater: Yet none ever ſurmounted with greater Conſtancy of Mind, Prudence of Conduct, and Felicity of Fortune; by all which he ſeems to have been born rather a great Prince, than a happy Man.

Alterations of Cuſtoms and Manners.

By this Revolution, wherein the State of *England* received an Alteration of Laws, Cuſtoms, Faſhion, manner of Living and Language, and generally an Innovation in all things but Religion, we are to begin with a new Account of *England*, more in Dominion Abroad, more in State and Power at Home, and of greater Honour and Name in the World than heretofore, and in that Reſpect we have gained by our Loſs: For before this time the *Engliſh* made no Excurſions into Foreign Countries, but were buſied at home in a divided State, held a ſhatter'd Government with the *Danes*, and were of little or no regard with other Nations; but the *Normans* having more of the Sun and Civility, by mixing with the *Engliſh*, begat more commodious Cuſtoms; and being free from that ſottiſh, dull Diſeaſe of Drinking,

ng, which was introduced by their former Invaders, A. D. 1067.
nduced them to be more temperate, and to have a Sense of Honour and Reputation, to build Churches, stately Houses, enclose Parks, and erect Towers, Forts and Castles. And tho' the Body of our Language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it became so alter'd by the Habit of the *French* Tongue, as now we know it not in its ancient Dialect. The *Normans* were a People that issued out of *Norway* and *Denmark*, which, by their promiscuous Copulation, without any Restriction by the Law of Marriage, yielded such a Surcharge of People, that they were forc'd to unburden themselves on other Countries, wheresoever their Force and Violence could make them room. By this means *Raoul*, *Rou*, or *Rollo*, committed great spoil in *France*, and compell'd *Charles* the Simple to buy his Peace, with the Price of an Alliance, and the whole Country of *Neustria*, which of the *Normans* was afterwards call'd *Normandy*; from this People was our *William* the First descended, who, having won the great Battel near *Hastings* afore mention'd, marched without opposition towards *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercland*, were endeavouring to set up *Edgar Atheling*, the right Heir of the Crown, whereto the rest of the Nobility had consented, if they had not found the Bishops wavering, who, at all times, were for any King (so a Christian) that would support their Interest; and hearing the *Norman* was a great Benefactor to the Church, they promoted his Pretensions: After this, the Nobility considering that it was a Folly to deny him to be King, that was able to make himself one, they all strove who should be the first to throw themselves into Servitude to a Foreign Nation; and the Commons, either corrupted with new Hopes, or transported with Fear, forsook themselves and their distressed Country. At his Approach to *London*, the Gates were all set open, and *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the other Bishops, Nobility, Gentry, Magistrates and People, yielded themselves in Obedience to him, and he returning them plausible Protestations of the Goodness of his future Government was, on *Christmas-day* following, taking the customary Oaths, crown'd King at *Westminster*, by *Aldred*, Archbishop of *York*, upon some Defect in the Investiture of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* Thro' all the Ceremonies at his Coronation he waved his pretence to Conquest, and as a regular Prince, submitted to the Orders of the Kingdom,

The Normans, *what they were.*

The Duke of Normandy *marches toward* London.

He is Crown'd King.

A. D. 1068. dom, and prefer'd his Teſtamentory Title (how weak ſoever) to juſtify his Succeſſion rather than the Sword; and tho' the Flattery of after times gave him the Stile of *Conqueror*, he neither aſſum'd, nor approv'd it.

Goes into Normandy. Next Spring, taking Hoſtages for his Security, he return'd to ſettle his Affairs in *Normandy*, and during his Abſence, which was all the Summer, there was no Diſturbance in *England*: but only that *Edric*, ſirnam'd the *Foreſter*, calling in the *Welſh Kings* to his Aid, forag'd the remote Borders of *Herefordſhire*. King *William* having diſpoſed his Affairs in *Normandy*, returns into *England*, and now finds he has enough to do to pleaſe the Adventurers, his own People, and the *Engliſh*, by whom he muſt now ſubſiſt; for conſidering all Rewards muſt riſe out of the Stock of this Kingdom, which would be a Grievance to the State in general, and that all Preferments and Dignities to be confer'd, muſt be by diſplacing others; yet he carried it ſo indifferently, that we find no great Men put out, but ſuch as thruſt themſelves out, by revolting after they had ſworn Fealty to him; as appears in the Controverſy between *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn Caſtle* in *Norfolk*; which Caſtle the King having given to *Warren*, yet when *Sherburn* alledg'd that he never bore Arms againſt him, and was in Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate by a Law of the King's making, the King gave Judgment againſt *Warren*, and quieted *Sherburn* in the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate. So he dealt otherwiſe, rewarding his Friends and Followers, with the Eſtates of thoſe that were ſlain in the Battel, which were many; or fled, as many did, with the Sons of *Harold*, out of the Kingdom. Others he ſent to reſide in Abbeys while Places fell, who eaſed the Eye-ſore of the *Engliſh* againſt Strangers, and were Spies over the Clergy, who having great Power, might prevail with the People to raiſe new Commotions. This Action bred the firſt unkindneſs of the Clergy towards him, and being followed by other Strains of the ſame nature, left an Impoſition upon his Memory of Hardſhip and Cruelty; for the Monks being the only Writers of thoſe Times, have left a Tincture of their Paſſions upon all the Actions of the firſt Kings of the *Norman* Race, and painted their Vertues or Vices in fairer or fouler Colours, according to the Ideas they had formed of them, and their ſeveral Diſpoſitions or Actions, in Favour or Prejudice of the Church, that is, of Eccleſiaſtical

Returns into England.

Rewards his Followers.

stical Persons or Privileges. Such an Authority have learned Writers always claim'd, to pass definitive Sentences upon the Memories of the greatest Princes in the vulgar Opinion of Posterity. And, no doubt, but the invidious Name of Conqueror, which the King so carefully avoided, was entail'd upon him by these his inveterate Enemies, and continued ever since as a traditional; tho' unwaried Custom. A. D. 1068.

The English *Nobility fly the Kingdom.*

However, the *English* Nobility finding a disproportion in the King's Favour, and a Dimunition of their Estates, which must be impaired to reward so many Expectants, some fled into *Scotland*, others into *Denmark*, to try, if by Aid from Abroad, they could recover themselves and their Estates at Home. Among which the chief were *Edgar Atheling*, called *England*'s Darling, which shewed the People's respect to his Blood, who, with his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Sisters *Margaret* and *Christian*, intending to retire into *Hungary*, their Native Country, were, by Tempest, driven on the Coast of *Scotland*, where King *Malcomb*, the Third, gave them an Hospitable Entertainment, as thinking himself concerned to foster a Party against such a violent Intruder as King *William* was, who aim'd at dispossessing them all; and therefore to contract a firm League for the publick Safety, he takes to Wife *Margaret*, Sister of *Edgar*, a Lady bless'd with all Virtues, by whom the Blood of our ancient Kings was preserved, and conjoyn'd with the *Norman* in *Henry* the Second, and so became *English* again. Several of the Nobility and Clergy repaired to *Edgar*, and in the third Year of this King's Reign, raised great Commotions in the *North*; but not being attempted before the Settlement, while things were new, and out of Order, they prevailed nothing, but gave this King an opportunity with greater Weights to keep them down; for all unsuccessful Conspiracies, advance and strengthen the Sovereignty, and the revolted *English* Nobilities Estates, furnished the *Normans* with Desires and Means to ruin them. The Tumults in the West being appeased, King *William* takes a Journey in Person into the North with all Expedition, least the Enemies Success against his Brother, and *Robert*, Earl of *Mortain*, in slaying seven hundred *Normans* near *Durham*, should give them too much Courage. At his first coming he either dishearten'd or corrupted the Generals of the *Danish* Forces, that were sent by King *Swayne* to assist *Edgar*'s Party, and then fell upon the Army of

Malcolm *marries* Edgar's *Sister.*

King William *marches into the* North

A. D. 1074. the Lords, and put them to flight: Then deſolates all the goodly Country between *York* and *Durham*, the ſpace of ſixty Miles, that it might no more be a Refuge, or Succour to the Enemy; the like he did to the Sea Coaſts, where there were Coveniencies of Landing for Invaſions, and then returns to *London*.

Waſtes the Country.

After this Defeat, many of the Lords came in upon publick Faith, and upon their Submiſſion, and retaking the Oaths of Allegiance, were pardon'd and reſtor'd; but it was not long e're many of them, out of new Hopes from Prince *Edgar*, or finding ill Peformance of Promiſes made them, break out again; but the King, who never delay'd time in growing Dangers, beſets the Iſle of *Ely*, (which ſome of them had fortify'd) with flat bottom'd Boats on the Eaſt; made a Bridge two Miles long on the Weſt, and ſafely landed his Men upon the Enemy; who finding themſelves ſurpriz'd, all yielded to the King's Mercy, except the Lord *Hareward*, who deſperately march'd thro the *Fens*, and recovered *Scotland*; the reſt were ſent to divers Priſons, where they died, or remain'd during the King's Life. But thoſe Lords that continued Loyal upon this laſt Submiſſion, were all prefer'd and belov'd, eſpecially *Waltheof*, Son of Earl *Syward*, whom he married to his Niece *Judith*, tho' he had been a principal Actor in the Northern Commotions; and in defending *York* againſt him, is ſaid to have cut off the Heads of divers *Normans*, one by one, as they entered the Breach; ſhewing in this Reward, a true Sign of a brave and noble Mind, in loving Virtue in his greateſt Enemy.

His Kindneſs to his Enemies.

'Tis not agreed at what time the *Daniſh* Fleet arriv'd upon the Coaſts, but 'tis certain they enter'd *Humber* with about two hundred Sail. Some write that they return'd again without making any Attempt upon the Shoar; that their Commanders were enrich'd with great Preſents from the King, and their Soldiers ſupplied with Proviſions, and all treated rather like Friends than Enemies: Whether their arrival out of time made them deſpair of any Succeſs; and whether that was occaſion'd by croſs Winds at Sea, or croſs Purpoſes in the *Daniſh* Court, is not well known; for King *William*, after he was ſeated in the Throne, feared no Inſults from Abroad, but by *Daniſh* Powers and Pretenſions, which they ſtill had upon *England*; and the Preparations, as was divulged Abroad, of *Swayn* their King, intending to invade it, with a Navy of a Thouſand Ships. Hereupon he endeavour'd

deavour'd to ward this Blow, by Slight rather than by Force, thinking his Safety on that ſide better purchas'd with Treaſure than with Blood. He kept private Intelligences in the *Daniſh* Court, and by Force of Preſents and Penſions, gain'd to his Devotion ſome Perſons of Credit, and among the reſt *Edelbert*, Archbiſhop of *Hamburgh*, a Man of great Authority in thoſe Parts, and whoſe Advices were much relied upon, and eſteem'd by the *Daniſh* King. It was believ'd the Artifices and Practices of theſe Men eluded the firſt great Deſign of a mighty Invaſion, chang'd it into an Aſſiſtance of the Diſcontented here, with ſmaller Forces delay'd them till the time was paſt, and diſpoſed their Commanders to return without Action, and their Maſters to receive their Excuſes with Approbation, or at leaſt with Impunity. Yet there are other Writers, who ſay, the *Danes* landed in *England*, made great Spoils, joyn'd Prince *Edgar*'s Forces, winter'd in this Kingdom, and return'd in the Spring by the King's private Practices and Rewards among the Commanders, as well as Bounty to the Soldiers. A. D. 1074.

The King renews his Oath.

The King, after having eſtabliſhed his Affairs in the North, returned triumphant to *London*, where the firſt Action he performed, was to take a new Perſonal Oath before *Lanfranc*, the new Archbiſhop, and all the Lords then preſent in that City. *To obſerve the ancient Laws of the Realm, eſtabliſhed by the Kings of* England, *particularly thoſe of* Edward *the Confeſſor* This Action of the King's was the more applauded, and the better accepted by the *Engliſh*, becauſe it was unconſtrained by any Neceſſity of his Affairs, or appearance of any new Dangers, againſt which he might have reaſon to provide. And 'tis certain his Oath taken at his Coronation, for preſerving the Ancient Laws of the Realm, had been the chief occaſion of his Safety in the late and dangerous Convulſion of the State, together with the ill choſen time of the *Scotch* Invaſion, and the Revolt of the Lords in favour of Prince *Edgar* : For if ſuch Attempts had been made ſoon after his Invaſion, while the Minds of the People were generally in motion, and in fear of what might ſucceed to the danger of their Property, and their Ancient Liberties, upon that new Revolution, his Throne had not only been ſhaken, but in evident danger of being overthrown by ſuch a violent Concuſſion. But the People having lived quietly ſome Years under the Protection of their Ancient

Laws

A. D. 1074. Laws, and in an equal course of known and common Justice, grew indifferent to the change that had been made in the Rights or Succession of the Crown, or to any new one that might succeed. Besides, tho' they were well affected to *Edgar*, yet they disliked the Company with which he came attended, and hated the Entrance of a *Scotch* Army into *England*, more than they loved *Edgar*. They thought if he succeeded, the Dominion would fall under the *Scots*, whilst he only retained the Name; and if they must be govern'd by Strangers, the best was to have those that they were already used to, and so less feared: The common Subjects of a Kingdom seldom troubling themselves about the Rights and Possessions of the Crown, as they do about their own; and seldom engage in the Quarrels of the first, but upon some general and strong Apprehensions that the last are in danger; which shews, that the Safety of the Prince is never so well establish'd upon any other Bottom, as upon the common Safety of his Subjects.

The cause of Edgar's *ill success.*

Scotland being now the Nursery and Place of Retreat for all Fugitives and Conspirators, King *William* marches into that Kingdom with a powerful Army; but encountring there nothing but Hungar, Cold and Necessities, instead of Armed Forces, and both Kings considering the Difficulties attending the Victor, they concluded a Peace with Indemnity to all Offenders. Hereupon Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted to the King then in *Normandy*; was restored to his Favour and a Maintenance, which kept him ever after in quiet. And it made well at that time on the King's part, as well as for his own Fortune, being thought to have ill timed his Affairs in making that Submission too soon, which ought to have been done later, or never. For, in the King's Absence, there was a Conspiracy formed by *Fitz Auber*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Ralph Waber*, Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *Eustace*, Earl of *Bulloign*, Earl *Waltheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and keep out and dispossess King *William*; which, if it had not been opportunely discovered, they had put him into capacity of winning all *England*. But the Fire was discovered by the Smoak, before it flamed out; and was soon extinguished by the diligence of *Odo*, the King's Vicegerent, and others, who kept the Conspirators from joyning their Forces; so that they could make no Head but were all surprized and executed, or forced to fly the Country.

Prince Edgar *submits.* 1076.

1077. *The Conspirators defeated.*

These

These were all the Wars he had within the Kingdom, saving that in the 13th Year of his Reign, he subdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there to do him Homage. A. D. 1079.

His first War abroad was raised by his own Son *Robert*, whom he left Lieutenant Governour of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and County of *Maine*; who, tasting of the sweets of Command, and aspiring at the Soveraignty, causes the Barons to homage him as Duke, leagues with the King of *France*, runs into extravagant Expences, and to support them, harrasses his Subjects, which constrained the Estates of *Normandy*, to complain to his Father. The King understanding that the Fire began in his own House, that put others into Combustion, hastens with his Forces into *Normandy*, in hopes to surprize his Son; but he, advised of his coming, and furnish'd with 2000 Soldiers by the King of *France*, lay in Ambush, where of Necessity his Father must pass, sets upon him, defeats his Troops, and in the Pursuit happened to encounter with his Father himself, whom he unhors'd and wounded in his Arm with his Lance; but perceiving by his Voice it was his Father, and stung with the Conscience of his Crime, he speedily remounted him, humbly craving Pardon for his Defence; which the Father (seeing in what danger he was in) granted him, and upon his Submission, took him with him to *Rouen*, and after being cured of his Wound, returned with his Son *William* into *England*. Not long after *Robert* rebelled a second time, but seeing his Father's Preparations when he landed at *Bourdeaux*, he submitted, was pardoned, and his Father brought him into *England* with him, and employ'd him in the hard and necessitous Wars of *Scotland*; and those being over, sent him in Commission, equally join'd with his younger Son *Henry*, to the Government of *Normandy*.

His Son Robert *Rebels.*

Wounds his Father. 1081.

Submits.

After the two Princes had been in *Normandy* a while, they visited the King of *France* at *Constance*; and *Henry* winning much Money of *Lewis*, the King's Eldest Son, at Chess, he grew into Choler, called him the Son of a Bastard, and threw the Chess men in his Face. *Henry* draws Blood of *Lewis* with the Chess board, and had killed him, if *Robert* had not interposed; whereupon they immediately took Horse, and recovered *Pontoise* before the King's Messengers could overtake them. This Quarrel laid the Foundation of a War between the *English* and *French*, in which after much loss to the *French*, a crazy Peace is concluded; which lasted no longer

1082. *A Quarrel*

War began

A. D. 1082. longer than King *William* had recovered a Sickneſs, which he fell into by his late Fatigue, Age, and Corpulency, at which time the King of *France*, then young and luſty, jeſting upon his great Belly, ſaying, he lay in at *Rouen*, ſo irritated him, that he enters *France* with his beſt Army, and ſpoiled all in his way to *Paris*, where the King then was, to whom he gave notice of his Upſitting, and from thence marches to *Mantes*, which he ſack'd, and deſtroying it, catch'd his own Death, by the ſtrain of his Horſe among the Breaches, and was from thence convey'd Sick to *Rouen*, where he ſoon ended his Life, *September* 9. 1087. in the 64th Year of his Age, and 21ſt of his Reign.

King William's *Death.*

1087.

His Government, in time of Peace, was according to the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſor, ſo called, not that he made them, but collected them out of the *Mercian*, *Dane*, and *Weſt Saxon Law*, which continued a while to pleaſe the People; and tho' there might be ſome Veins iſſuing from former Originals, yet the Stream of our Common Law came from *Normandy*, notwithſtanding all Objections that can be urged to the contrary. This Alteration of the Laws, cauſed great Complaints and Grievances among the *Engliſh*, ſeeing themſelves under a Neceſſity of learning the *French* Tongue, into which, and *Latin*, all their Laws were tranſlated, which otherwiſe they had a ſtrong Averſion to: And notwithſtanding the former Invaſion of the *Danes*, and now of the *Normans*, who enjoin'd Children to be brought up in the knowledge of the *French* Tongue, yet the Body of the Nation ſtill remained *Engliſh*; inſtead of the *Engliſh* learning *French*, the *French* were neceſſitated, in a ſhort time, after King *William*'s Death, to learn *Engliſh*, and we have no other Mark remaining of our ſubjection to *Normandy*, but only that the Laws ſpeak *French* to us ſtill in *England*. Their Tryals in Caſes Criminal, was by *Ordeal*: Men of Note were allowed Compurgation by their own Oaths, or of two or three others. They had alſo their Tryals by *Camp Fights*, or *Single Combats*; but all theſe at length fell into Diſuſe, were abrogated by the Pope, and all Actions, both Criminal and Real, were judged by the Verdict of twelve Men, according to the Cuſtom of *Normandy*. But whatever Innovations there were in other things, thoſe for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, were continued as before, eſpecially the *Borrough Law*, whereby every Freeman of the Commons, were Sureties for each other's

His Laws and Government.

Tryals.

Juries.

other's Behaviours; the due Execution of which Law, is the ſtrongeſt Cement to our *Engliſh* Government. To this were added, diſarming the Commons, preventing their Night-Meetings, under heavy Penalties: That every Houſe-keeper at the cloſing in of the Day, ſhould cover up his Fire, and go to reſt: erecting divers Forteſſes in convenient Places through the Kingdom; beſtowing all Offices of Command and Judicature upon his own Creatures, which model'd his Government into ſuch a Frame as he would have it. He confined the Clergy within their own Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, without intermeddling in Secular Affairs, and appointed Judges, Times, and Places for deciding Controverſies, that the Litigans as from the boſom of the Prince, might receive Juſtice, from whom there was no Appeal. Others he appointed for the Puniſhing Malefactors, called (*Juſticiarii Pacis*) Juſtices of the Peace. A. D. 1086.

Our Anceſtors had only two kinds of Tenures, *Book-Land* and *Folk Land*: the one a Poſſeſſion by Writing, the other without. That by Writing was Freehold by Charter, Hereditary, belonging to the nobler ſort. The unwritten, was held at the Will of the Lord, bound to Rent and Services from the rural People. *Kent* had granted to it the Tenure called *Gavel kind*, *Gif-cal-kin*, at the inſtance of *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who by aſſembling a multitude of *Kentiſh* Men, who had concealed themſelves in a Wood, by carrying every Man a great Bough of a Tree in his Hand, they obſtructed the King's Paſſage to *Dover*, and gain'd their Rights on this manner. As ſoon as they ſaw the *Norman* Troops, and the Duke at the Head of them, within their Danger, the *Kentiſh* Men began on a ſudden to march like a moving Wood, till approaching the *Normans*, they threw down their Boughs, and diſcovered on all ſides a Multitude of brave armed Men, ready to charge the *Normans*, that ſtood ſurprized and amazed at the ſtrangeneſs of the Sight; which appeared as if a Wood, by ſome Inchantment, had been transform'd into an Army: But the *Kentiſh* Men approaching made a Halt, and ſent the Abbot of St. *Auſtins* to tell the Duke, that all the Men of that Province were there aſſembled, to defend their Country and their Liberties, or to ſell their Lives at the deareſt rate they could. But if he would ſwear to preſerve them in their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, under which they and their Anceſtors had ſo long liv'd; they were all ready to lay down their Arms, and be-

The Kentiſh *Stratagem.*

A. D. 1087. become his Subjects; if not, he must prepare to fight with Men, that had resolv'd to lose their Lives, rather than their Liberties and Laws. The Duke, finding he was too far advanc'd to joyn the Body of his Army, before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his Fortunes and hopes against such numerous Bands, as these appeared, and of so desperate Men, granted to all the Inhabitants of the County of *Kent*, the Preservation and free Enjoyment of all their Ancient Laws and Customs under the *Saxons* Reign: Swore the Observance of his Grant, received their homage, and so pursued his March to *Dover*. And by this means obtaining their Rights to which many other material Considerations might be added, quite destroy'd his Right of being a Conqueror. At his first Accession to the Crown, those *English* that had first forfeited their Estates by being in any Rebellion, were in *Villanage* to their Lords, miserably oppress'd and cast out of any Possessions they had acquired since they forfeited; but upon their Petitioning for Redress of this Grievance from their Lords, the King ordained by an inviolable Law, whatever the *English* had obtained of their Lords, by Service or Compact, they should hold to them and their Heirs for ever.

English *Privileges confirmed.*

The Kings Revenues. After the settling the Government by Laws, he regulated his Revenues by a general Survey of the Kingdom, whereof he had a Precedent from the *Dome* Book of *Winchester*, taken by King *Alfred*. Commissioners were appointed to take the Particulars of his own, and every Man's Possession, the nature and quality of their Lands, Estates and Abilities, with the Descriptions, Bounds, and Divisions of Shires and Hundreds; and these were registred in one Book, and brought into his Treasury, then newly named the Exchequer, before called *Talee*, and was called the *Dome* Book, *Liber Judiciarius*, and now is kept in the Exchequer.

New Forest in Hampshire. All the Forests and Chases in the Kingdom he seized into his own Possession, to serve as *Penetralia Regum*, the withdrawing Chambers of the Kings for Recreations after serious Labours in the State. Of these he encreased the number through the whole Kingdom, and in the South West Parts, dispeopled the Country above thirty Miles, to make a new Forest; and by inflicting severe Penalties, for hunting his Deer, advanced his Revenues: An Act of the greatest Concussion and Tyranny he was guilty of in his whole Reign and begot him much hatred. This Practice continued almost in every

Reign

Reign, till the Grievance was mitigated by the *Charter of Foreſts* granted by *Henry* the Third. Beſides what aroſe by the Breach of *Foreſt Laws*, he laid an Impoſition of two Shillings upon every Hide, or Plough-Land, which was to be uſed but upon extraordinary Emergencies of State, and was ſeldom gather'd in his, or his Succeſſor's Reign, though our Annals ſhew us a Tax of ſix Shillings upon every Head-Land, preſently after the Survey was made, *Eſcuage* was a ſum of Money taken for every Knight's Fee, which alſo was ſeldom collected but upon great occaſions. He laid a Mulct upon every hundred where a *Norman* ſhould be found Slain, of ſix and twenty Pounds, to deter the *Engliſh* from killing them. His proviſionary Revenues were continued according to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors. The King's Tenants paid him no Money at all, but only Wheat, Beeves, Muttons, Hay, Oats, *&c.* in proportion to what they held of the Crown. Ready Money was none paid, but what was raiſed by Fines, and out of the Agriculture of Cities and Caſtles not uſually till'd. What the Church yielded him, was by a ſtretch of his Power, which was never practiſed till that time; ſeizing the Plate, Jewels and Treaſure within all the Monaſteries in *England*, pretending the Rebels convey'd them thither to defraud him. Beſides this, he made all Biſhopricks and Abbeys that held Baronies, contributary to his Wars, and other occaſions: And this may be the Reaſon, why they, who at that time were the only Maſters of the Pens, that tranſmitted the Memories of Kings to Poſterity, have laid ſuch indelible Blots upon his Name, as guilty of Rigour, Oppreſſion and barbarous Inhumanities, as they have done; whereas the Nature and Neceſſary diſpoſition of his Affairs, might very much excuſe him.

A. D. 1087.

Eſcuage what.

Impoſitions on the Church.

How he was aſſiſted in his great Concerns by an able Miniſtry, Time has depriv'd us of the knowledge of many of them; tho 'tis a certain Rule, that the moſt renowned Princes are always beſt ſtored with able Counſellors. Thoſe of higheſt Note, were *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, *Landfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Fitz Auber*, Earl of *Hereford*. *Odo* having heap'd together abundance of Money, and being ſuſpected to have a deſign upon the Crown after King *William*'s Death, he was impriſon'd; the King excuſing it to the Church, that he did not impriſon the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, but the Earl of *Kent*, an Officer and

His Miniſtry.

Ac-

A. D. 1087. Accomptant to him. This Biſhop was very envious againſt *Landfranc*, a Man of as univerſal Goodneſs as Learning, born in *Lombardy*, and who came hither a Stranger to do Good to *England*, by his mild and beneficial Counſels, which the King much relyed upon. *William Fitz-Aubur*, was a great Inſtrument in this Enterprize upon *England*; but his profuſe Expences gave him little Credit with the King in point of Government; and aiming at ſomething higher in *Flanders*, in an Encounter againſt *Robert le Friſon*, was ſurprized and ſlain. Thus it was the Fate of *William* the Firſt, to ſee moſt of the great Men that had been Companions in his Fortunes, extinct before him, as *Beaumont Montfort*, *Hugh de Gourney*, *Viſcount Neale*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, *Count de Vannes*, &c.

King William's *Character.* He was a Prince well proportion'd in his Limbs, a comely Perſonage, of a Majeſtick Preſence, riding, ſitting or ſtanding, till his Corpulency encreaſing with his Age, made him ſomewhat unweildy. His Mind may be read in his Actions, and ſhews his Abilities of Nature were correſpondent to his Enterprizes, as if ordained for the great Work he effected. His Devotion and Clemency, the brighteſt Stars in the Sphere of Majeſty, are more luminous than all his other Virtues. The firſt is confeſs'd by the Clergy, who lov'd him not; the other was conſpicuous in pardoning and receiving into Favour, thoſe who rebelled againſt him. There was but one Nobleman executed in his Reign, Earl *Waltheof*, who had twice falſified his Faith before; and thoſe he held Priſoners in *Normandy*, he releaſed a little before his Death. He was as far from Suſpicion as Cowardice. He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeys of Monks in *Normandy*, and one of Nuns. And in this Reign, tho' troubleſome and unſettled, were Founded by him and others 21 Abbeys and Nunneries, of the (*a*) *Benedictine*, (*b*) 9 of

(*a*) Hurley *and* Wallingford, Berks; Helenſlow, Bedfordſhire; Michaels Mount, Cornwal; Sherborn, Dorſet; Earl Coln, Eſſex; Wintney *and* Andover, Hampſhire; Herford *and* Belvoir, Leiceſterſhire; Stratford, Bow, Middleſex; Tinmouth, Northumberland; Blith, Nottinghamſhire; Shrewsbury, Dunſter, Somerſetſhire; Eye, Suffolk: Battle, Suſſex, Weſtbury *and* Mitocen, Worceſterſhire; Selby, Yorkſhire; Hitchingbrooke.

(*b*) 9 of *Black Canons*, (*c*) 7 of the *Cluniack* Order, and (*d*) 11 *Alien* Priories. A. D. 1087.

Maurice, Biſhop of *London*, after the former was burnt, built the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*. In the fifteenth Year of his Reign, *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *York*, firſt built the *Minſter* at *York*. In this King's ſixteenth Year, his Brother Duke *Robert*, being ſent againſt the *Scots*, built a Fort, where now ſtands *Newcaſtle upon Tine*. In the ſame Reign, *Leaes* Caſtle in *Kent* was built by *Creveken*, and the Caſtle at *Oxford*, by *Rober d' Oylic*, two Noblemen that came into *England* with him; and *Oſmund*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, built the new Church there.

He was Magnificent in his Feſtivals, which were celebrated with great Solemnity and Ceremony, and which are the common Supporters of Reverence and Reſpect; keeping uſually his *Chriſtmas* at *Glouceſter*, his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, and his *Whitſuntide* at *Weſtminſter*, whither he ſummoned his whole Nobility, that Ambaſſadors and Strangers might ſee his State and Grandeur. And at thoſe times eſpecially his Deportment was affable and entertaining, without any mixture of a moroſe Humour.

King *William* left Iſſue by *Maud*, Daughter of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*; *Robert*, his Eldeſt Son, *Richard*, his ſecond Son, who was mortally hurt by the Bough of an Hazel Tree, as he was Hunting in *New Foreſt*, before he arrived to the Years of Marriage or Knighthood; *William*, commonly called *Rufus*, who ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*, by his laſt Will and Teſtament: *Henry*, who after the Death of his Brother *William*, was King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*; he had given him by his Father only five thouſand Pounds in Money; *Cicely*, his Eldeſt Daughter, who lived and died a Nun, *Conſtance* married to *Alin*

(*b*) Biſſemede, Bedford; *St.* Giles, Cambridge; Thremhal, Eſſex; Canterbury *and* Herbaldown, Kent; Walſinghani, Norfolk; *St.* Georges, Oxford; *St.* Leonards, York; Chacomb, Northamptonſhire. (*c*) Barnſtaple, Devonſhire; Weſt Acre, Norfolk; Northampton, Wenlock, Shropſhire, Turbury, Staffordſhire; Bermonſey, Surry; Lewes, Suſſex; (*d*) Frampton, Dorſet; Paunceſield *and* Horſely, Eſſex; Dereſturſt, Glouceſterſhire. Covenham, Lincolnſhire; Godcliff. Monmouthſhire; Sele *and* Stayning, Suſſex; Monk Kirby, Warwickſhire, Swanzy, Cambridgſhire; *and* Catisbrock *in the* Iſle of Wight.

A. D. 1087. *Tergant*, or the Red Earl of *Britain*, who died without Iſſue; *Adeliſa*, or *Alice*, his third Daughter, who died a Virgin; *Adela*, who was married to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by whom ſhe had four Sons; and *Agatha*, who died a Virgin.

The Life and Reign of William *the Second, called* Rufus.

William the Second, Son of *William* the Firſt, without ſtaying to attend his Father's Funeral, haſtes into *England* to poſſeſs himſelf of the Crown, where, by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his own Bounty and large Promiſes, he obtained it, according to his Father's Will, to whom, by his Obſequiouſneſs, he had much endeared himſelf, eſpecially after the Abdication of his Elder Brother *Robert*. But tho' he had thus quietly put on the Crown, he muſt not expect to wear it ſo; for having not the Succeſſion in Right of Primogeniture, his Elder Brother *Robert* prepares to take it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine to aſſiſt him in it. The firſt Mover of theſe Troubles was *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, his Unkle, who finding himſelf not inveſted with the Authority he expected, and bearing an old Grudge to *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he draws many other Biſhops and Temporal Lords to joyn with him, on behalf of Duke *Robert* againſt the King. The Storm was violent for a time, but ſoon blew over: That of the Lords with more Difficulty; but that of his Brother with more Coſt: For it was at laſt agreed, that *Rufus* ſhould pay him three thouſand Marks a year, and leave him the Kingdom after his own Deceaſe; but there was Difficulty at firſt in overcoming the Rebel Lords, till the King, by undermining his Enemies, and gaining the *Engliſh* by a Relaxation of their Taxes and reſtoring them to their former Freedom of *Hunting* in all his Woods and Foreſts, a Privilege they highly valued, he made them ſo entirely his own, that he ſoon ruined all the *Norman* Conſpiracies; for the *Engliſh* being eager to revenge themſelves on the *Normans*, they quickly overthrew them, and now firſt learned to beat their Conquerors, and ſpared not to cut the Throats of many

Duke Robert *raiſes Commotions.*

A. D. 1088.

The Engliſh *beat the* Normans.



WILLIAM
Rufus
2.



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many of them upon every light occaſion. Thus this great Rebellion was ſuppreſſed, happy for the *Engliſh*: For the Rebel Lords and Biſhops being all *Normans*, the King had none to truſt to but the *Engliſh*, whom, for their faithfulneſs to him in this Service, he ever after reſpected more than he had done formerly. A. D. 1088.

To prevent the like dangers for the future, *Rufus* tranſports his Forces into *Normandy*, to waſte and weaken his Brother in his own Territories, and prevailed ſo effectually againſt him, that Duke *Robert* ſought Aid of the King of *France*, who comes with an Army into *Normandy*, but blinded with King *William*'s Money, did the Duke no kindneſs, but after they had ſhewed themſelves retired. This drove Duke *Robert* to a diſhonourable Peace, concluded at *Caen* under theſe Articles 'Firſt, 1089. 'That King *William* ſhould hold the Country of *Eu*, *Feſcampe*, and all other Places which he had bought of the Earl of *Eu*. 2dly, He ſhould aſſiſt the Duke in recovering other Places which belonged to his Father, and were uſurped from the Dutchy. 3dly, That ſuch *Normans* as had loſt their Eſtates in *England*, by taking part with the Duke, ſhould be reſtored. 4thly, That the Survivor of either of them ſhould ſucceed in the Dominions, both of *England* and *Normandy*. *A Peace concluded.*

Theſe two Brothers thus agreed, they both unite againſt their Brother *Henry*, and having reduced him to the laſt extremity, they concluded a Peace with him, *That he ſhould hold in Mortgage the Country of* Coutantine, *till the Money Duke* Robert *owed him was paid.* After this King *William* brought his Brother Duke *Robert* with him into *England*, and took him along with him in an Expedition againſt *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, who had encroached upon his Territories during his abſence; which being determined without Blows, *Robert* returns diſcontented into *Normandy*, and as it ſeems without Money to ſatisfy his Brother *Henry*: who, repairing to *Rouen* at a day appointed inſtead of receiving it, was committed to Priſon, and before he could be releaſed, was forced to renounce the Country of *Coutantine*, and ſwear never to claim any thing in *Normandy*.

Henry complains of this Injuſtice to *Philip* King of *France*, who gave him a Princely Entertainment in his own Court, where he continued not long before *Hacard* a Knight of *Normandy*, put him into the Caſtle of *Dampfront*, whereby he ſhortly after got all the Country of *Paſſays*, and a good part of *Coutantine*, by the ſe- 1093. *Injuſtice done to* Henry.

A. D. 1091. cret assistance of King *William*, *Richard de Rivieres*, and *Roger de Marneville*. Hereupon Duke *Robert* levies Forces, and strives to recover *Dompfront*, but finding *Henry* was supported by his Brother King *William*, exclaims against him, insomuch that the Flame of War broke out again in a greater degree than ever. King *William* passes over with an Army, many Skirmishes passed between them; but in the end a Treaty of Peace was propounded, and, on hard Conditions on the Duke's side, was concluded. The King's Affairs at home were not very prosperous, for the uncertain Wars with *Wales* and *Scotland*, gave him more trouble than Honour, being driven in the one to encounter with barren Mountains instead of Men, to the great loss and disadvantage of his Army, and in the other with extream Want and Necessities; neither of which was quelled but with great Expence of Blood and Treasure. And no sooner was this Trouble over; but a Conspiracy breaks out within the Body of the Kingdom, plotted by *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William d'Ou*, and many others who sought to destroy the King, and advance *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, his Aunt's Son to the Crown. This gave the Kingdom more Trouble than Danger; for by the speedy Prosecution of that Affair, it was soon ended with the Confusion of the Conspirators; but it wrought an ill effect upon the King's Nature, and so addicted him to rigorous Courses, that Cruely was reckoned among his Incurable Diseases. The Earl was commited to *Windsor* Castle, *William d'Ou* being overcome in a Duel, (then the Course of Tryal) had his Eyes put out, and his Privy Members cut off. *William d'Averick*, his Sewer, and Allied to him, was condemn'd to be hang'd, tho' in his Confession to *Osmund* the Bishop there, and to all the People as he passed to Execution, he left a clear Opinion of his Innocency and the Wrong he had done him by the King.

1094. *War with Wales and Scotland.*

1095.

King William addicted to Cruelty.

AD. 1096 *The Holy War.* These Troubles at Home were encreased by irreparable Breaches from Abroad, and the King had no longer quiet than the Attempters pleased. All the Christian World were at Discord among themselves, by the Schisms of the Church, till Pope *Urban* Assembling a general Council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, to compose the Affairs of *Christendom*, exhorted all the Princes thereto to joyn in Action for the Recovery of the *Holy Land* out of the Hands of *Infidels*. Which motion, by the zealous Negotiation of *Peter* the Hermite of *Amiens*, took

universally, as turned all that Flame, which otherwise had consumed each other at Home, upon unknown Nations Abroad. So great was the Heat of this Enterprize, on Persuasions of the Justice and Glory of it here, and the Assurance of Heaven hereafter, that it made many Princes sell their Estates, leave their dear Countries; and drew to this War three hundred thousand Men; all which, tho' in Arms, passed thro' divers Countries with that quietness, that they seemed rather Pilgrims than Soldiers. This Humour was kept up, notwithstanding all Discouragements, almost three hundred Years, till it consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the bravest Men of our Western World, and especially *France*: For in *Germany*, and *Italy*, those who were the Pope's Friends were kept at home by Dispensation, to assist the Pope against the Emperor, over whom, by this means, he at length prevailed; and the *Holy War* had no better effect in the consequence, than to teach Christian Princes, by knowing each others Weaknesses, to ravage and conquer one another. A. D. 1096.

This War begun in *Asia*, eased King *William* of an elder Brother, and a Competitor in *England*; and to equip *Robert* for this Expedition, put him upon exacting Supplies from his People, especially the Clergy, being the first King that gave his Successors the ill Precedent of keeping Ecclesiastical Promotions in his own Hands, and receiving the Profits of them himself, as he did that of *Canterbury* four years after the Death of *Lanfranc*, and had kept it longer, if a dangerous Sickness, of which this Act was assigned to be the Cause, had not perswaded him to supply the Vacancy with *Anselm*, an *Italian* born, who through his own stiffness, and the King standing upon his Regality, never enjoyed it quietly under him. Between these two began the Contest about the Investiture of Bishops, which gave great Molestations to his Successors. *Anselm* not yielding to the King's Will, forsook the Land; the King re-assumed his Bishoprick, and held it in his Hands at one time, besides that of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester*, *Sarum*, and Eleven Abbeys, of which he received all the Profits, to the great Displeasure of the People. He likewise sold all Spiritual Preferments to his best *Chapmen*; took Fines of Priests for Fornication; vexed *Robert Bluet*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, in Suit, till he extorted from him Five thousand Pounds. Of the Converted *Jews* he took Money to renounce Christianity, ma-

King William's *exactions.*

Profusion is always exacting, and even in want.

A. D. 1099. making more Advantage of their Apoſtacy than of their Converſion. He ſet Informers upon his People, and for ſmall Offences loaded them with heavy Penalties; and yet, ſuch was his Profuſion, he always was in extream Want of Money.

News being ſuddenly brought him as he was Hunting, that *Mans* was taken, and all *Normandy* in danger, he asks thoſe about him which way *Mans* lay, and being ſhewed by a *Norman*, he immediately turns his Horſe to that Coaſt, and rides on with Speed, ſaying, *Thoſe that Love me, will follow me*; and coming to embark at *Dartmouth*, the Mariners told him the Weather was rough, and there was no paſſing without imminent Danger. *Piſh*, ſays he, *put to Sea, I never heard of a King that was drowned.* By break of Day he arrived at *Harfleur*. Earl *de la Fleſche*, who had taken *Mans*, having more Right than Power, after many Skirmiſhes was by Stratagem brought Priſoner to *Roven*; where more enraged than diſmaid at his Fortune, he ſaid, *That if he had not been taken with a Wile, he would have left the King but little Land on that ſide the Water*, which being told the King, he ſet him at Liberty, and bid him go his way and do his worſt, which ſo overcame the Earl, that they quickly compoſed the Difference between them. The King return'd into *England* with great Joy, always bringing better Fortune out of *Normandy*, than from any of his Northern Expeditions; magnificently Feaſts his Nobility at his new Hall lately finiſhed at *Weſtminſter*, with which he found great fault for being built too little, ſaying *It was fitter for a Chamber, than for a King of* England, and lays a Plat for one far more ſpacious to be added to it. In this Gaiety of State and Grandieur he enjoyed the Pleaſure of Peace, till being a Hunting with his Brother *Henry* in *New Forreſt*, Sir *Walter Tirrel*, a *Norman*, and his Kinſman, ſhooting at a Deer, (whether miſtaking his Mark or not, is uncertain) ſhot him to the Heart, and killed him, in the 43d Year of his Age, when he had reigned about Twelve Years. A Prince that for the two firſt Years of his Reign, while he was adviſed by that excellent Stateſman and Councellor *Lanfranc*, and reſtrained by his own Fears and Dangers, comported himſelf like a wiſe and good King, and had continued regular in the State, if he had not endeavoured to be abſolute in Power, which meeting with an exorbitant Will, too often makes both Prince and People miſerable. His Body

King William *killed.* A. D. 1100.

was



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HENRY I.

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was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Swithin* in *Winchester*, in the Quire, under a Marble Stone, till afterwards it was translated and laid by *Canutus*'s Bones. In his Reign were founded fifteen Abbeys and Nunneries of the (*a*) *Benedictines*, and two of the (*b*) *Cluniack* Order; four of (*c*) *Black Canons*, or *Canon* regular of St. *Austin*, and six (*d*) *Alien Priories*, besides the Hospital of St. *John* of *Jerusalem* at *Clerkenwel*. A. D. 1100.

(*a*) Luffield, Bucks; Armthwait *and* Wetheral, Comberland; Exeter, Devonshire; Colchester, Essex; Ewias, Herefordshire; Hampsted, Hertfordshire; Canterbury; Lin *and* Yarmouth, Norfolk; Weden, Northamptonshire; York Pr. St. Mary's. York, Hakeness *and* Richmond, Yorkshire. (*b*) Newport, Daventre, Bucks. (*c*) Wigmore *and* Haghmon, Shropshire; Jaworth Brisete. (*d*) Monkenlane, Hereford; Lancaster; Abergaveny, Monmouthshire; Blakenham *and* Creting, Suffolk; Wilmington, Sussex.

The Life and Reign of Henry *the First.*

HENRY, the youngest Son of *William* the First, being at hand, and born in *England* at *Selby* in *Yorkshire*, which conduced much to his Advancement, was Elected and Crowned King of *England*, within four days after his Brother's Death; it being industriously spread, that *Robert*, who should have succeeded *William*, was chosen King of *Jerusalem*; therefore, to settle King *Henry* in the Possession of the Crown, all possible expedition was used, lest the Report of Duke *Robert*'s returning from the Holy Wars, (being then in *Apulia* coming homeward) might be noised abroad to the prejudice of *Henry*, who being called *Beau Clerk*, a good Scholar, made the People very willing to receive him for their King. In the first Exercise of his Government, he, like his Predecessor, took care to strengthen the Subjection of his People, but with more Moderation and Advice, as being better Learned at *Cambridge*, and also inured to Sufferings Abroad, and therefore first supplies

His Moderation at first.

A. D. 1100. plies the Eccleſiaſtical Vacancies with Learned Men; re-calls *Anſelm* to his Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*; and the Laiety he not only pleaſed in releaſing their Taxations, but in their Paſſions alſo, by puniſhing the chief Miniſters of their Oppreſſions. All diſſolute Perſons are baniſhed the Court; Impoſitions taken away; their Lights in the Night reſtored, which after the *Couvre Feu* Bell, were forbidden ever ſince *William* the Firſt; Good Laws are ordain'd, and to render himſelf yet more popular and belov'd, he marries in the Royal Blood of *England*, taking to Wife *Maud*, Daughter of *Margaret*, late Queen of *Scots*, and Niece to *Edgar Atheling*, deſcended from *Edmund Ironſide*; a Lady that inherited her Bleſſed Mother's Goodneſs, and with much ado was perſwaded from her Cloyſter, and her Vow, to viſit the World, and be a Wife to King *Henry*.

Duke Robert *raiſes War.*

Thus was he fortified in the State of *England*, when his Brother *Robert* returning from the *Holy War*, ſeem'd to ſhake this Foundation, by Landing with a ſtrong Army at *Portſmouth* to recover the Crown, having a great Party in *England* of the *Norman* Nobility that promiſed him Aſſiſtance. Both Armies met, and being ready to engage, a Peace was concluded on theſe Articles. "First, That ſeeing *Henry* was born ſince his Fa-
"ther was King of *England*, he was the eldeſt Son of
A Peace. "the King, and being inveſted with the Crown by the
"Act of the whole Kingdom, he ſhould enjoy it during
"his Life, paying to *Robert* 3000 Marks *per Annum*.
"Secondly, That *Robert* ſurviving ſhould ſucceed him.
"Thirdly, That all who had taken part with *Robert*
"ſhould be pardon'd, and receive no Detriment This
1102. Storm blown over, *Robert* ſtays and Feaſts with his Brother in *England*, from the beginning of *Auguſt* till *Michaelmas*, and then returns into *Normandy*: But *Henry* fluſh'd with this Succeſs, riſes to a higher Pitch of Regality, and claims the Inveſtiture of Biſhops, and the Collation to other Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, as the Right of

Inveſtiture of Biſhops.

his Prerogative. *Anſalm* refuſes to conſecrate ſuch as the King prefered, and calls it an open Violation of the Rights of the Church. King *Henry* ſends an Embaſſy to Pope *Paſchel*, with Declaration of his Right to
1103. Inveſtitures. *Anſelm* follows to *Rome* to oppoſe it, and the King baniſhes him the Kingdom, and ſeizes upon his Biſhoprick. The Pope is ſtiff in his Demands, and the King being preſſed with other Occaſions, wherein the Friendſhip of the Church might be uſeful to him, he conſents

ents to satisfy the Pope, and re-calls *Anselm* from Ba- A. D. 1103.
nishment.

While this Affair was transacting at *Rome*, there breaks out a Fire at home, which ruined those that kindled it; and enabled the King with more ease to effect his purposes, than otherwise he could ever have expected. *Robert de Belesme*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a fierce young Man, presuming upon his Estate and Friends, fortifies several Castles, and combines with the *Welsh* to raise War against the King; but within Thirty Days the King takes all his Castles but *Arundel*, which surrendred upon condition, That the Earl might be permitted to retire into *Normandy*, which the King easily condescended to. Being in *Normandy* he leagues with *William* Earl of *Mortaigne*, an Exile, and whose Insolency had likewise stripp'd him out of all his Estate in *England*, and much wasted that in *Normandy*. These two Earls, and their Accomplices, commit many Outrages, and make great Spoil in the Country, whereof the Inhabitants complained to *Robert*, but found no Remedy; for he was grown poor by his extravagant Expences, and consequently began to be little esteem'd, as fallen in Spirit, and abandoned to his Ease; whereupon the People of *Normandy* complain to the King of *England*, who sends for his Brother, reprimands him for suffering such Disorders, and advises him to act like a vigorous Prince, and not like a lazy Monk: And in conclusion, whether by detaining his Pension, or drawing him (being of an easie Nature) to release it; sends him home under such great Discontent, that he joins with these mutinous Earls to be revenged on his Brother. The King was unwilling to engage in a War against his Brother, till Pope *Paschal* by Letter told him, *It was a meritorious Work, and beneficial to his Country*, and then he set upon it with Alacrity and Resolution; and after many Difficulties, and the loss of divers brave Men, in a mighty Battel near the Castle of *Tenechbray*, defeated all his Enemies; and *England* won *Normandy* on the same Day, in which Forty Years before *Normandy* overcame *England*; such are the Vicissitudes of all human Affairs.

A Rebellion.

Duke Robert *revolts.* 1105.

Now was Duke *Robert*, who was once in a fair possibility of two Crowns, depriv'd of all he had, brought Prisoner into *England*, and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, where he remain'd a Prisoner till he died.

Is taken Prisoner.

A. D. 1106. died. For some time he had reasonable Liberty for Recreation, till attempting to escape, both his Eyes were put out; which, tho' it encreas'd his Misery, yet it shortned not his Life, for he liv'd Eight and Twenty Years after his first Imprisonment, and lies buried at *Gloucester*.

Dieth.

King *Henry* thus freed from his fears, and became an absolute Duke of *Normandy*, had many Years Quiet; gathered much Treasure, and liv'd in a good understanding with his Neighbours, till *Lewis le Gros*, succeeding his Father *Philip*, rais'd a Quarrel against him about his Dutchy of *Normandy*. Now to entertain these two great Princes in Employment, the Quarrel between the Pope and Emperor ministred fresh occasion: Which being amicably composed by the Mediation of the King of *France*, the King of *England* sets up a Party against him in his own Kingdom, and assists *Theobald Come de Champaign* with so great a Force, that he did him much displeasure. *Lewis* on the other side, endeavours the undermining of *Henry*'s Estate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William* Earl of *Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, Son of *Robert Courtois*, who had Right to that Inheritance. Great and many were the Conflicts between these two Princes, but in the end both being tired, a Peace was concluded, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Anjou*: *William*, Son of *Henry*, did Homage to *Lewis* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and *William*, Son of *Robert Courtois*, is left to himself, and desists his Claim. But this Joy of a Peace was clouded by a sad Misfortune that attended it; for *William* the young Prince, the only hope of all the *Norman* Race, at Seventeen Years of Age, returning into *England* in a Ship by himself, accompanied by *Richard* his base Brother, *Mary* Countess of *Petch* their Sister, *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, with his Wife the King's Niece, and many other Passengers of Honour, and their Attendants, to the number of a Hundred and Forty, besides Fifty Seamen, setting out from *Barfleur*, were all cast away, and only a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recovered a Cock-boat, and was in a possibility to have been saved, had not Compassion to his Sister's Cries drawn him back to the sinking Ship to take her in, made him perish with his Company. Thus was Oppression and Supplanting punished with Extinction, and the masculine Line of *Normandy* expired in the Third Inheritor: And since has continually laboured under the same Fate, *for the third Heir in a right*

War between Henry *and* Lewis.

1116. *Prince* William *Drown'd.*

ight Deſcent, ſeldom or never enjoy'd the Crown of Eng- A. D.
and, *but either by Uſurpation or Extinction of the Male* 1116.
Blood, it has receiv'd an Alteration.

After this ſad Affliction, the King is ſaid never to have been ſeen to laugh; tho' in five Months after, in hopes to reſtore his Iſſue, he married *Adelicia*, a beautiful young Lady, Daughter to the Duke of *Louvain*, of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, but never had Child by her, nor long reſt from his Troubles Abroad, which after he had quieted by his extraordinary Diligence, the next care of King *Henry* was to ſettle the Succeſſion upon *Maud* his Daughter; of whom he liv'd to ſee two Sons born: And therefore cõvokes a Parliament in *England*, where an Oath was miniſtred to the Lords of the Land, to be true to her and her Heirs, and to acknowledge them as the true and lawful Heirs to the Crown. And to make all ſure, the ſame Oath was afterwards taken again in another Parliament held at *Northampton*, *Anno* 1133. So that now all ſeems ſafe and quiet, except his own Dreams, which are ſaid to be very frightful; a Sign that all was not well within.

Succeſſion Settled.

Firſt Parliament.

His Government in Peace, places him in the firſt Rank of our beſt Kings, as having had a due regard to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that no Corruption or Oppreſſion might diſpleaſe his People; and he carried it with ſuch an Upright and Even Hand, between the great Men and the Commoners, that neither had reaſon to complain: For this end he made divers Progreſſes into the remote parts of the Land, to ſee the State was regularly govern'd, and Juſtice equally adminiſtred. And that he might not ſeem to wreſt any thing from his Subjects by an Imperial Power, which might be of dangerous conſequence, he took a courſe to obtain their free conſents, to ſerve his occaſions in their general Aſſemblies of the three Eſtates of the Land, which he firſt convok'd at *Salisbury*, in the 15th Year of his Reign, and which had from this time the Name of Parliament, according to the Cuſtom of *Normandy*, and other States, where Princes make the Good of their People and the Welfare of Poſterity, the Glory of their Reigns. He not only puniſh'd Exceſſes, but prohibited Indecencies, as wearing long Hair, *&c.* His great Affairs and Wants taught him Frugality, and his Wars being ſeldom Invaſive, and ſo not profitable, put him often into ſtreights. Towards the Marriage of his Daughter with the Empe-ror, and the charge of his Wars, he obtain'd, at his firſt Parliament

King Henry's Character.

The name of Parliament from whence.

A. D. 1133. Parliament at *Salisbury*, three Shillings on every Hide of Land, but no more in all his Reign, except one Supply towards his War with *France*. Puniſhment with loſs of Limbs he made pecuniary, and Proviſions for his Houſe were paid in Money, to the great content of his Subjects. His Expences were chiefly in his Wars; his Buildings were the Abbey of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodſtock*, and the great Incloſure of that Park, with a Stone Wall Seven Miles about.

He was a Perſon tall and ſtrong, quick ey'd, brown hair'd, and of a pleaſant Countenance, eſpecially when inclin'd to Mirth. He had in his Youth a Taſte of Learning, enough to ſet his Stomach, not to over charge it; But this inclin'd many of his Subjects to be Bookiſh, and divers learned Men flouriſh'd in his time. He had by *Maud* his Wife, Daughter of *Malcolm* the third King of *Scots*, only *Maud* and *William*, but is ſaid to have had ſeven Illegitimate Sons, and as many Daughters. His Sons were both Earls, and his Daughters were married to Princes and Noblemen of *England* and *France*. In the thirty ſecond Year of his Reign he took a Voyage into *Normandy*, and died there in the thirty fifth, and ſixty ſeventh Year of his Age, and was brought to *England*, and buried in the Abbey he built at *Reading*. And in this *Henry* ended the Male Line of the *Normans*, and then came in the *French*, by the Title of Heirs General.

In this Reign were found 25 Abbeys and Nunneries of the (*a*) *Benedictines*, 5 of the (*b*) *Cluniack*, 13 of

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(*a*) Doping, Lincolnſhire; Kilborn, Middleſex; Horſham *and* Binham, Norfolk; Conington, Somerſetſhire; Canwel, Staffordſhire; *and* Blithbury. Edwardſton *and* Redlingfield, Suffolk; Boxgrave, Suſſex; Pynely, Bretford *and* Oldburd, Warwickſhire; *St.* Clements York, Nun Monkton, Yorkſhire; Brecknock *and* Kidwelly *in* Carmardenſhire. (*b*) Clifford, Herefordſhire; Thetford Bromholm, Norfolk; Linton, Nottinghamſhire; Montacute, Somerſetſhire; *and* Farley, Wiltſhire; Turnes, Lancaſhire; Cambeamere, Cheſhire; Caldre, Cumberland; Stratford, Lanthorne, Eſſex; Quarret Wight, Hampſhire; Swinſted, Lincolnſhire; Finſern, Monmouth; Bildewas, Shropſhire; Waverley, Surrey; Fountains *and* Rivalx, Yorkſhire; Baſingwork, Flintſhire; *and* Ruſſin, Iſle of Man.

the



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STEPHEN.

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he * *Ciſtercian*, one of the (*c*) *Gilbertine*, and one of the (*d*) *Præmonſtratenſian*, Orders, of (*e*) the Black or Regular Canons of St. *Auſtin*, and one of the (*f*) Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, and 16 (*g*) Alien Priories. A. D. 1133.

(*c*) Chickſand, Bedfordſhire. (*d*) Bliburgh, Suffolk. (*e*) Newenham, *and* Dunſtable, Bedfordſhire; Norton, Cheſhire; Plimpton, Devonſhire. (*f*) Warwick, Dunmow, Colcheſter, Chich, *and* Wicks, Eſſex-Cirenceſter, Glouceſterſhire; Southampton; Bromere, *and* Southwike, Hampſhire; Leeds *and* Tunbridge, Kent; Leiceſter, St. Mary's Juxta, Leiceſter, *and* Launda, Leiceſterſhire; Brunne, Freſton, Grimsby *and*, Hyrſt, Lincolnſhire; Chriſt Church, St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, London; Lantony, Monmouthſhire; Hempton, Norfolk; Brinkbourn, Northumberland; Wirkſop, *and* Thurgaton, Nottinghamſhire; Oſney, Oxford; Wombridge, Shropſhire; Taunton, *and* Briſtol, Somerſet; St. Mary Overey's, Southwark, Merton, Surrey; Keneworth, Warwickſhire, Bridlington, Gisborn, Kirkham, Noſtell, Emanſey, Sockekirk, Warter, Newburgh, *and* Hode, Yorkſhire. (*g*) Stiventon, Berkſhire; Newington, Bucks; Axmouth, Devonſhire; Cogges, Oxfordſhire; Ledies, Dorſetſhire; Tackly, Eſſex; Shirburn, Hampſhire; Warmington, Warwickſhire; Willesford, Minting, Lincolnſhire; Monmouth; Toftes, Norfolk, Charelton, Wiltſhire; Birſlal, Yorkſhire; St. Bogmeal, Pembrokerſhire; Worton, Warwickſhire.

The Life and Reign of King Stephen.

NOtwithſtanding the former Oath taken for the Succeſſion of *Maud*, *Stephen*, Earl of *Bulloign*, and *Mortagne*, Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Adela*, Daughter to *William* the Firſt, was elected by the State, and Inveſted with the Crown of *England*, within thirty Days after the Death of *Henry*, though there were two others before him, *Maud*, the Empreſs, and *Theobald*, his Elder Brother; ſhe in a Subſtantial Right, he in a Colourable one. The Reaſons then aſſign'd for this Election, were, 'That no Precedent could be ſhew'd that ever the Crown 'had been ſet upon a Woman's Head. And *Roger*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, brought another Reaſon, 'Becauſe 'they had taken the Oath but upon Condition, that 'the King ſhou'd not marry her out of the Realm with 'out- A. D. 1136.

A. D. 1136. 'out their Conſents, and the King having broken the 'Conditions, it juſtly nullify'd the Obligation. To which was added, 'That the Oath having been exacted 'by Authority, which is a kind of Force, it might have 'the Plea of *Per Minas*, and therefore void. And what yet prevail'd more than all this, was, that *Stephen* was a Man of a great Eſtate both in *England* and *France*, and acceptable to the Nobility, and they having an Opinion that prefering one who had but a weak Title, would make his Obligation the greater to them, and that they might be better ſecured of their Rights and Privileges by him, than by one that came in by an Hereditary Succeſſion: And therefore to ſecure this Point, before his Admittance to the Crown, he took a private Oath before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to confirm the ancient Rights of the Church and Kingdom.

Reaſons for it.

Being now in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and all the Treaſures of his Uncle, which amounted to a hundred thouſand Pounds of excellent Silver, beſides Plate and Jewels of ineſtimable value: After the Funeral perform'd at *Reading*, he aſſembles a Parliament at *Oxford*, wherein he reſtored to the Clergy all their former Privileges, and freed the Laiety from Tribute, Exactions, and whatever Grievances they were oppreſs'd with: Confirming the ſame by his Charter, and took a publick Oath before the Aſſembly faithfully to obſerve it; and the Biſhops ſwore Fealty to him, but with this Condition, ſo long as he obſerv'd the Tenour of this Charter.

A. D. 1145.

An Original Contract.

Now that he might be able to preſerve what he had gotten, he ſecures himſelf of Friends, by confering Dignities, granting Poſſeſſions; and having a full Treaſury, gains all the Love and Fidelity that could be purchaſed with Money, Affability, or fair Promiſes. *Scotland* was one quarter from whence he muſt expect that Storms would ariſe, and therefore *Stephen* hearing that *David*, their King, was making head againſt him, he repairs to the Borders with a ſeeming ſtrong Army, and appeaſes him with the Reſtitution of *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, with the Earldom of *Huntingdon*; for which the Prince of *Scotland* took his Oath of Fealty to King *Stephen*, which the Father refuſed to do, as having firſt ſworn to *Maud* the Empreſs; tho' otherwiſe he might be indifferent; for *Stephen* had likewiſe married his Niece *Maud*, Daughter to the Earl of *Bulloign*, and Siſter to this King *David*, who, by

by his Alliance, was Uncle both to *Maud* the Empreſs, and *Maud* the Queen. A. D. 1145.

At his return the King finds a Defection in his Nobility, and falling dangerouſly Sick, inſomuch that 'twas reported he was Dead, his Friends ſought another Party to ſupport them. It awaken'd *Anjou* to ſeek his Wife's Right, and made all the Kingdom waver. Theſe Tranſactions wore out his firſt Year, and in all the reſt we muſt expect nothing but Revolts, Beſiegings, Surpriſings, Loſings, Recoveries, Spoiling and Devaſtation. In brief, a diſmal Scene of a diſtracted State, which may be better omitted than rehearſed in many Particulars, being common in all times of Diſorder, War and Confuſion.

1147. *Diſturbances about Titles.*

The King recovering from his Sickneſs, would let the World know that he was alive, and immediately paſſes with an Army into *Normandy*, overcame the Earl of *Anjou* in Battle, concludes a Peace with him, and upon Renouncing the Claim of *Maud*, covenants to give him five thouſand Marks *per Annum*; and to content his Brother *Theobald*, gives him a Penſion of two thouſand Marks: And ſo returns into *England* to make War againſt *Scotland*, which, in his Abſence, had made Incurſions into this Kingdom; and whilſt he was buſie there, *Robert*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, baſe Son to *Henry* the Firſt, had ſurprized the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and his Confederates divers other places, againſt whom the King marches in Perſon, leaving the *Scotch* War to be managed by *Thurſtan*, Archbiſhop of *York*, his Lieutenant; and in one Expedition, recovers all the Caſtles, and drove the Earl of *Glouceſter* home to his Siſter into *Anjou*. And no worſe ſucceſs had he againſt the *Scots*, whom in great Battle they defeated, and put to flight. All theſe fortunate Adventures, in one year, produced occaſions of bad in the following.

The King's Conteſt with the Clergy.

The King called a Parliament at *Oxford*, and there differ'd with the Clergy that had ſet the Crown upon his Head, particularly with the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, whom, with his Nephew *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, he committed into Cuſtody, and ſeized into his hands his Caſtles of *Salisbury*, *Malmsbury* and *Sherburn*; and after three Days aſſault, the Caſtle of the *Devizes* was alſo ſurrendred to him. Theſe Proceedings being of an extraordinary nature, and quite contrary to the Canons of the Church, to deprive Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of their Eſtates: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the King's Brother, and 1148.

A. D. 1141. and the Pope's Legate, espouses the Interest of the Church against his Brother, and by his Legatine Power, summons the King to appear before a Council held at *Winchester*, where he openly urged the Indignity offer'd to the Church, in Imprisoning these Bishops, which he called a heinous and shameful Action, and a violence offer'd to God Almighty. The King standing upon his Prerogative, sends certain Earls to the Council, to demand a Reason why they summoned the King to appear before them: Answer was made by the Legate, 'That 'the King, who was subject to the Faith of Christ, ought 'not to take it ill, that he was call'd by the Ministers of 'Christ, to make Satisfaction for the Injury done to the 'Church. The King replies by *Alberick de Vere*, a Man skilful in the Law, 'That the Bishops of *Salisbury* and '*Lincoln* were Delinquents, and had injur'd the King, 'and dishonour'd the Realm in divers Instances. That 'they were not arrested as Bishops, but as Servants to 'the King in the State, and consequently accountable 'to him for their Misdemeanour. To this charge, *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury* rejoyns, 'That he was no Ser-'vant to the King, nor received his Moneys; and threatn-'ed, that if he found not Justice for his Wrongs in that 'Court, he would appeal to a higher. The Legate said, 'That the Bishops ought first to have been ex-'amin'd in the Council, before they were deprived of 'their Temporalities. The next day the Archbishop of *Rouen*, on behalf of the King, said, 'That by the 'Canons the Bishops ought to hold no Castles, or, at 'least, in suspicious times, ought to deliver them into 'the King's hands. *Alberic* the Lawyer adds, 'That the 'the Bishops had threatned to go to *Rome*, against the 'King; but, *said he*, the King commands me to let you 'know, That if any of you presume to go without his 'Leave, you offer Indignity to the Kingdom, and it will 'be difficult returning. In conclusion, the Council broke up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without immediate Authority from the Pope: Besides, they saw so many Swords ready to oppose their Canons, that the Legate, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, waved their Spiritual Authority, and throwing themselves at the King's Feet, besought him that he would pity the Church, his own Soul and Honour, and not suffer Dissention between the Kingdom, and the Priesthood. The King returned them fair Words, but still kept what he had gained

Bishops accountable to the King

and

nd ſhortly after the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, according to A. D: 1144.
he Fate of great and greedy Officers, died unlamented.

However, the King's differing with the Church, was he cauſe of all his ſucceeding Troubles. The Empreſs ow found a way open for her Entrance; the Earl of *Glouceſter* put her into *Arundel* Caſtle, from thence coney'd her to *Briſtol*; and when he had taken in *Hereford*, y the aſſiſtance of the *Welſh*, conducted her thither; where, and in all the Countries ſhe paſſed, all Reſpect nd Obedience was paid her. *Stephen* at the beginning of his Reign, having impolitickly licenſed all that pleaſed to build Caſtles, they now, like Blocks, lay ſo thick in his way, that he knew not which way to paſs, but he muſt leave Danger behind him, and therefore, to gain time, ſets a Treaty of Peace on foot with the Empreſs; but it came to nothing, ſhe prevailing againſt him by her Perſonal Appearance where ever ſhe came. King *Stephen* marching to *Lincoln*, in hopes to take it in, was worſted in that Battel, taken, carried Priſoner to *Glouceſter*, ſhewed to the Empreſs, and by her was ſent to be kept in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, but honourably, till his Attempt to eſcape laid Fetters on him.

The Empreſs, thus at the top of her Fortune, labours with the Legate to be admitted to the Crown, according to the Oaths taken for her Succeſſion, and promiſing, That the Donation of Biſhopricks ſhould be at the Church's Diſpoſal, he, with divers other Biſhops, accepted her as Queen (tho' ſhe never came to be ſo) and received her in ſolemn Proceſſion into the Biſhop's Palace at *Wincheſter*. The Empreſs being gone to *Oxford*, the Legate calls a Council at *Wincheſter*, where, having conſulted every Biſhop, Abbot, and others apart, the next Day he makes his publick Speech, *viz.* 'That the 'Cauſe of their Aſſembling, was to adviſe for the Peace 'of the Kingdom, now in great Danger of utter Ruin, 'and could only be prevented by ſettling the Succeſſion 'regularly. 'Tis true, added he, I have been inſtru-'mental in permitting my Brother *Stephen* to reign, and 'was Surety betwixt God and him, that he ſhould ho-'nour and exalt the Holy Church, and keep and ordain 'good Laws, but how he has behaved himſelf, it grives 'me to remember, and I am aſham'd to repeat it. Then he recounts the King's Miſgovernment, and tells the Aſſembly; 'That he ought to prefer the Cauſe of his 'Immortal Father, before that of his Mortal Brother; 'and therefore, having ſought the Divine Aſſiſtance,

The Empreſs accepted as Queen.

A. D. 1145. 'we do elect for Queen of *England*, *Maud*, the Daughter of the Peaceable, Glorious, Rich, and in our time Incomparable *Henry* the First, and to her promise our Faith and Allegiance; to which, all that were present either modestly gave their Voice, or by their Silence consented.

The Londoners *demands.* The *Londoners* were then absent, but as soon as they came to the Council, they opposed all the former Proceedings, and demanded the King to be set at Liberty, which the Legate refused, and excommunicated divers that took part with the King. The Empress now takes her Journey to *London*, and was received in all Places as she went, peaceably, and at *London* joyfully. Here Queen *Maud* makes humble Suit to her for the Liberty of King *Stephen* her Husband, and that he might but be allowed to live a private Life. The *Londoners* also make Suit to have the Laws of King *Edward* restored; but the Empress not only rejected their Suits, but returned them Answers in harsh and insulting Language: Which was very unseasonable, her Circumstances consider'd, and gave a Stop to the Current of all her Fortunes.

The Legate deserts the Empress. For Queen *Maud* finding the Empress's Pulse beat so high, she sent to her Son *Eustace*, then in *Kent*, to raise Forces with all speed; with whom the *Londoners*, as much discontented as the Queen, do afterwards join, and the Legate as much discontented as either, now also deserts the Empress, fortifies his Castles of *Farnham* and *Waltham*, and stays at *Winchester* himself, to see what Course the Empress would steer. Of all these Proceedings the Empress had Intelligence, and thereupon fled privately in the Night from *London* to *Oxford*, sending strict Command to have King *Stephen* more narrowly watch'd, more hardly used, and, as some write, put in Chains, and fed with very scanty and poor Commons; withal, she sends to her Uncle *David*, King of *Scots*, to come to her with all speed; who coming accordingly, they fall into Consultation what is first to be done. The Lot falls upon the Legate, as being now their greatest Adversary, no less in Appearance than in Power: So *Winchester* they besiege, which Queen *Maud* having notice of, she, with her Son *Eustace*, and the *Londoners*, came speedily to his Succour, where a fierce Battel being fought, the end was, that Queen *Maud*'s Party prevailed, and the Empress, to make her escape, was fain to be laid upon a Horse's Back in manner of a dead Corpse and so convey'd to *Gloucester*; while Earl *Robert* her Brother,

ther, disdaining to fly, was taken Prisoner, whom Queen *Maud* caused to be used the more hardly, in relation to the usage, which the Empress had shew'd to King *Stephen*. Things standing on these Terms, Propositions were made by the Lords for Pacification; but such were the high Spirits of the Empress and her Brother *Robert*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, that no Conditions would please them, unless the Empress might enjoy the Crown. But after long debate, whether by Agreement between themselves, or by Connivance of the Keepers, both King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* are at Liberty. The first thing after that King *Stephen* did, was to look out the Empress to requite the kindness she had shewed him in Prison; and hearing she was in *Oxford*, lays Siege to the Town, and brings the Empress to such distress, that she had no way to free herself but by Flight, and no way to fly but with manifest Danger; yet, at length she conveyed herself out at a Postern Gate in Disguise, with four Servants, got over the *Thames*, went on Foot to *Adington*, and from thence to *Wallingford*, where her Brother and her Son met her to comfort her in her Distresses. *Stephen* seeing his Eenemy thus supplied, and like to encrease, labours to gain Friends but Money failing, divers of his Lords and Mercenary Soldiers fall to rifling Abbeys, which was of dangerous Consequence. The Earl of *Glouceſter*, who was the Pillar of the Empress's Pretensions, within two Years of his last coming out of *Normandy*, died, and shortly after her great Friend *Miles*, Earl of *Hereford*; which had utterly ruined all her Affairs, if instead of a Brother, she had not had a Son grown up, of greater Parts em with the Nobility, and shortly after of greater Ability, to undergo the Fatigues of War. His first Expedition at Sixteen Years of Age, was Northward, to join with *David*, King of *Scots*, his Great Unkle, whom King *Stephen* follows with an Army to *York*, lest he should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his Return; but according to the Custom of the *French*, after the first Heat of his Undertakings were over, he cooled: Nothing was effected, and both return without encountring. After this, their Armies continue still in the Field, rather watching Advantages, than doing any thing; sometimes advancing when no Enemy was near, and then retiring when the Enemy came, till at last it was like to come to a Battle when suddenly *Eustace*, King *Stephen*'s only Son, died: Unfortunately

A. D. 1145.

A Treaty of Peace.

1148. *The Empress besieg'd in* Oxford.

Henry *Son of the Empress.*

1151.

A. D. 1171. for himſelf, but happy for *England*; For now King *Stephen* being left without Iſſue to ſucceed, was the more eaſily drawn to Conditions of Peace; as likewiſe the Empreſs *Maud* having loſt her Brother and the Earl of *Hereford*, was no leſs willing than he: Which being forwarded by the Lords on both ſides, was at laſt concluded upon theſe Conditions; *That* Stephen *ſhould hold the Kingdom of* England *during his Life, and adopt Duke* Henry *as his Heir to ſucceed him.* And this Agreement thus made, and confirm'd in a Parliament held at *Wincheſter*, Duke *Henry* ever after accounting King *Stephen* no leſs than a Father, and King *Stephen* Duke *Henry* nō leſs than a Son, both continued in mutual Love and Concord as long as they liv'd.

Euſtace *Son to King* Stephen *dieth.*

Duke Henry *adopted Heir.*

King *Stephen* having now obtain'd a Peace, uſes all the beſt means he could to repair the Ruins of the State, and reform the Miſchiefs that had grown up under the Sword; and to that purpoſe makes ſeveral Progreſſes into moſt parts of the Kingdom, and calls a Parliament at *London*, to adviſe with them for the Publick Good. After the Parliament, he went to meet the Earl of *Flanders* at *Dover*, who deſired a Conference with him; and having diſpatch'd that Affair, falls ſick, dies within a few days after, and was buried in the Abbey founded at *Feverſham*. A Man ſo continually in motion, that 'tis hard to deſcribe him but in Actions of War; for in Peace we never ſaw but a Glimpſe of him, and yet that was ſuch, as declares him, for the moſt part, to be a very worthy Prince; for he did all the Good he could; kept his Word with the State in releaſing their Oppreſſions, and never had one Subſidy that we read of; and which is more remarkable, and ſhews his good Nature, though his Sword was continually drawn, and there were many Defections and Rebellions againſt him, yet he never put any great Man to Death. And 'tis farther noted of him, that notwithſtanding all the Calamities and Miſeries of War, there were more Abbeys built in his Reign, than in any before; which ſhews, though Times were bad, they were not impious, being no leſs than 16 of the (a) *Benedictine*, 4 of the

1154. *King* Stephen *dieth.*

(a) Boſco, Bedfordſhire; Cheſter, Waldon, Eſſex; Heyham, Kent; Carew, Norfolk; Godſtow, Oxfordſhire; Fairweld, Stafford; Romburg, Suffolk; Alceſter *and* Wroxat, Warwickſhire; Okeburn, Wiltſhire; Aiden *and* Keling, Yorkſhire; Morgan *and* Weng, Glamorganſhire.

(b) *Cluniack*



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5.

(*b*) *Cluniack*, 37 of the *Ciſtercians* (*c*), 5 of the (*d*) *Gilbertine*, 7 of the (*e*) *Præmonſtatenſian* Orders, 21 (*f*) *Black Canons*, 1 of (*g*) Knights Templers, 2 (*h*) of Knights Hoſpitallers, and of *Canons* (*i*) of the Holy Sepulchre. A. D. 1654.

(*b*) Exeter, Devonſhire; Hockſley, Eſſex; Feverſham, Kent; De la Pre, Northampton. [*c*] Wardon *and* Weburn, Bedfordſhire; Bittleſden, Bucks; Pulton, Cheſhire; Holm Coltram, Cumberland; Brightley *and* Ford, Devonſhire; Cogeſhul *and* Wudeham, Eſſex; Kingſwood *and* Flexly, Glouceſterſhire; Saltry, Huntingdonſhire; Boxley, Kent; Louth Park, Kirſted, Revesby *and* Vaudey, Lincolnſhire; Pipewell and Newminſter, Northamptonſhire; Rufford, Nottinghamſhire; Tame *and* Bruern, Oxfordſhire; Radmore, Staffordſhire; Sibton, Suffolk; Merival, Combe, Warwickſhire; Stanley, Wiltſhire; Bordſley, Worceſterſhire; Bilaund, Fors, Roch, Salley, Nunappleton; Kirkſtal and Meaux, Yorkſhire; Noth, Glamorganſhire; Combetire, Radnorſhire. (*d*) Sempringham, Haverholm, Nun, Ormsby, Lincolnſhire; Watton *and* Malton, Yorkſhire. (*e*) Bradſole, Kent; Newhouſe *and* Stixwould, Lincolnſhire; Anwick, Northumberland; Welbeck *and* Brodham, Nottinghamſhire; Richmond, Yorkſhire. (*f*) Harwood, Bedfordſhire; Lanthony, Glouceſterſhire; Chriſt Church, Hampſhire; Huntingdon, Bredon, Leiceſterſhire; Thornholm, Thorneton *and* Nocton, Lincolnſhire; Pentney, Buckingham; Norfolk, Northampton; Shelford, Nottinghamſhire, Lelleſtul, Shropſhire; Briſtol, Somerſetſhire; Trentham, Rouceſter, Staffordſhire; Studly, Warwickſhire; Bradenſtoke *and* Magden-Bradley, Wiltſhire; Bolton, Yorkſhire; Caldewell, Bedfordſhire. (*g*) Eagle, Lincolnſhire. (*h*) Skengay, Cambridgeſhire; Creſſing Temple, Eſſex. (*i*) Thetford, Norfolk.

The Life and Reign of HENRY *the Second; and Firſt of the Line of* Plantagenet.

KING *Stephen* being dead, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, by his Father *Geoffery Plantagenet*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, by Agreement, whom he preceeded by Right, as being Son and Heir to *Maud*, ſole Daughter of *Henry* the Firſt, and was Crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Theobald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on the Seventeenth of *December*, in the Year 1155, and was now 1155. *The* Norman *and* Saxon *Blood united.*

A. D. 1155. now a greater Prince than any of his Predeceſſors had been before him. And, indeed, the Kindom of *England*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and the Dukedom of *Anjou*, in his own Right, and in the Right of his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and the Earldom of *Poictou*, being all united in his Perſon, made him a Dominion of larger Extent than any Chriſtian King poſſeſs'd at that time. He was a Prince young, active, powerful, and had all that might make him high and preſuming, yet the Neceſſity of his own Affairs reſtrain'd him from exorbitant Courſes, and made him careful to get and retain the Love and good Opinion of his Subjects, by a regular and eaſy Government. In order thereunto, he began with calling a Parliament to be held at *Wallingford*, and there made a popular Act for the Expulſion of Strangers, which the Land was peſter'd with, eſpecially *Flemings* and *Picards*, drawn over in the late Wars, which Act gave great ſatisfaction to the *Engliſh*. And that he might be able to ſubſiſt by his own Revenues, without being burthenſome to his People, he reforms his Exchequer, and makes a Reſumption of ſuch Crown Lands as had been alienated and uſurp'd. Then he makes a Progreſs into the *North*, recovers the City of *Carliſle*, ſeizes all *Cumberland* into his Hands, takes the Town of *Newcaſtle*, and ſo reſum'd all *Northumberland*, which his Mother the Empreſs had granted to *David*, King of *Scots*, her Unkle; as not being in his Mother's Power, or his, to alienate any part of the Kingdom. The ſame Courſe he took with the Alienations and Uſurpations of the Demains of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldom of *Anjou*, out of the Hands of his Brother *Geoffery*.

The King reſumes the Crown Lands.

The Welſh *Rebel.*

The firſt occaſion that put him upon War, was the Rebellion of the *Welſh*, who, according to their uſual cuſtom of attemping ſomething in the beginning of every new Reign, began to raiſe Commotions; againſt whom he goes ſo prepared with Neceſſaries, as if he intended to go through with his Work. In paſſing a Streight among the Mountains, he had the misfortune to loſe many of his Men, as *Euſtace Fitz-John* and *Robert Courſey*, two eminent Perſons, and was himſelf reported to be kill'd; which ſo diſcouraged that part of the Army that had not paſſed the *Streights*, that *Henry*, Earl of *Eſſex*, threw down the King's Standard that he carried by Inheritance, and fled, but quickly after the King made it known he was alive, for he beat his Enemies, and

and brought them to ſeek their Peace with Submiſſion. A. D.
The Earl of *Eſſex* was afterwards accuſed of Cowar- 1155.
dice, by *Robert de Montfort*; had the Combat grant-
ed him, was overcome, and pardon'd for Life; but
was condemn'd to be ſhorn a Monk, to be put into
the Abbey at *Reading*, and his Land forfeited to the
King.

In the Fourth Year of his Reign, when all his Af- 1158.
fairs were in a proſperous Condition, and his Queen *An Oath*
had born him three Sons in *England*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *taken to*
and *Geoffery*: His Eldeſt Son *William*, to whom the *the Prince.*
Kingdom had taken an Oath of Fealty, dying ſhortly
after his coming to the Crown, the ſame was taken to
Henry. The King of *France*, who would gladly have in-
terrupted the Current of this King's Fortune, was ſo re-
ſtrain'd by his own wants, his Expedition to the *Holy*
Land having exhauſted his Treaſure, that he gave King
Henry, by firſt poſſeſſing all *Normandy*, an opportunity
to ſurround all *France*. He alſo laid Claim to the Earl-
dom of *Thouloufe*, and backs his Claim by going in Per-
ſon with an Army to beſiege that City, and takes with
him *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*; but the Earl of *Thouloufe*
underſtanding his Intentions, craves Aid of his Brother-in-
law the King of *France*, who likewiſe, with a ſtrong
Army, comes down in Perſon to ſecure *Thouloufe*; and
being there before the King of *England* could arrive with
his Forces, *Henry* fell to ſpoiling the Country, and ſo
returns into *Normandy*. And to add more Annoyance to 1159.
the King of *France*, he obtains of the Earl of *Avranches*, *War with*
the Caſtle of *Rochefort* and *Monfort*, which engag'd both France.
the Princes in a bloody War; which at length was com-
poſed by a Marriage between young Prince *Henry*, not
Seven Years of Age, and the Lady *Margaret*, Eldeſt
Daughter to the King of *France*, ſcarce three Years Old,
who was deliver'd rather as an Hoſtage than a Bride to
Robert de Newburg, to be kept till ſhe was of Age to live
with her Husband.

The Advantage of Power now remaining on the
King's ſide, he began to look to the Prerogatives of his
Crown, which, as he was inform'd, were much infring'd
by the Uſurpations of the Clergy, who, ſince the Reign
of *Henry* the Firſt, had run beyond their Bounds; and *Diffe-*
he perceiving them ſtill to take all Advantages for their *rences be-*
own Intereſts, made him doubt how they would deal *tween the*
with his Poſterity. This ſhew of the King's diſlike *King and*
was alſo much aggravated by the Complaints of the Lay- *the Clergy.*

A. D. 1161. Nobility, againſt the Uſurpations and Enormities of the Clergy. To remedy which Abuſes, the King calls a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and propoſed that it might be enacted, 'That Clergymen, convicted of hainous 'Crimes, ſhould loſe the Privilege of the Church and 'be puniſh'd by the Civil Magiſtrate. *Thomas Becket*, whom the King out of ſpecial kindneſs, had raiſed from being Arch-Deacon to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and from whom he might reaſonably expect a ready Compliance with his lawful Commands, on the contrary ſtiffly oppoſes the King's Deſigns of Reformation, and, with his Suffragans, tells the King, they could not ſubmit to ſuch an Action, being againſt the Liberties of the Church. The King not liking their Anſwer, demands whether they would ſubmit to the Laws which the Biſhop's obſerv'd in his Grand-father's Reign? They anſwer'd that they would, the Order of the Church and the Honour of God being preſerv'd: Which Reſervation the King being more diſpleas'd at, the Parliament broke up, without effecting any thing at that time. The King perceiving that all this oppoſition aroſe from the Stiffneſs of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he reſolves to humble him, denies him Acceſs to his Perſon, and countenances all that oppoſe him. Notice of this Breach being ſent abroad, a Meſſenger is ſent from the Pope and Cardinals, to obſerve his Laws without Exception; which the Archbiſhop accordingly did to the King, then at *Woodſtock*.

Thomas Becket's *Promotion.*

Becket *oppoſes the King.*

While the Affairs of the Church, and the Prevaricating of *Becket*, gave him much trouble, he weakens his own Power by eſſaying to ſtrengthen it; and contrary to all the Rules of Policy, aſſociates his Son, Prince *Henry*, with him in the Government: An act without Example in this Kingdom, but nothing could divert him from it; and accordingly on the 14th of *June*, 1170. *Henry* his Son was Crown'd King, and Homage paid him by the Nobility of *England*. What moved the King to this Precipitation, in courting a Grave before his Death, is ſuppoſed to be his Jealouſy of the Clergy, from his Mother's Example; who notwithſtanding the Oath of Fealty, ſo often taken for her Succeſſion, was, by their means, excluded from her Right: Now, conſidering on what Terms he ſtood with them, and that tho' they flatter'd, yet they hated him, for attempting to weaken their Authority, this made him do an Act that he afterwards repented.

1170.

The

The King now ſuppoſing things were ripe for his purpoſe, calls a General Aſſembly of the Biſhops and the Nobility at *Clarendon*, where the King required an abſolute Aſſent to his Laws, without any Clauſe of Reſervation; which now the Archbiſhop complies with by his Oath and Subſcription; but for what Cauſe is unknown: Upon ſecond Thoughts, the next Day retracts both, enjoins himſelf a ſtrict Pennance, and ſends to the Pope for Abſolution for this Fault; which the Pope not only granted, but encourag'd him to perſiſt in the Cauſe he had begun. King *Henry* finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him, and at firſt makes uſe of his Royal Authority upon the Archbiſhop's Temporalities, and threatens him with a Cenſure againſt his Perſon; which *Becket* underſtanding, thought it his beſt courſe to fly the Realm; and thereupon paſſing under the Name of *Dereman*, he croſſes the Sea, and was maintained there two Years by the Pope, and five by the King of *France*, as it were by Alms: Under which Affliction nothing ſo much vexed him as that King *Henry* ſent all his Kindred, Men, Women and Children, into Baniſhment after him. And now King *Henry* finding that *Becket* inſiſted much upon his Legatine Authority, he ſent Meſſengers to the Pope, deſiring him to take that Power from him, and conſer it upon the Archbiſhop of *York*; but the Pope refuſed that Demand, but was content that the King himſelf ſhould be his Legate, and ſent him Letters for that Purpoſe, which King *Henry* took in ſcorn, threw them from him in Anger, and ſent them back from whence they came. In the mean time, the King of *France* prevailed with King *Henry* to allow *Becket* a Conference, in hopes to bring them to ſome agreement; and being together, King *Henry* alledg'd before the King of *France*, that he required nothing of *Becket*, but his Aſſent to an Ordinance, which, in his Grand-father King *Henry* the Firſt's Time, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the Biſhops of the Realm, aſſented to: Yet this never mov'd *Becket*, but he reſolutely perſiſted in his own Opinion, that it was againſt the Honour of God, and therefore refuſed his Compliance. See now, ſays King *Henry*, the Perverſeneſs of this Man, every thing that agrees not with his own Humour, he ſays is againſt the Honour of God. While theſe things were thus in agitation, *Becket* had gain'd more Friends at *Rome*, and by their means he prevail'd with the Pope to give him Authority to interdict

A. D. 1170.

He ſlies the Land.

A Conference.

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A. D. 1170.

He flies the Land.

A Conference.

A. D. 1171.

some Biſhops in *England* that had done him Wrong; and the Pope ſpared not to threaten the King himſelf with Excommunication, if he refuſed to reſtore *Becket* to his former Dignities.

Becket *reſtored.*

But whether aw'd with Threatnings, or won by the King of *France*'s Importunity, or Relenting in himſelf, he was contented at laſt that *Becket* ſhould return home, and enjoy his Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*. Being come thither, the Biſhops, whom he had interdicted for Crowning young King *Henry*, which he ſaid was his Right, made humble Suit to him to be releaſed from the Cenſure; which when the Archbiſhop would not grant but under certain Cautions and Exceptions, the Biſhops diſcontented, went over to the King, complaining of the hard Meaſure that was offered them by the Archbiſhop; whereat the King being ſore diſpleaſed, in Paſſion ſaid, *Shall I never be at quiet for this Prieſt; if I had any about me that lov'd me, they would find ſome way or other to rid me of this trouble.* Four Knights ſtanding by when the King made this Complaint, namely, *Reynold Fitz Urſe*, *Hugh Merville*, *William Tracy* and *Richard Britton*, thinking to do an acceptable Service to the King, went ſhortly after over into *England*, and finding *Becket* at *Canterbury*, they adviſe him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King, to reſtore the Biſhops to the Exerciſe of their Offices, and to carry himſelf with Moderation, that the Church might have Comfort, and the King and Kingdom quietneſs: But finding the Biſhop peremptory and untractable, they entred into the Church, whither he was withdrawn, and

Becket *murdered.*

while the Monks were performing Divine Service, revil'd him, calling him Traytor, giving him many Wounds, and at length knock'd out his Brains with ſuch fury, that his Blood ſprinkled the Altar. His Behaviour at his Death, his Courage in ſuffering it, and his Zeal in committing the Cauſe of the Church and his Soul to God, and his Saints: The Place, the Time, the Manner, aggravate the hateful Act, and make Compaſſion and Opinion incline to the Sufferer, who was afterward reputed a Saint and Martyr, and ſtrange Miracles are reported to be done by this dead Saint and his Blood. Among other Epitaphs made upon his Death, this was one,

Quis moritur? Præſul; Cur? Pro Grege; Qualiter? Enſe. Quando? Natali. Quis locus? Ara Dei.

The

The King, though the unfortunate Gentlemen had one him this Service, would never ſee them after; and therefore they withdrew themſelves into the North; nd within four Years after, all of them died miſera- ble Fugitives. Of this Murder the Pope was informed y the King of *France*, the Earl of *Blois*, the Archbiſhop f *Sens*, and others, exciting him to revenge it. And t had ſuch an effect, that tho' King *Henry* ſent ſome of he beſt Men in his Kingdom, both for Quality, Learn- ng and Judgment to excuſe it, the Fact was rendred ſo odious at *Rome*, that the Pope denied his Ambaſſadors Audience, and all the Cardinals and other Miniſters f State refuſed to ſee or have any Converſation with hem; but Time and Patience ſo far mollified that Court, that the Ambaſſadors kept off the Thunder of he Excommunication, till King *Henry*'s Purgation by Oath, and engaging to be firm to the Popes, granting hat Appeals in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes ſhould be made o *Rome*, and praying to *Becket*'s Shrine, appeaſed hem. Thus ended this tedious Affair, that made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and yet Forty eight Years fter this, ſays the *French* Hiſtorian, it was diſputed among the Doctors of *Paris*, whether *Becket* was Saved or Damned; and one *Roger*, a *Norman*, maintained, that he juſtly deſerved Death, for rebelling againſt his Sove- reign, the Miniſter of God. To exhibit this Affair in one entire Piece, has interrupted the courſe of Affairs that are intermix'd with it, to which we now return: For though the vexation the Church gave him, often put him out of Humour yet at the ſame time he neglected not his Temporal Concerns.

A. D. 1171.

King Henry's *Compur- gation.*

Dermot Mac Murrgh, one of the five Kings of *Ireland*, deſiring King *Henry*'s Aſſiſtance againſt *Rodorick the Great*, called *O Connor Dun*, King *Connaught*, who was contending for the whole Iſland, and had driven him out of his Dominion of *Lemſter*; the King of *England*, glad to find a Door open'd to his former Intentions, entertains the exiled King, and being himſelf engag'd in other Affairs, gave leave to ſuch of his Subjects as would venture their Fortunes with him, to aſſiſt *Der- mot*, by ſome called *Dernutus*, in the Recovery of his Kingdom. *Robert Fitz Stephen* was the firſt of all *Engliſh* Men, that after the Invaſion of *William* the Firſt, entred *Ireland* the firſt of *May*, 1170. with three Hundred and ninety Men, and took *Wexford* in behalf of *Dermot*, King of *Lemſter*. In *September* following, *Richard*, Earl of

The Con- queſt of Ireland.

A D. 1171. of *Pembrook*, from the Place where he dwelt called Earl of *Chepſtow*, and ſirnamed *Strong Bow*, ſailed into *Ireland* with Twelve hundred Men, took *Waterford* and *Dublin*, and married *Eve*, the Daughter of *Dermot*, as he was promiſed. From theſe Beginnings, King *Henry* being then at Peace both at Home and Abroad, takes into conſideration the State of *Ireland*, as a Kingdom which often afforded Aſſiſtance to the *French*, and therefore purpoſing within himſelf, as he had formerly promiſed the Pope, to ſubdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter-Seaſon ſailed thither, taking Shipping at *Pembrook*, and landing near *Waterford*: Where entring into Conſultation what Courſe was fitteſt to be taken in this Enterprize, ſuddenly and of their own 1172. accord, all the Princes of their Country came in, and ſubmitted themſelves to him, except *Rodorick*, King of *Connought*, who ſtood out; and being the greateſt, thought to make himſelf the only King of that Nation. But King *Henry* forbearing him for the preſent, who kept himſelf in the Faſtneſſes of Bogs and Woods, and was not to be followed in the Winter Seaſon, takes his Journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Country, and there calling together the Princes and Biſhops of the Nation, requires their Conſent to have him and his Heirs to be their King; which they affirming they could not do without the Pope's Authority, to whom at their firſt Converſion to Chriſtianity, they had voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves: The King immediately ſends to Pope *Adrian*, an *Engliſh* Man, requiring his Aſſent, which upon divers good Conſiderations on the Church's behalf, he granted. Hereupon the King built himſelf a ſtately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without Blood poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom, the Spring following he return'd joyfully into *England*. About four Years after, *Rodorick* alſo ſends his Chancellor to King *Henry* to offer his Submiſſion, with a Tribute to be paid of one Beaſt out of every ten. After this, in the One and thirtieth Year of his Reign, he ſent his Son *John* to be the Governor there.

King Henry *made King of* Ireland.

At the inſtance of the King of *France*, *Henry* is Crowned again, and *Margaret* his Wife; and going after to *Paris*, was taught the Doctrine of Diſobedience, and demands of his Father to reſign him the Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Earldom of *Anjou*, or the Kingdom of *England* for his Maintenance; and the

King Henry *crowned a ſecond time.*

King

King of *France* having no other way to curb the growing Glory of *Henry*, but ſetting his Son upon him, ſummons the Princes of *France*, and all the Friends he could make, to aſſiſt King *Henry* the Son againſt the Father, and with a powerful Army invades his Territories. King *Henry* the Father with all the Forces he could raiſe, meets him near *Vernoul*, and diſpoſes his Army to Battle; but the King of *France* to avoid it appoints a Parley on the Morrow; and in the mean time, by this Artifice enters *Vernoul*, ſacks it, and removes his Camp, which King *Henry* beats up, purſues the flying Army, and commits great Slaughter among them. This Overthrow ſo terrify'd the *French*, that they negotiate a Peace, and at the Parley, though King *Henry* had the better of the Day, he condeſcends to give his Son half the Revenues of *England* for his Maintenance; but the King of *France*, who ne'er intended Peace, broke it off. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, on the behalf of the Son, invades *England*, is beaten and taken Priſoner. Spring coming on, young *Henry* prepares for *England*, and the Father alſo, which *Lewis*, the King of *France*, hearing, and that the King of *Scots* was taken Priſoner, calls back young *Henry*, who at length is reconciled to his Father; and to free him from all Scruple, ſwears Allegiance to him, and both return into *England*, and mutually agree in the Reformation of Abuſes, and by Parliament ſettle a regular Adminiſtration of the Government. *William*, King of *Sicily*, by the univerſal Conſent of the Kingdom, was married to the Lady *Joan*, King *Henry*'s Daughter; and the ſame Year *Alphonſo*, King of *Caſtille*, marries another of them: And a perpetual League of Amity was made between the Kings of *England* and *France*.

A. D. 1172. *Rebels againſt his Father.* 1173. 1174.

A while after a Parliament was aſſembled at *Nottingham*, by whoſe Advice and Conſent the Kingdom was divided into ſix Parts, and ſix Itinerant Juſtices were appointed for each of them; who took an Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, that themſelves, and all the Subjects of *England*, by virtue of their Authority, ſhould be compell'd to obſerve inviolably the Aſſizes made at *Claringdon*, and renewed at *Northampton*, againſt Murder, Theft, Robbery and their Receivers, againſt Cheats and Burning of Houſes: and if any were found Guilty of theſe Crimes, by the Verdict of Twelve Men, the Accuſed were to paſs the Tryal of *Water Ordeal*; and if not acquitted, to be puniſhed with

The Aſſizes ſettled.

A. D. 1176 with the loſs of a Leg or Baniſhment; that Age, it ſeem not yet puniſhing Malefactors with Death, but thoug it Puniſhment enough for the Criminal and the Examp of others, to be condemn'd to live miſerably, under common Infamy and Reproach, rather than to take way the Lives of Offenders.

And yet we find in this Reign, that *Gilbert Plumpto* Knight, being accuſed for a Rape before *Renulph de Gla vile*, Chief Juſtice of *England*, and he deſiring unjuſt to condemn him, *Plumpton* was ſentenced to be hang upon a Gibbet; and being brought to Execution, and t Hangman about to do his Office, the People cry'd ou That an innocent Perſon ought not to ſuffer; and *Baldwi* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, hearing the Clamour of the Pe ple, and the Injury intended again this miſerable Ge tleman, commanded them in the Name of God Almig ty, and under Pain of Excommunication, that the ſhould not put him to Death, that Day being Holy, a the Feaſt of St. *Mary Magdalen*: Whereupon the Ex cution was defer'd till the Morrow. That Night a R prieve was procur'd from the King, to delay the Execu tion till farther Order; and the King being afterwar inform'd, that it was out of Envy that *Glanvile* wou put him to Death, becauſe *Plumpton* had married t Daughter and Heireſs of *Roger Gulwaſt*, whom he woul have had married to *Reyner*, his Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, t King was pleaſed to pardon *Plumpton*, and ſet him Liberty.

1178. *A viſit to* Becket's *Tomb.* The King of *France* upon a dangerous Sickneſs, vow to viſit the Sepulchre of St. *Thomas* the Martyr of *Ca terbury*, and upon ſafe Conduct from the King of *Englan* performs it with great Devotion and rich Preſents. Fir offering a maſſy Cup of Gold upon his Tomb, and aft gave, and confirmed by Charter, Three thouſand ſix hu dred Sextaries of Wine to the Monks, to be paid ann ally from *Poiſſi* at the charge of the King of *France*, a freed them from all Toll and Cuſtom for whatev Goods they ſhould buy in his Kingdom. And havi ſtaid three Days, returns towards *France*, being conduc ed to *Dover* by the King of *England*.

1183. Eight Years had the Peace now continued betwe the two Kings, the Father and the Son, when aga new Flames of unnatural Diſcord broke out, in whi his other Sons were engag'd; but upon debating th Grievances, all ſwore to obey and ſerve their Fath and to keep perpetual Peace among themſelves; b

the Inconſtancy of young *Henry*'s Nature was ſuch, that he ſoon relapſed, and both the young Princes take part with their Confederates againſt their Father, are made the Heads of a Rebellion, and commit Rapine and Sacrilege to ſupply their Neceſſities, and feed their Followers. In the end, the young King ſtruggling in vain againſt his Fate, through grief and vexation of Mind, fell into a violent Fever with a Flux, and died in few Days after it ſeized him. A Prince of excellent Parts, who was firſt caſt away by his Father's Indulgence, and afterwards by his Rigour, not ſuffering him to be what himſelf had made him; nor gain'd he ſo much by his Coronation, as to have a Name in the Catalogue of the Kings of *England*. The Sorrow of the Father, though great, hindred him not from taking Revenge of the Barons of *Aquitaine*, his Confederates. *Geoffery*, upon his Submiſſion is received into favour, and the Year after died at *Paris*. *Philip*, the young King of *France*, differs with King *Henry*, and brings him to Terms, which his Father attempted, but never could accompliſh, and being agreed, they both prepared for the Holy War; which taking up much time, gave opportunity for freſh Quarrels to ariſe between them, and the King of *England* refuſing to marry *Richard* to *Alice*, but would have his Son *John* marry her, it ſo alienated the Heart of his Son *Richard*, that he did homage to the King of *France* for *Aquitaine*, and they both join their Troops againſt the Father. And now comes this mighty King of *England*, the greateſt of all the Chriſtian World in his time, to be forſaken of his Subjects, his Wife, his Children, and letting down his Heart, ſubmits to any Conditions that his Enemies were pleaſed to impoſe upon him: And after the concluſion of a diſhonourable Peace with *France*, his Heart being not uſed to bow, broke with the Weight of a declining Fortune. Some few hours before he died, he ſaw a Liſt of thoſe that had conſpired againſt him; and finding the firſt in the Liſt to be his Son *John*, he fell ſuddenly into a fainting Fit, which ſo encreaſed upon him, that within four Days after he ended his Life. So ſtrong a Corroſive is Grief of Mind, when it meets with a Body weakned with Sickneſs. He died in *Normandy*, in the Year 1189. when he had lived threeſcore and one Years, reigned near five and thirty, and was buried at *Pont Everard* in *France*. As he was carrying to be buried, his Son *Richard* approaching his Corpſe, the Blood guſhed out of the Noſtrils of the Dead: A com-

A. D. 1183. *Young King Henry dies.* 1188. *King Henry's fall.* *He dies.*

monly

A. D. 1189.

monly reputed ſign of Guilt, as if Nature after Death kept ſome Intelligence in the Veins, to give notice of Injury done, and to check the Malice of an unnatural Offender: At which ſight, *Richard*, ſurprized with Horror, is ſaid to have burſt out into bitter Tears, and extreme Lamentations.

His Children.

He had Iſſue by his Wife *Eleanor*, five Sons; *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry* and *John*: And three Daughters, *Maud*, married to *Henry*, Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor*, married to *Alphonſo* the Eighth, King of *Caſtille*; *Joan*, married to *William*, King of *Sicily*. 'Tis accounted a peculiar Honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings, and two of his three Daughters to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous than the reſt; one was *Roſamond*, Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, whom, 'tis ſaid, he kept in Lodgings at *Woodſtock*, ſo cunningly contrived, that no Stranger could come at her; yet, ſo quick is the Eye of Jealouſy, that Queen *Eleanor* found her. What the Queen did to *Roſamond*, is uncertain; but that *Roſamond* liv'd but a ſhort time after is true, and ſhe lies buried in the Nunnery of *Godſtow* near *Oxford*, with this Epitaph upon her Tomb.

Roſamond's Death.

Hic jacet in Tumba Roſa mundi, non Roſa munda.
Non Redolet, ſed Olet, quæ redolere ſolet.

By this *Roſamond* King *Henry* had two Sons, *Longſword*, who, in Right of his Wife, was Earl of *Salisbury*; and *Geoffery*, who was firſt Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and then of *York*, who, after five Years Baniſhment in his Brother King *John*'s Reign, died in the Year 1213. His other famous Concubine, was the Wife of Sir *Ralph Blewit*, Knight, by whom he had a Son called *Morgan*, who was Provoſt of *Beverly*, and being elected Biſhop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a Diſpenſation, being uncapable by his Baſtardy; but the Pope refuſing to grant it, unleſs he would call himſelf the Son of *Blewit*, he anſwered, *That no Preferment ſhould make him renounce his Father, or deny his being born of Royal Blood.* King *Henry* was ſomewhat red fac'd, ſhort in Body, and corpulent, which made him uſe much Exerciſe, and eat little. He was generous, and obliging in the higheſt degree; had the Reputation of Wiſdom thro' all *Europe*; and, generally ſpeaking, was an Excellent Prince; and if in ſome Particulars he was defective, it muſt be conſidered he was a Man.

In

In this King's Reign were founded 25 Abbeys and Nunneries of the (*a*) *Benedictine*, 7 of the (*b*) *Cluniac*, 18 of the (*c*) *Ciſtercian*, 4 of the (*d*) *Gilbertine*, and 11 of the (*e*) *Præmonſtratenſian*, and one of the (*f*) *Carthuſian* Orders 31 of (*g*) Black Canons, and 5 of the (*h*) Knights Templers, 3 of the (*i*) Knights Hoſpitallers, and 6 (*k*) Alien Priories. A. D. 1189.

(*a*) Ivingho *and* Aukerwick, Bucks; Denny St. Radegund, Cambridge; Finſhale, Durham; Rowney, Hartfordſhire; Stemford, Stainfeld; Urford *and* Santoft, Lincolnſhire; St. Helens, London; Waburn, Norfolk; Stodley, Oxfordſhire; Bromfield, Aberbury, Shropſhire; Ancol, Henwood *and* Nuncaton, Warwickſhire; Matvern minor *and* Weſtwood, Worceſterſhire; Welberboſſe, Pedingham *and* Roſedale, Yorkſhire. (*b*) Prittlewel, Eſſex; Horthn, Kent; Reinham, Norfolk; Sandwell *and* Dudley, Staffordſhire; Pentefract *and* Monk Bretton, Yorkſhire. (*c*) Stanlaw, Cheſhire; Buckfaſm, Devonſhire; Dore, Herefordſhire; Gerondon, Leiceſterſhire; Nun Cotten Greenfield, Lincolnſhire; Croxton, Staffordſhire; Roberts Bridge, Suſſex; Stonely, Warwickſhire; Jervalx, Hoton, Keldon, Seningthwait *and* Hampole, Yorkſhire; Aberconway, Carnarvonſhire; Stratflower, Cardiganſhire; De Valle Cruciſo, Denbyſhire; *and* Strat Margel, Montgomeryſhire. (*d*) St. Katherine, Lincoln; Bolongton, Heinings *and* Newſted, Lincolnſhire. (*e*) Beauchief, Derbyſhire; Ottcham, Kent; Coketſend, Lancaſhire; Croxton, Leiceſterſhire; Berlings, Agneby *and* Tupholm, Lincolnſhire; Sulby, Northamptonſhire; Blanca, Landa, Northumberland; Leinſter, Suffolk; Maldon, Eſſex. (*f*) Witham, Somerſetſhire. (*g*) Nutleigh, Bucks; Lanercoſts, Cumberland; Repindon Derley, Derbyſhire; Wormſley, Herefordſhire; Stoneley, Huntingdonſhire; Cumbwell, Newinton, Olveſton *and* Charley, Leiceſterſhire; Eſham, Lincolnſhire; Cokesford, Norfolk; Telloy *and* Newſted, Nottinghamſhire; Cold Norton *and* Burceſter, Oxfordſhire; Keynſham *and* Haſelburgh, Somerſetſhire; Stafford, Burley *and* Ipſwich, Suffolk; Pynham Suſſex; Erdbury, Warwickſhire; Ederoſe, Wiltſhire; Woodkirk, Drax, Marton *and* Molesby, Yorkſhire. (*h*) Dalby, Hether *and* Rodely *in* Leiceſterſhire; Mount St. John *and* Ribleſton, Yorkſhire. (*i*) Carbroke, Norfolk; Buckland, Somerſetſhire; *and* Chipenham, Wiltſhire. (*k*) Hagh *and* Camerikgham, Lincolnſhire; Edichwiſton, Rutlandſhire; Stone Curey, Somerſetſhire; Averburgh, Wiltſhire; Northallerton, Yorkſhire.

The Life and Reign of RICHARD *the First.*

A. D. 1189.

His Policy and Wealth.

Richard the First, born at *Oxford*, sirnamed *Cœur de Lyon*, succeeding his Father, first seizes upon his Treasure in *France*, and then repairs to *Rouen*, where, by *Walter* the Archbishop, he was girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, then goes to confer with the King of *France*, and, by Money, obtains the Restitution of all those Places that had been taken from his Father in the late Wars; and to strengthen himself by Alliance, he gives *Maud*, his Niece, Daughter to the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Jeffery*, Son to the Earl of *Perch*. During his stay in *France*, Queen *Eleanor*, his Mother, freed from a twelve years Imprisonment, manages the Affairs of *England* discreetly, and meets her Son at *Winchester*; where, besides his Father's Treasure, amounting to Nine hundred thousand Pounds, Plate, Jewels and Precious Stones, there fell to him by the Death of *Jeffery Ridle*, Bishop of *Ely*, dying Intestate, Three thousand and sixty Marks in Silver, and Two hundred and five Pounds in Gold; which came luckily to defray the Charge of his Coronation, celebrated the 3d day of *September*, 1189. A Day imbrued with the miserable slaughter of the *Jews* in *London*, who coming to offer their Presents to the new King, were set upon by the Mob, to the loss of their Lives and Estates; and the Example of *London* wrought the like mischief upon the *Jews* in the Towns of *Norwich*, *St. Edmund's-Bury*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford* and *Lynn*.

His Coronation, and Slaughter of the Jews.

Robert Hood *and* Little John.

About this time was another Trouble at home, tho' not to the King, yet to the Kingdom; for *Robert Hood*, accompanied with *Little John*, and a hundred stout Follows more, molested all Passengers upon the High-way: Some say he was of Noble Blood, or at least made no less Noble than an Earl for some considerable Service; but having wasted his Estate in riotous Courses, Penury forced him to serve his Necessities in robbing others; and yet in this was honestly dishonest, for he never hurt Man or Woman, spared the Poor, and made a prey of the Rich; till the King setting out a Proclamation to apprehend him, he fell sick at a Nun-

nery



RICHARD . I

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nery in *Yorkshire*, called *Kirkleys*, and desiring to be let Blood, was betrayed, and bled to Death. A. D. 1189.

All this great Mass of Treasure the King had got, was yet not thought sufficient to furnish his Expedition for the Holy War, and therefore he takes many indirect courses to get Money, as by selling Crown Lands, and extorting it from his Subjects; and having staid but four Months in *England* after his Coronation, in *December* goes into *Normandy*, keeps his *Christmas* at *Rouen*, commits the Charge of the Kingdom to *William Longchamp*, Bishop of *Ely*, under the Title of Chief-Justice of *England*, and procures the Pope to make him his Legate; and tho' he was suspicious of his Brother *John*, confers a great Estate upon him, and begins his Voyage to the *Holy Land*. King *Richard* stays in *Sicilia* till *Whitsuntide*, where his Mother brings *Berenguela*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*, to whom the King was there contracted, took her with him, and with a hundred and thirty Ships, and fifty Galleys, was by Tempest driven to the Isle of *Cyprus*, where the People opposing his Landing, he Assaults it on every side, subdues it, places Garrisons in it, and commits the Government of it to *Richard de Canvile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking half the Goods of the Inhabitants from them, and in recompence gives them the Privilege of Governing by their own Laws. And in this Place our Historians say, King *Richard* married the Lady *Berenguela*, and caused her to be crowned Queen. From hence, with the Spoils and Treasure of three Noble and Rich Islands, *England*, *Sicily* and *Cyprus*, besides what *Normandy* and *Guyenne* could furnish him with, he sails to the *Holy Land*, and there consumes it as violently as he obtained it.

His Voyage to the Holy Land.

His Marriage.

Being come into the Country of *Palestine*, the Kings of *England* and *France* besiege the City of *Acon*, defended by the Powers of *Saladine* against the Christians three Years together, before their arrival, and notwithstanding all the Forces of these two Kings, held it out four Months longer, and then surrendred it upon Composition. King *Richard* having rejected the King of *France*'s Sister, and married *Berenguela*, besides Competition in Honour, which their Equality was subject to, made daily occasions of Quarrels, insomuch, that by their own Feuds, and the Contagion of the Climate, they fell into such dangerous Sicknesses, as cost them both the Loss of their Hairs, which was more than they got by the Voyage. Being recovered, and the King

A. D. 1189. of *France* weary of an Expedition, where neither Honour nor Advantage was to be acquired, he desires leave of the King of *England* (for without leave of each other, it was covenanted, neither of them could depart) to return home: Which King *Richard* being hardly perswaded to grant, since it might be dangerous in his Absence to let such an enraged Lyon loose; yet, in the end, he condescended to it, and the King of *France* returned home, leaving the Earl of *Burgundy* Lieutenant of his Forces

The King of France *returns home.*

1190. During King *Richard*'s absence, the State of *England* suffered much by the Insolency and ill Management of *Longchamp*, insomuch, that the whole Clergy and Nobility oppose his Proceedings; and Earl *John* taking Advantage of these Discords, and to make himself popular, and smooth his way to his intended Usurpation, joins with the State against the Bishop of *Ely*: Who, having shamefully drawn *Jeffery*, the Elect Archbishop of *York*, from the Altar, and his Pontifical Habits, and trailed him a Prisoner to the Castle, and committed many other notorious Crimes in his Government; the Bishops and Nobility first called him to answer, and then deposed him from his Office, and the Archbishop of *Rouen* was placed in his Room.

Long-champ *deposed.*

Longchamp, being thus fallen from his Grandeur, attempts to fly beyond Sea, but was taken on *Dover* Beach in Woman's Cloaths, with a Webb of Linnen under his Arm, and made an opprobrious Spectacle to the Multitude, and in great Derision was committed Prisoner to the Castle, from whence in eight Days he was delivered by Earl *John* to pursue his Voyage to *Rome*, where, having the start of his Adversaries, he made his Story so plausible to the Pope, that he gain'd advantage of them, and the Pope ill resented their vilifying his Legatine Authority.

King Richard *leaves* Palestine.

King *Richard* being acquainted with the Disorders of his Kingdom, and the Encroachments of the King of *France* upon his Territories, he makes a Truce with *Saladine*, Emperor of the *Turks* for three Years, and leaving Wife, Sister and People, to come after him as they could provide, takes Shiping with a few Followers and leaves the Holy War with as great Precipitation as he undertook it. Having consumed therein all the mighty Treasure which was left him by his Father, and all that otherwise he could wrest from his Subjects by violent Extortions, or subtle practices; he hired three

Galley

Galleys to transport him and his Attendants, under the disguise of Pilgrims, to *Raguſa*; but by his laviſh Expences was diſcover'd to be the King of *England*, which he knowing, he left all his Company, and with one Man only, thro' all the Dangers of a wild Deſert and a rocky Country, travels Day and Night into *Auſtria*. And yet the Fame ran before him; for coming to a ſmall Village near *Vienna*, and repoſing himſelf in a poor Inn, he was taken aſleep, and brought before the Duke of *Auſtria*, whom he had affronted in *Paleſtine*, and by him was ſent to the Emperor *Henry* the Sixth, another of his Enemies, who communicated it to the King of *France*, that the Joy might be the greater. Under this Affliction, King *Richard* is ſaid to have reſigned the Kingdom of *England* to the Emperor, for his Liberty, and yet the King of *France* combining with Earl *John*, prevailed ſo far with the Emperor, that he detained him a Priſoner a whole Year and ſix Weeks, by the Offer of large Sums of Money. A. D. 1190. *Is taken Priſoner.*

In the mean time, Earl *John* leaguing with the King of *France*, in hoſtile manner Invades *England* with a great number of *French* and *Flemings*, while the Queen Mother, the Lords Juſtices, and all the good Subjects of *England*, ſtoutly oppoſe his Uſurpation, and labour the King's Redemption, which at length was accompliſhed, by paying to the Emperor a Hundred thouſand Marks in hand, and Fifty thouſand Marks more ſeven Months after, whereof Twenty thouſand Marks was the Duke of *Auſtria*'s ſhare, in whoſe Dominions he was firſt taken Priſoner; which was raiſed by impoſing upon every Knights Fee twenty Shillings, the fourth Part of all Lay-men's Revenues, and the fourth Part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with the tenth Part of their Goods, and the Chalices and the Treaſure of all Churches were taken to make up the Sum: And the like was done in all his Territories beyond Sea. So dear it coſt the Realm for the King's Return from the Holy War. And beſides this Money, we find that King *Richard* depoſed himſelf, and reſigned the Kingdom of *England* to the Emperor as his Supreme Lord; and inveſted him in it by delivering up his Hat, and promiſing to hold this Kingdom of the Emperor, at the yearly Tribute of Fifty thouſand Pounds Sterling. The King of *France* hearing of the Agreement, ſends notice to Earl *John*, that the Devil was got looſe; and therefore, while the King was yet a Priſoner, they both ſollicit the Emperor, *Exactions.*

A. D. 1192. with the Offer of the ſame Sum, or a Thouſand Pounds a Month ſo long as he kept him Priſoner. This a while ſtagger'd, but prevailed not with the Emperor, who ſhew'd King *Richard* the Letter, ſet him at Liberty, and he returned into *England* in *February*, after he had been in cuſtody a Year and ſix Weeks.

1193. After the Caſtles of *Nottingham* and *Durham*, that held out for Earl *John*, were ſurrendred, the King aſſembles a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where it was order'd that Earl *John* ſhould anſwer his Offences at Law, or be baniſh'd; and with granting the King an Aid, the Parliament broke up. At the ſame time the King of *Scots* came to *Richard*, to demand the Dignities his Predeceſſors had in *England*; whom the King, conſulting with his Council at *Northampton*, put off for the preſent with good words, and takes him with him to *Wincheſter*, agreeing to pay the King of *Scots* to bear his Charge from the time he came into *England*, a hundred Shillings a day; and after he came to Court, thirty Shillings a day, twelve Waſtles, twelve of the King's Simnels, four Quarts of the King's beſt Wine, ſix of his ordinary Wine, two Pounds of Pepper, four Pounds of Cinnamon, four Wax Lights, forty long Perchers of the King's beſt Candles, and twenty four of the ordinary ones; and at his return to be ſafely conducted, as he came, and with the ſame Allowance of a hundred Shillings a Day.

Allowance to the King of Scots.

King Richard Re-crowned. At *Wincheſter*, to nullify the Reſignation he had made to the Emperor, the King's Re-Coronation is magnificently celebrated; and there King *Richard* reſumed the two Mannors he had ſold to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at his going to the Holy War; and whatſoever Sales elſe he had made of the Demains of the Crown, alledging, that it was not in his Power to alienate any thing belonging to the Crown, by which his State was to ſubſiſt. Here alſo the King took Money for the Ranſom of all the Rich that had taken part with Earl *John*, and ſet the Poor ones at liberty under Bail. And having gleaned all the Money that was poſſible in this Kingdom, he went into *Normandy*, where all the Affairs of this Kingdom, to the great Charge and Grievance of the *Engliſh*, were now concerted; and this is all we ever gain'd by our large Dominions abroad. Now a War began between the Kings of *England* and *France*, which continued four Years at leaſt; Surpriſing, Recovering, Ruining and Spoiling each others Eſtates; and often de-

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luding the World and themſelves with Treaties of Peace, which were always broken again as ſoon as one thought he had the Advantage of the other, and could humour his own Ambition by Slaughter and Devaſtations. A. D. 1193.

To ſupply the Charge of this Expedition *England* was ſtill ſure to bear the heavieſt part, and no Shift is left unſought and unpractiſed to furniſh the King from hence; witneſs the Commiſſion given to the Itinerant Juſtices ſent into every Shire in *England*, to exact Money upon Pleas of the Crown, for Eſcheates, Wardſhips, Marriages, *&c.* with the Improvements of the Demains, the Order taken for the exact knowing of Men's Eſtates, eſpecially the *Jews*, on whom the King would let none prey but himſelf; beſides the Impoſitions upon Tournaments, and the new Seal, by which all Men's Deeds and Grants muſt be new Sealed, or the Premiſſes forfeited; by which all *England*, ſays *Hovedon*, from Sea to Sea was impoveriſhed: The Archbiſhop having given the King an account, That he had levied in this Kingdom in the ſpace of two Years, Eleven hundred thouſand Marks; which, conſidering the time, was a very remarkable Sum. And now, as the firſt Act of this King was his violent Proceedings with *Stephen Thurſton*, Seneſchal of *Normandy*, about Treaſure, ſo was it the laſt Act of his Life; for *Widomore* Viſcount of *Limoges*, having found a great Treaſure of Gold and Silver under ground, ſends a good part of it to King, which he refuſes, and lays Claim to the whole. *Widomore* refuſing to deliver it, the King lays Siege to his Caſtle, where he imagined the Treaſure was hid: Thoſe within the Caſtle defend themſelves, and King *Richard* going with his General about the Caſtle, to view in what Place to make an Aſſault, *Bertram de Gourdon* ſhot a barbed Arrow from the Walls, that hit the King in the Arm with ſuch a deadly force, that he was carried off immediately to his Lodgings: However the Caſtle was taken, and all put to the Sword but *Bertram*, who was preſerved by the King's Command. The Arrow was drawn out with great Torture, but the Head was left behind; which being cut out by an unskilful Chyrurgeon, who mangled his Arm, made him deſpair of his Life: And having diſpoſed of his Eſtate, leaving his Brother Earl *John* three parts of his Treaſure, and the fourth to his Servants, he commands, that *Bertram Gourdon* be brought to him, of whom he demanded what Injury he had done him, that provoked him to do that Miſchief? *Bertram* anſwers,

1194. *His laſt Acts.*

As he lived he died.

A. D. 1194. *A ſmart Repartee.*

'Thou haſt killed my Father and my two Brothers 'with thine own Hand, and now thou wouldſt have 'kill'd me, take what Revenge thou wilt, I ſhall willingly endure the utmoſt Cruelty thou can'ſt inflict 'upon me ſince I have killed thee, that haſt done ſo 'much Miſchief in the World. The King, notwithſtanding his rough Anſwer, cauſed him to be ſet at Liberty; and not only forgave him his Death, but commanded a hundred Shillings Sterling ſhould be given him: But *Marchard*, after the King's Death, cauſed him to be flea'd alive and hang'd.

1199. *His Character.*

Thus came to his long home, this Lyon like King, who exacted and conſumed more of this Kingdom's Wealth than all his Predeceſſors, ſince the Entry of the *Normans*, had done before him; and yet never any leſs deſerv'd it: For he never liv'd in *England*, nor left behind him any Monument of Piety, nor any Publick Work, nor ever ſhew'd any Love, or took any Care, or did any Good to this Kingdom, but extorted all he could from it. Never had Prince more given him with leſs noiſe; which muſt be attributed to his undertaking the Holy War, and his great Sufferings in it; which made the Clergy, which then had the Power to do what they pleas'd, to deny him nothing; but the People, then fed with Reports of his Miraculous Valour, and Dreadful Encounters abroad, and ſome Victories in *France*, were brought to ſuffer more Impoſitions upon themſelves than otherwiſe they would have done. Beſides, he had ſuch a Set of Miniſters here to ſerve his ends, as prefer'd his Service before the Welfare of the Kingdom, and did more for him in his Abſence, as they managed matters, than he could have done himſelf if he had been preſent: For to gain his good Opinion, and to keep their Places, they deviſed more Tricks to drain the People than ever was practiſed before in this Kingdom; and never valued what Oppreſſions they laid upon the Subjects, ſo the King's demands were ſatisfy'd; and which was moſt deplorable, the People were begga'd and ruin'd by ſhew of Law and Religion; which being the main Supporters of Human Society, and the Preſervers of Liberty and Property, were employ'd by crafty States-Men to undermine and confound them.

His Miniſters of State.

But the inſolent over charging the Nation in theſe times, gave occaſion to look better to themſelves for the future: Exceſſes will for ever procure Alterations. And this

this King's Succeſſors were but little obliged to his Example, for out of his, and his Brother's Extravagancies and boundleſs Expences, the Money came to be ſtinted in proportion to the Crown Revenues. What this King would have prov'd, if he had not been always haraſſed in the rougher part of War, is uncertain; and having no Children to whom he might ſecure the Poſſeſſion made him more regardleſs to Poſterity. Mentioning this Particular, calls to mind his ſharp Repartee to a Monk in *France*, who told the King, 'Tho he had 'no Male Iſſue, yet he had three wicked Daughters 'which he would do well to put away, and beſtow 'them abroad, to prevent a Puniſhment from God Al'mighty. The King gave him the Lye, and told him he had none. Yes, Sir, reply'd the Prieſt, you have three Daughters, which are theſe, Pride, Covetouſneſs and Letchery. The King telling thoſe about him what the Prieſt had ſaid, deſired them to bear Witneſs how he would beſtow theſe Daughters, which the Prieſt had fathered on him. The firſt, ſays he, which is Pride, I give to the Templers and Hoſpitallers; Covetouſneſs to the Monks of the *Ciſtercian* Order; and Letchery to the Clergy; which at once diſcover'd the Briskneſs of his Genius, and that he had no kindneſs for Men of thoſe Societies. But that which conduces more to his Honour, is, that being reprov'd and admoniſh'd by a Religious Hermit to amend his Life, it had ſuch an Operation upon him, that after a Fit of Sickneſs, which is commonly a better Monitor than Health, remembring the Hermit's Advice, he vow'd a Reformation of his Life; and upon Recovery, roſe early to Divine Service, grew charitable to the Poor, and made Reſtitution of much Plate, which had been taken from the Church, and ſold for his Ranſom. He died on the ſixth day of *April* 1199. having reign'd Nine Years and Nine Months, and liv'd Forty Four. According to his order, his Bowels, as the worſer part of him, were beried at *Charron* among the Rebellious *Poictevins*. His Heart at *Roan*, as the City whoſe conſtant Loyalty had deſerved it; And the Trunk of his Corpſe was intumb'd at *Font Everard*, at his Father's Feet, to whom he had ſometime been diſobedient. His natural Iſſue were *Philip* and *Iſabel*.

A. D. 1199.

His Iſſue.

The

A. D. 1199. The Works of Piety in this Reign were not many; of the (*a*) *Benedictines* were only founded 6 Abbeys or Nunneries, of the (*b*) *Ciſtercians* 1. of the (*c*) *Gilbertine* 2. of the (*d*) *Præmonſtratenſian* Order 4, 3 of (*e*) Black Canons, and 2 (*f*) Alien Priories.

(*a*) Ickleton, Cambridgſhire; Hatfield, Bradock *and* Honingham, Eſſex; St. Mary de Prato, Herefordſhire; Halywel, Middleſex; Clive, Somerſetſhire. (*b*) Kimmer, Merionethſhire. (*c*) Shouldeham, Norfolk; Matiecuy, Nottinghamſhire. (*d*) For, Devonſhire; Langdon, Kent; Swainby *and* Coverham, Yorkſhire. (*e*) Royſton, Hertfordſhire; Brook, Rutlandſhire, *and* Raunton, Staffordſhire. (*f*) Tywandreth, Cornwal; Hintley, Leiceſterſhire.

The Life and Reign of King JOHN.

KING *Richard* being Dead, the Right of Succeſſion remain'd in *Arthur*, Son of *Jeoffery Plantagenet*, Elder Brother to Earl *John*; but he thinking *Arthur*'s Title but a Criticiſm of State, not fit to be examined by every vulgar Head; nor ſo plain as his own, that was the Son of a King, ſends *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, before him in *England*, to make large Promiſes in his Name, of the Juſtice and Moderation he intended in his Government. He follows him, and aſcends the Throne as confidently as if he had no Competitor; and upon *Aſcenſion Day* 1199, was crown'd King at *Weſtminſter*, with more Solemnity than Satisfaction to the People, in whoſe Countenance might be read the Preſages of future Calamities. He had great Advantage of *Arthur*, who was but a Child of thirteen Years of Age, bred a Stranger, and never ſeen in *England*, and himſelf well known to all, and that he had Power to make himſelf King, if they had not elected him. The State of *England* ſecured, King *John* returns into *Normandy*, upon notice given him of a Defection in thoſe Parts, wrought by *Philip*, King of *France*, who had eſpous'd *Arthur*'s Intereſt; and in a Conference with King *John*, requires ſuch unreaſonable Conditions that in Honour he could not conſent to, and ſo they fall to the Sword. The King of *France*, under Pretence for *Arthur*, gets for himſelf, which

King John *Crown'd.*



IOHN

7.



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which being discovered, *Arthur*, with his Mother *Constance*, at the persuasion of their Principal Minister *William de la Roche*, commit themselves to the Protection of King *John*; of whom also conceiving a sudden Jealousy, the next Night after their coming, got secretly away, and fled to *Angiers*: And so this young Prince, born to be crush'd between two Potent Monarchs, who only intended their own Advantages, gave occasion, by leaving them both, to make them both his Enemies. *Philip* King of *France*, enters *Normandy* with a mighty Army, and takes many of the best Towns from King *John*, which he the Year before had taken from Prince *Arthur*; whereupon King *John* takes a Journey into *Normandy*, and being more desirous of Peace than his own Honour, agrees that his Niece *Blanche*, Daughter to *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*, by his Sister *Eleanor*, should marry with *Lewis*, King *Philip*'s Son, and that her Dowery, besides Thirty thousand Pounds in Money, should be all those Cities, except *Angiers*, which the *French*, before that time, had taken, which were many and great. With this Peace he returns joyfuly into *England*; but was not well received by the Lords, who reckon'd themselves injured in the dishonourable Conditions he had made.

A. D. 1199. 1200. *Prince Arthur's hard Fate.*

But King *John* having now procured his Ease, which was more agreeable to his Nature than War, sets his Mind upon his Pleasures: And for maintaining his Pleasure, seeks after Profit, and pursues it with all manner of Injustice, under the Name Prerogative; extorting Money without any lawful Pretence whatsoever. In the Neck of these unjust Proceedings, he commits another, in procuring a Divorce, and Repudiating his Wife *Avis*, Daughter of *Robert*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, only for being of Kin to him in the third Degree, and by Advice of the King of *France*, marrying *Isabel*, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Angoulesme*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *Marche*, and shortly after brings her into *England*, and are both crown'd at *Canterbury*. And here the Earls and Barons being all summoned to attend the King into *France* at *Whitsuntide*, they all by a general Consent send him Word, 'That unless he would 'restore them their Rights and Liberties, they would 'not serve him out of the Kingdom. Notwithstanding the refusal of the Lords, he goes with his Queen into *Normandy*, and from thence to *Paris*, where the King of *France* receives them with Complements of Love and Friendship.

1201. *King John Repudiates his Wife.*

But

A. D. 1201. But now *Hugh*, Earl of *Marche*, reſenting the Injury done him by King *John*, in depriving him of his affianced Wife, joins with Prince *Arthur*; and the King of *France*, notwithſtanding his late fair ſhew of Amity, joins with them alſo; having ſome time before married his youngeſt Daughter to Prince *Arthur*. Theſe with their joint Troops invade firſt the *Turones*, and then the *Anjouvins*, of which Province Queen *Eleanor*, the King's Mother, was left Regent: Who thereupon betakes herſelf to *Mirabel*, the ſtrongeſt Town in thoſe parts, and ſends to her Son King *John*, acquainting him with the danger ſhe was in, and requiring his ſpeedy Succour.

Prince Arthur *takes* Mirabel. In the mean time Prince *Arthur* takes the City, and in it his Grand Mother, Queen *Eleanor*, whom he treated with greater Reverence and Honour than ſhe expected. King *John* at the receipt of this News, calls the *French* King Ungrateful and Perfidious, for ſuccouring Prince *Arthur* contrary to his League. Thus inſulted on one ſide by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, on the other ſide by Prince *Arthur*, and the Baron of *Anjou*, who had

King John *defeats him.* taken *Mirabel*, King *John* with greater Expedition and Force than was expected, came and defeated the whole Army, took Priſoners Prince *Arthur*, *Hugh de Brun*, the Baron of *Poictou*, and above 200 Knights and Officers, which he carried away bound in Carts, and diſpoſed them into divers Caſtles both in *Normandy* and *England*.

1203. This Victory which might ſeem enough to have eſtabliſhed his Throne, ruined him to all intents and purpoſes, by his making ill uſe of it; and loſt his Reputation with Mankind for ever. *Arthur* is murdered in Priſon, and the Crime laid at his Door; which, with the cruel Execution of many of his Priſoners and Hoſtages, ſo exaſperated the Nobility of *Britain*, *Anjou* and *Poictou*, that they all took Arms againſt him, and ſummoned him to Anſwer in the Court of Juſtice of the King of *France*, to whom they appeal: Which he refuſing, is condemned to loſe the Dutchy of *Normandy*, which his

Norman- dy *loſt.* Anceſtors had held eight hundred Years, and all his other Provinces in *France*; and the next Year, either through his Negligence, or the Revolting of his own Officers, he was wholly diſpoſſeſſed of it.

Under theſe ill circumſtances King *John* returns into *England*, reproaches the Earls and Barons as the cauſe of his Loſſes, and fines them to pay the Eighth part of their Goods, for refuſing to aſſiſt him; and laid as hea-

vy Penalties upon the Clergy. Afterwards an Aid of two Marks upon every Knight's Fee, is granted him by Parliament; with which having raiſed new Supplies, he goes into *Normandy*, join'd with thoſe that were revolted, and by the King of *France* was overthrown, forced into *England* to recruit his Loſſes. Now another Impoſition of the thirteenth part of all Moveables, and other Goods, is laid upon the Clergy and Laiety: Who ſeeing their Eſtates thus conſumed without Succeſs, and likely for ever to be made a Prey to the King's deſperate Courſes, they began to conſult for the Recovery of their Ancient Immunities, which by their own Sufferance had been uſurp'd by their late Kings, and to eaſe themſelves of the Oppreſſions they lay under. A. D. 1205. *Liberties demanded*

The firſt Man that oppoſed the Collection of the Impoſition, was the Archbiſhop of *York*, who ſolemnly curſed the Receivers of it in his own Province, and then withdrew out of the Kingdom; chuſing rather to live in Exile Abroad, than to endure Oppreſſion and Slavery at Home. Hence grew a miſerable Breach between the King and his People; for both runing into Extremes, the Ligaments of Lawful Commands and Regular Obedience were ſo disjointed, that the reducing them again into Order, coſt more Noble Blood, than in all the Foreign Wars ſince the *Norman* Invaſion. It was now a Hundred and thirty Years ſince the Entry of the *Normans*, and their Nobility being now become all *Engliſh*, and finding themſelves and the Kingdom continually haraſſed, at the King's abſolute Will and Humour, they boldly attempt to reſcue themſelves from an approaching Eternal Slavery, in which their Cauſe was much better than the Proſecution; for whilſt they contended to recover what they had loſt, and the King to keep what he had gotten, many Indecencies and Irregularities were committed, that cannot be palliated.

A diſeaſed Head firſt makes a diſtemper'd Body, which being impoſſible to be cured aſunder, made the Diſeaſe of ſo long continuance: Beſides, the intolerable Corruption of the Age, contributed to encreaſe the Kingdom's Calamities. An Ambitious Clergy, polluted with Avarice and Irreligion, had alſo a great ſhare in procuring Trouble; for *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being dead, the Monks of that Convent ſecretly in the Night, elected one *Reginald* their Sub-Prior, 1207. *Difference between the King and the Church.* *An Archbiſhop Elected by the Monks.*

A.D. 1207. Prior in his Place, to prevent the King from being concern'd in the Election; pretending they alone had Right to chuſe their Archbiſhop, by vertue of their ancient Privileges. *Reginald* thus elected, they immediately diſpatch towards *Rome*, taking his Oath of Secreſy before he went; but the Exceſs of his Joy would not ſuffer him to contain the Secret, but till he came into *Flanders*, and then out comes the Report of his Preferment; which the Monks being adviſed of, and fearing what would be the Conſequence of this raſh Proceeding, they ſend to the King, and humbly beg his leave to chuſe a Man qualified for the Office. The King nominates *John Gray*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, his ſpecial Favourite. The King's Deſire is propounded to the Convent, and after ſome Debate he is Elected to the See of *Canterbury*; in which, their laſt Error, ſays *Matthew Paris*, was worſe than the firſt, and began a Breach that proved an irreparable Detriment to the Kingdom.

The King ſends certain Monks to *Rome*, to have *Gray*'s Election confirmed by the Pope. The Suffragan Biſhops complain againſt the Monks to the Pope, for making an Election without their Concurrence, and the Monks aſſert their own Right of chuſing alone. The Pope appoints a peremptory day for deciding this Controverſy. The firſt Election being made clandeſtinely in the Night, is oppoſed by the King's Procurators. The laſt was urged to be unlawful, becauſe there was no Ceſſation of the firſt, which, whether lawful or unlawful, ought to have been done before any other Election could be legally made. Now the Pope ſeeing the Procurators could not agree upon one Perſon, by the Conſent of the Cardinals he pronounced both the Elections void, and names a third Man, *Stephen Langton*, a Cardinal, of great Spirit, and an *Engliſhman* Born, who had all the Voices of the Monks that were there, and who alledg'd it was in their Power, by the Pope's Prerogative to make good this Choice. *Stephen Langton* being thus Elected, and afterward Conſecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope diſmiſs'd the Monks, and the reſt of the Agents, with Letters to King *John*, 'To receive this new Archbiſhop kindly, who was Canonically Elected, a Native of *England*, Learned in all the Liberal Sciences, a Doctor in Theology, and, which exceeded all, of a good Life and Converſation, and fit for the Service of his Body and his Soul.'

Another Election made at Rome.

These Letters, with the Notice of what was done at *Rome*, so enraged the King, that with great precipitation, he sends *Fulk de Canty* and *Henry de Cornhill* with armed Men, to expel the Monks of *Canterbury*, as Traytors out of his Kingdom, and to seize upon all they had, which was immediately done; and away marched the Prior, and all the Monks that were able, to *Flanders*. Nor did the King rest here, but writ a sharp Letter to the Pope, accusing him of the Injury he had done him, 'In Annulling the Election of *Norwich*, whom he especially favoured, and imposing *Stephen Langton* upon him, whom he knew not, that had been bred in *France* among his Enemies; and which was more, by Eclipsing the Prerogatives of his Crown, in prefering a Man to the chiefest Places in *England* without his Consent and Approbation. Vehemently assuring him, That he would stand by the Rights of the Crown till Death, and that he should never consent to the Revocation of *Norwich*'s Election, whom he knew every way qualified for the Office. And in conclusion threatens, 'That if they would not do him Justice, he would block up his Subjects Correspondence, and way to *Rome*; for if Necessity required, he had a sufficient number of Learned Prelates in his own Dominions to do him Right without beging Justice from Strangers. The Pope returns an Answer to the King's Letter, by charging him with a 'Threatning, Contumacious and Stubborn Carriage to him, and Want of that Respect that was due to Christ's Vicar; and in the Conclusion tells him, That in Elections celebrated at the Apostolick See, the Consent of Princes was not expected. Thus these two mighty Powers strove to make good each others own Prerogatives, and defended their Interests with Words; but when the Pope understood how the King had proceeded against the Church at *Canterbury*, he presently sent his Mandate to the Bishops of *London*, *Ely* and *Worcester*, to exhort the King to reform himself; but if they found him Contumacious, they should interdict the whole Kingdom of *England*. The Bishops as they were enjoin'd, Address to the King, and with Tears besought him to call Home the Archbishop, and the Monks of *Canterbury*, to their Church.

A. D. 1207.

The King's Letter to the Pope.

The Pope's Answer.

The King interrupting the Bishops Speech, breaks out into a violent Rage against the Pope, and the Cardinal, Swearing by the *Teeth of God*, that if they or any

1208.

A. D. 1208. ny other ſhould dare to put the Kingdom under Interdiction, he would preſently ſend all the Clergy of *England* to the Pope, and confiſcate their Eſtates; and if any belonging to *Rome* were found in his Dominions, he would put out their Eyes, ſlit their Noſes, and ſend them Home; charging the Biſhops immediately to avoid his Preſence, as they would eſcape their own danger. This being related to the Pope, he excommunicated the whole Kingdom. All Sacraments ceaſe, but Confeſſion, Extreme Unction, and Baptiſm of Children. The Dead are put into the Earth without a Prieſt or Prayers, and nothing done relating to Religion. The Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Bath* and *Hereford* get ſecretly out of the Kingdom, and the reſt ſecure themſelves in Monaſteries, where Officers had no Commiſſion to force them out. To requite this Violence with the like, the King commands all Prelates, and their Servants, to depart the Kingdom, confiſcates their Revenues, and gives them to Lay men.

The whole Kingdom Excommunicated

Now the King, to prevent the Defection of his Subjects, which he daily fear'd would follow, upon this Breach with the Church, ſends a Military Power to require Pledges of all the great Men in the Kingdom, for the Aſſurance of their Fidelity, which many complied with: But *William de Brauſe*, a Nobleman being required to deliver his Pledge, his Wife preventing her Husband's Anſwer, tells the Commiſſioners, *That the King ſhould have none of her Children to keep, that was ſo ill a Keeper of his own Brother's Son* Arthur. This Anſwer being reported to the King, he ſends to apprehend the Baron, but he having notice of it, fled with his Wife and Children into *Ireland*; where afterwards the afflicted Lady, ſends Queen *Iſabel* Four hundred Cowes and a Bull, in hopes ſhe would mediate for her Pardon; but at laſt ſhe, and her two Sons, were taken, (her Husband eſcaping into *France*) and ſent Priſoners to *Windſor*, where ſhe, and her two Innocent Children, were famiſhed to Death; ſo dearly ſhe paid for the raſh Offence of her Tongue.

An Act of great Cruelty

1210. Two Years the Interdiction continued, and the Pope ſeeing the King would not relent, excommunicated him in Perſon; which was ſo far from effecting his end, that it more enrag'd him againſt the Clergy. The Excommunication of King *John* was accompanied the ſame Year with the Excommunication of the Emperor *Otho*, and both in the Pope's own Quarrel, for which he was ſeverely

severely censured by all disinterested Persons. But King *John* was resolved not to be behind hand with the Pope, and therefore summons all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him at *London*, and extorts from them, for their Redemption, the Sum of One hundred thousand Pounds Sterling. The next Year, being the twelfth of his Reign, with this Money he reduced *Wales*, (that had rebelled) to his Obedience, and takes 78 Children of the best Families, for Pledges of their future Subjection. Returning from thence, he exacts of every Knight that did not attend his Army in this Expedition, the Sum of two Marks; and at *Nottingham* is pleased to receive the Pope's Agents, *Pandulphus* and *Durandus*, by whose Exhortations, and the Consideration of the State of the Kingdom, he consented that the Archbishop, and the Monks of *Canterbury*; with all the Exiled Bishops should return in Peace to their own; but refused to make Satisfaction for the Losses they sustain'd in the Confiscation of their Goods, and therefore the Agents depart unsatisfied.

A. D. 1210.

1211. Wales *reduc'd.*

Certain poor *Welsh* Mountaineers commiting little Robberies upon the Borders, King *John*, being at *Nottingham*, takes that Advantage to raise an Army to invade the whole Country, and before he would sit down to Dinner, caused all those eight and twenty Children, the innocent Pledges of the *Welsh*, to be all hang'd in his Presence; but before he had dined, Letters came, that gave him Intelligence of a Conspiracy against his Person, which hastened him to *London*. Now the Pope makes his great Effort against him, pronounces his Sentence of Deposition from the Royal Government of *England*, and writes to the King of *France*, *That as he expected to have Remission of his Sins, he should expel King* John *out of the Kingdom of* England, *and possess it for himself and his Heirs for ever*. To the same effect he writes to the Princes and Great Men of other Nations, *To assist the King of* France *in his Enterprize, for which they should have as large a Remission of their Sins, as if they had undertaken the* Holy War.

Cruelty upon Cruelty.

1213.

The King of *France*, in Obedience to the Pope's Injunction, and in hopes of joining *England* to *France*, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions to assemble their Forces, and be ready to assist him at the Spring, under Pain of Exheredation: And also gave order to equip a Fleet of Ships to tran-

French *Preparations.*

A. D. 1213.

sport them into *England*. King *John*, upon notice of this Design, commands a Fleet to be got ready with all Expedition, and summons all Earls, Barons, Knights, and others, that could bear Arms, to be ready at *Dover* immediately after *Easter*, under pain of *Culvertage*, and perpetual Servitude; upon which such great Numbers appeared, that when more than half were sent backagain for want of Arms and Provision, there yet remained of choice Men above Threescore thousand, besides a Navy which exceeded that of *France*.

Thus prepared, King *John* expects his Enemies, but instead of them came privately two Knights Templers from *Pandulphus*; and notwithstanding his great Army, he condescends to accept of a Treaty with him, which *Pandulphus* being advised of, secretly withdraws himself out of the *French* Army to come to *Dover*, and so terrifies King *John* with the mighty Forces coming against him, and the imminent Danger wherein he stood, that he yielded to any Conditions, and not only grants Restitution and Satisfaction for the Injuries he had done, but meanly lays down his Crown, Scepter, Mantle, Sword and Ring, the Ensigns of his Regality, at the Feet of *Pandulphus*, and by a publick Instrument, delivers up the Kingdom of *England* to the Pope, and submits himself to the Judgment and Mercy of the Church.

King John *meanly submits.*

Two days (some say six) the Pope's Legate kept the Crown before he restored it; and at the receiving it the King swore that he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of *England*, and Lordship of *Ireland*, of the See of *Rome*, at the Annual Rent of a Thousand Marks of Silver. Notwithstanding this Act and Submission of King *John*, the Interdiction continu'd till eight thousand Marks of Silver more were delivered to *Pandulphus*, and then he returned into *France*, and charged that King upon pain of Excommunication, not to proceed any farther in this Enterprize, seeing King *John* had thus submited himself to the Church; which much displeased the King of *France*, and put him upon another Enterprize, wherein he had very ill success. *Pandulphus*, with the rest of the Exiled Clergy, came over and found the King at *Wincheſter*, where he went forth to meet them, and on his Knees, with Tears in his Eyes, beseeches them to have Compassion on him, and the Kingdom of *England*, who thereupon gave him Absolution; and at the Entrance of a new Pope, he stood upon better Terms at *Rome*, and had leisure to combate the *Scots*, and

and make their King do him Homage, and reduced the *Welsh* and *Irish* to his Obedience; but coming home, he finds a worse Affair to entertain him. A. D. 1213.

For the Lords of the Realm having often required their antient Rights and Liberties, and finding nothing but Delusions from the King, would be no longer abus'd; but meeting at St. *Edmunds-bury*, they consult how they might find a Remedy for this Evil, and at length concluded to go to the King themselves in Person, and make their Demands, whereof a Charter was produced that had been granted in the Reign of King *Henry* the First. Coming to the King in the new *Temple*, they acquaint him with their Demands, and he gives them this fair Answer, *That in a few Days he would give them Satisfaction*; but the King meaning nothing less than to make good his Word, falls presently to levying of *Soldiers*, which the Lords understanding, did the like; and going to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, delivered him a Copy of their Demands, and require the King's Answer; but the Bishop shewing it to the King, and humbly entreating him to give the Lords Satisfaction, he swore *by the Feet of God, they might as well Demand the Kingdom, and that he would die before he would condescend to such Demands.* *Charter of Privileges.*

The Lords knowing now what they were to trust to, besiege *Northampton*, and after that *Bedford*, which were yielded to them, and withal, they are sent to by the *Londoners*, to signify their readiness to join with them. The King was now at *Windsor* for providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joined with the Lords, he thought fit rather to proceed by Fraud than by Force, and therefore sends to the Lords, that they would come to him at *Windsor*, and he would grant their Demands. The Lords coming thither in a Military manner, because they durst not trust to his Word, the King saluted them all very kindly, and promised to give them Satisfaction in all they demanded; and in a Meadow between *Windsor* and *Stains*, call'd *Running Mead*, he freely consented to confirm their former Liberties, and was contented some grave Person should see it perform'd; but the next Day, when it should be done, he goes to *Southampton*, from thence to the *Isle of Wight*, where, advising with his Council, it was concluded he should send to the Pope, to acquaint him with this Mutiny of the Lords, and to require his Assistance: While the King, in the mean time, lived sculking up and down 1214. *The King Grants the Lords Demands.*

A D. 1214. down in Corners, that no Man might know where to find him. Now the Lords begin to ſuſpect Deceit, when ſhortly after the King's Meſſengers returning with the Pope's Decree, which was, *That the King's Grant to the Lords ſhould be void*, and the King acquainting the Lords with it, they accuſe the Meſſengers of falſe informing the Pope, and the Pope alſo for making a Decree without hearing both Parties, betake themſelves to their Arms, and ſwear by the *Holy Altar*, to be revenged for this trifling and injurious Dealing. The King finding the Lords provoked at the Pope's Decree, he acquaints him with it, who extremely incenſed that his Decree was ſlighted, pronounced the Lords to be Enemies to Religion; and orders *Peter*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Abbot of *Reading*, to excommunicate them. In the mean time, the King ſent the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellor of *England*, to hire Soldiers in Foreign Parts, who returning ſhortly after, the King got all the Caſtles of the Barons to the Borders of *Scotland*; and dividing his Army, commits part of it to his Brother *William*, Earl of *Salisbury*, to ſet upon *London*; and with the other part marches into *Yorkſhire*, where the Lords had great Poſſeſſions, and cruelly deſtroyed it with Fire and Sword; and being wholly ſet upon Deſtruction, inflicts all thoſe Calamities that the Rage of a diſorderly War could commit, upon a miſerable People that never oppoſed him. All Countries ſuffer in this general Deſolation, and King *John* marching as far as *Berwick*, had Intentions to carry it farther, threatning *Alexander*, King of *Scots*, *That he would hunt the Fox to his Hole*, (alluding to his Red Hair) had he not been called back into theſe Parts, upon diſcovery of new Deſigns. For the Barons ſeeing themſelves diſpoſſeſs'd of their Eſtates, their Lands and Goods given to Strangers, their Wives and Daughters raviſhed, and threaten'd with the loſs of their own Lives, they reſolved upon a courſe, neither honourable nor ſafe, yet ſuch as the neceſſity of ther Affairs made appear to be both; and ſent to *Philip*, King of *France*, importuning him to ſend over his Son *Lewis* to their Aſſiſtance, promiſing to receive him as their Sovereign, and ſent Pledges to aſſure them of Fidelity being perſwaded, that thoſe *French* Forces that King *John* had entertained, would deſert him, and join with *Lewis*. This Meſſage was accepted by the *French* King who call'd a Parliament at *Lyons*, where the Propoſal was debated, and reſolved upon. *Lewis*, beſides th

War between the King and the Lords.

The Lords worſted.

The Barons ſollicit Aid from France.

Aſſu

Assurance given him by the Barons that he should be elected King, relied upon a Title which he claim'd by his Wife *Blanche*, Daughter to King *John*'s Sister, and writes to the Barons that he would send them Succours speedily, and not be long behind them in Person. A. D. 1214.

This Design upon King *John* and the Kingdom of *England* was soon communicated to the Pope, who presently sent his Agent to the King of *France*, to entreat him, that he would not suffer his Son to invade or disquiet the King of *England*, but rather defend him, in regard he was a Vassal to the *Roman* Church, and the whole Kingdom the Demeasns of the Holy See; but the King of *France*, tho' unwilling to disoblige the Pope, returns him Answer, 'That the Kingdom of *England* 'never was, nor is, nor never should be the Patrimony of 'St. *Peter*. That King *John* was never the lawful and 'rightful King of that Country; and if he had been, he 'had forfeited it by the Murther of *Arthur*, for which 'he was condemned in his Court of Peers in *France*; 'nor was it in his Power to give away the Kingdom, 'without the free and voluntary Consent of the Three 'Estates of the Realm, who were obliged by a Native 'Right to defend it; and if the Pope undertook to maintain this pernicious Error, it would be a very ill Example, and highly prejudicial to the Honour and Interest 'of all Christian Princes. And with this Answer, the Pope's Agent returns to *Rome*, under great Dissatisfaction. *The Pope endeavours to prevent it.*

Lewis having first sent Commissioners to declare his Right, and justify his Undertaking, saileth from *Calais* with six hundred Ships, and eighty other Vessels, and lands his Army at *Sandwich* in *Kent*. King *John* having notice of his coming, attends him at *Dover*, with design to encounter him at his Landing; but upon notice of his numerous Forces, aud withal distrusting the Fidelity of his Mercenaries, having commited the custody of *Dover* Castle to the care of *Hugh de Burg*, forsakes the Field himself, and first retires to *Wincheſter*, afterwards to *Glouceſter*; and leaves all to the Will of his Enemy: Who, after all *Kent* (except *Dovor* Castle, which he could never master) had submited to him, he march'd to *London*, where he was joyfully received by the Barons; and upon taking his Oath to restore their Laws, and recover their Rights, had Homage and Fealty paid him as Sovereign of the Kingdom: Thither came also to him the Earls *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, 1216. Lewis *lands in* Kent.

A. D. 1216.

William Mareſchal the younger, with many others that had forſaken King *John*, to eſpouſe the Intereſt of a Foreigner.

Gualle, the Pope's Agent, notwithſtanding all the Roads were peſtered with Soldiers, made hard ſhift to get to the King at *Glouceſter*; and after he had ſhew'd King *John* what great Care the Pope had of him, he ſolemnly pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lewis*, and all his Adherents; which, tho' it made a noiſe at *Rome*, yet it had ſo little effect in *England*, that it neither added Strength to King *John*, nor diſheartned his Enemies; nor had Power enough to oblige his Mercenaries to be faithful to him: For moſt of them left him, and either returned home into their own Countries with the Spoils they had gotten, or went over to his Enemies. However, he was not left ſo deſtitute, but that he had Power to inſeſt, tho' not to encounter his Enemies; and finding the Barons employ'd themſelves in Sieges, gathers a Rabble of the Scum of the People together, and runs over all the Country, barbarouſly ſpoiling and killing all he could meet with, inſomuch that this Kingdom was now the Stage of Miſery, Rapine and Cruelty: Two Armies preying upon one another, and both upon the Country. The King coming to *Walpool* in *Norfolk*, where he was to paſs the Waſhes, finding a fordable Place, he went over ſafely himſelf, and a few others; but the multitude, with all the Carriages, paſſing without Order, were all drowned. At which diſaſter the King, through Anguiſh of Mind, fell into a Fever, of which in a few Days after he dy'd.

King John *dies.*

Several things ſavouring of Irreligion are reported of him; as that being overthrown in *France*, he ſhould ſay, 'That nothing had proſpered with him ſince he was 'reconciled to God and the Pope. And that upon opening a fat Buck he ſaid, 'See how well this Deer 'hath lived, and how fat he is; and yet, I dare ſwear, 'that he never heard Maſs. And that he offered his Kingdom to *Mirammumalim*, King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, and promiſed to turn *Mahometan*, if he would come and aſſiſt him: For which, and other Crimes, a Poet ſtains his Memory with this Diſtrich.

Anglia ſicut adhus ſordes fætore Johannis,
Sordida fœdatur fœdame Johanne Gehenna.

But

But these Stories admit of some Abatement, being related only by the Monks who did not love him: Tho' there is too great a probability that he might do the latter. He had three Wives, *Ailce*, Daughter of *Hugh*, Earl *Morton*, *Avis*, Daughter of *Robert*, Earl of *Glocester*; by these two he had no Issue. *Isabel*, Daughter of *Aymer*, Earl of *Angoulesme*, by whom he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*; and three Daughters, *Joan*, *Eleanor* and *Isabel*. He had two Natural Sons and a Daughter. In this King's time, Wheat was sold for Twelve pence a Quarter, and Beans and Oats, for a Groat a Quarter. He was reported to be poison'd by a Monk of *Swines-head*; but the Physician that open'd him, contradicts it. He died on the 19th of *October*, 1216. when he had reigned 17 Years and 6 Months, and he had lived 51. His Bowels were buried at *Croxton Abbey*, and his Body at *Worcester* under the High Altar. A. D. 1216.

The Price of Corn.

The Religious Houses founded in this Reign, were 9 of the (*a*) *Benedictine* Order, 8 of the (*b*) *Cistercian*, 6 of the (*c*) *Gilbertine*, 3 of the (*d*) *Præmonstratensian*, 13 of (*e*) *Black Canons*, 1 of (*f*) *Knights Hospitallers*, and 1 (*g*) *Alien Priories*.

(*a*) Otterington, Devonshire; Lythom, Lancashire; Langley, Leicestershire; Lambey, Northumberland; Wailing, Wells, Nottinghamshire; Campesse, Suffolk; Thyrkhead *and* Grosmount, Yorkshire. (*b*) Parendon, Berks; Mindham, Bucks; Dunkeswel, Devonshire; Beaulieu, Hampshire; Lekebourn, Lincolnshire; Dolacre, Staffordshire; Wycham, Yorkshire; *and* Whiteland, Camardenshire. (*c*) Overton, Durham; Sixley *and* Wells, Lincolnshire; St. Andrews *and* Ellerton, Yorkshire; Mirmaud, Cambridgeshire. (*d*) Langley, Norfolk; Hales Owen, Shropshire; *and* Dureford, Sussex. (*e*) Sandforp, Berks; Madburley, Cheshire; Egglesion, Durham; Molisiont, Hampshire; Acornbury, Herefordshire; Bradley, Leicestershire; Torkesey, Lincolnshire; Hickling, Norfolk; Finishevid, Northamptonshire; Wroxton, Oxfordshire; Worspring, Somersetshire; Ipswich, Suffolk, *and* Rygate, Surrey. (*f*) Ansty, Wiltshire. (*g*) Patrickbourn, Kent.

The Life and Reign of HENRY *the Third.*

A. D. 1216. THOUGH the Death of King *John* made a great Alteration in the miſerable Affairs of *England*, yet it did not put a final end to its Troubles; for Prince *Lewis* ſtill maintained his hopes, and his Party, though much ſhaken by the ſudden Coronation of *Henry*, Eldeſt Son of King *John*, ſolemnized in a great Aſſembly of the States of *Glouceſter*, the Twenty eighth of *October*, 1216. Being but Thirteen Years of Age, he was committed to the Tutorage of *William*, Earl of *Pembrook*, Great Marſhal of *England*, the main Supporter of the Father, and now the Preſerver of the Crown to his Son: Who, with *Guialle*, the Pope's Legate, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Bath*, and *Worceſter*, uſe all Endeavours to gain a good Opinion of this New and Natural King, from an Excommunicated Foreigner, and his Adherents; who fluctuated between their Allegiance to King *Henry*, and their Oaths to Prince *Lewis*. But ſuch was the Inſolency of the *French* making a Spoil and a Prey on whatſoever they faſtened on, as made many of the *Engliſh* relinquiſh their Sworn Fidelity to *Lewis*. And that which added no ſmall weight to turn the Scale, was a Diſcovery lately made by the Viſcount *Melun*, a *French* Lord, who touch'd with Conpunction, at the time of his Death, confeſſed, *That Prince* Lewis *had Vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the* Engliſh *Nobility, and to admit none but* French *to any Places of Truſt, Profit or Dignity*. However, *Lewis* found Strength to keep *London*, and all the Countries about it a whole Year after, and the young King was conſtrained to keep about *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter* and *Briſtol*; where his wakeful Miniſters took all Advantages to encreaſe his Power; and at length having drawn the Enemy from the Head into the Body of the Kingdom, to relieve *Mount Sorrel*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, and after rolled him by degrees into *Lincoln*, where a noble Lady called *Philippa*, (but of what Family Time has bereft us of the knowledge of) with more than

King Hery *Crown'd.*

Prince Lewis's *Vow.* 1217.

Female



71



HENRY III

8.

Female Courage, had bravely defended the Caſtle for a whole Year againſt *Gilbert de Gant*, and the *French* Troops that were poſſeſs'd of the Town. The Earl Marſhal, Protector of the King and Kingdom, with his Son *William*, and many Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and other Men of Note, with ſo great Violence aſſault the City, that the Defenders were ſoon defeated, and all the principal Men taken Priſoners, whoſe Numbers and Qualities ſhew the Importance of the Place, and the greatneſs of the Victory; which was a fatal Blow to *Lewis*, and the laſt Battle he fought in *England*. But Prince *Lewis* was not yet diſcouraged; for having ſent to his Father King *Philip*, for new Supplies, he reſolv'd to wait their coming: But hearing that *Philip de Albany* and *Hugh du Bourg*, Governor of *Dover*, who was as vigilant as valiant, watch'd their coming, and in a Sea Fight utterly deſtroy'd his Recruits; being out of all hopes to ſubſiſt any longer with Safety, he takes 15000 Marks for the Charges he had been at, and abjures any Claim to any Intereſt in the Kingdom; ingaging to work upon his Father for Reſtitution of ſuch Provinces in *France* as belong'd to this Crown, and that when he ſhould be King himſelf, he would reſign them peacably. On the other part, King *Henry* took his Oath, to reſtore to the Barons all their Rights and Priviledges; for which the Conteſt began between the late King, and his People. A general Pardon is granted, all Priſoners on both ſides ſet at Liberty: *Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and about *Michaelmas* departed out of *England*, after he had been above two Years received as King; and being pull'd in by other Arms, was in a fairer way to have eſtabliſhed himſelf, and made a Conqueſt of the Kingdom, than *William* the *Norman*, that had no other Aid than his Sword to aſſiſt his Atchievements, had not the wiſe Diſpoſer of all things prevented it. Such were the direful Aſpects of an unruly King's Ambition, and the Deſperation of an oppreſſed People, and yet notwithſtanding all the Father's Rigour, Uſurpation and arbitrary Cruelty, yet were the People of *England* ſo inclinable to love and obey their Princes, that they willingly admited his Son to the Government, in hopes of better Uſage. In this Pacification *Gualle*, the Pope's Legate, was very inſtrumental, tho' in all he contributed to it, his own ends were interwoven; and the pretended Intereſt of the Pope, whoſe Ambition fomented all the Combuſtion in the Kingdom; but as they who work the greateſt Miſchies,

A. D. 1217.

Prince Lewis *beaten at* Lincoln, *and leaves* England. 1218.

1220.

A. D. 1220. chiefs, are oftentimes the only Men that can repair them; ſo it fell out in theſe Tranſactions, and therefore leſs Thanks were due to his Induſtry; eſpecially ſince he was ſo well requited for the pains he took: For tho' the Kingdom was in great diſtreſs, and reduced to the loweſt degree of Poverty, yet he carried away with him 12000 Marks to *Rome*.

The Kingdom in Peace.

Now was the Kingdom at Unity and Peace within it ſelf, only ſome few that were born in a Storm and could not live in a Calm, gave it ſome Diſturbance, till they were all ſuppreſs'd. At which time the noble *William*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Protector of the Kingdom, having ſettled the King's Affairs, died, and was buried in the *New Temple*, *London*, in whoſe Office ſucceeded the Biſhop of *Winchester*. Now was the King Crown'd a ſecond time, and had granted him by Parliament for Eſcuage, two Marks in Silver on every Knights Fee, for the Affairs of his Kingdom, and recovering his Tranſmarine Dominions, which was now under Conſultation; and *Malleon de Saveroy* the *Poictevin*, with *William Longſword*, Earl of *Salisbury*, are ſent over to try the Affection of the People, whom they find, for the moſt part, inclinable to the Obedience of this Crown. But the King of *France* being required Peaceably to ſurrender them, made Anſwer, 'That having obtained them by the
1222. 'Sword, by the Sword he would keep them. Now the King being come to the Years of Diſcretion, was in a Parliament held at *London*, put in Mind by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of the Oath he had taken for the Confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom; which was oppoſed by *William Brewer* and *Hubert de Bourg*, whom the King had lately made *Juſticiary* of *England*; yet the King then again ratified the Grant, and 12 Knights, or others of Conſideration in every Shire, were, by Writs, appointed to examine, what the Rights and Liberties were, which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grand Father, and to return them by a certain day. The King alſo in Parliament reſum'd into his Hands ſuch Alienations as had been made by his Predeceſſors of any Crown Lands, that he might be able to keep up his Grandeur without oppreſſing his Subjects. But this did not ſerve his Turn, for the next Year after, is held another Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein is required the fifth part of all Moveables both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Recovery of thoſe Parts in *France* which were withheld from the Crown by *Lewis* now K. of *France*

A Reſumption.
1223.

con-

contrary to his Oath and Promiſe made here in *England* at his departure; which, tho' it concerned the Honour and Intereſt of the Kingdom, yet it would not be granted but upon Confirmation of their Liberties; which, in the end, with ſome ſtruggling, were obtain'd in the ſame Words and Form as King *John* had granted them in the two former Charters: And twelve Knights are choſen in every Shire to diſpart the old Foreſts from the new, and the new ones to be laid open, and to be ploughed, and improved to the Benefit of the Subjects: And were two Years enjoy'd accordingly. A. D. 1223.

The King being now 19 Years of Age, and in the 7th of his Reign, he takes the Government upon himſelf, and ſoon ſhews the Difference between a Prince directed by good Council, and a Prince that governs himſelf by his own Will, or the Dictates of Flatterers: For now he cancels and annuls the Charter of the Foreſt, as granted in his Nonage, and therefore pretends he is not obliged to obſerve it, and cauſes Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever ſhould enjoy any Benefits or Grants, ſhould renew their Charters, and have them ſigned by a new Seal; by which he extorted great Sums from many, and gave it the name of the firſt Grievance. 1225. *The Charter of the Foreſts cancell'd.* 1226.

Not long after, King *Henry* takes away the Caſtle of *Barkhamſtead* from his Brother Earl *Richard*, and gives the Command of it to *Walleron* a *Dutchman*, of which Earl *Richard* complaining, it was contriv'd by *Hubert de Bourg*, Chief Juſtice, to commit him to Priſon, which the Earl ſuſpecting, flies to *William*, Earl Marſhal, and from him to *Stamford*, where he meets with the Earls of *Cheſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who confederating together, ſend the King word, 'That unleſs he reſtore the Caſtle 'to his Brother, and to them the Liberties of Foreſts, 'which he lately cancelled at *Oxford*, they would ſeek 'to recover them by the Sword: Whereupon the King, to pacify his Brother, not only renders the Caſtle to him, but gives him all his Mother's Dowry, and great Poſſeſſions, which the Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Bulloign*, lately deceas'd, had in *Britain*; but to the Lord's Petition he made a dilatory Anſwer: And this was another Grievance.

Now *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, out of Self-intereſt perſwades King *Henry*, whoſe Mother he had married, to take a Voyage into *France*, for the Recovery of his Right in that Country; upon which the King undertа- 1227. *An Expedition into France.*

A. D. 1227. taking the Action, raiſes great Sums of Money from the Clergy and the *Londoners*, for Redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the *Jews* Goods: But when he return'd, a Year after, without Succeſs, waſting his Treaſure, and which was worth more than all, had loſt the Lives of many Noblemen and others, it was reckon'd a great Grievance. Beſides, he brought with him the Earl of *Britain*, and many *Poictevins*, to receive the Rewards of their Services abroad, which, notwithſtanding all his former Expences, muſt be wrung out of the Eſtates of the poor Subjects of *England*. To the Earl of *Britain*, by whoſe Council he is now govern'd, he gives Five thouſand Marks; the reſt were to be rewarded by the Spoils of his Officers: and therefore calls *Ralph Briton*, Treaſurer of his Chamber, to account, and grievouſly fines him for defrauding him in his Office: *Hugh de Bourg*, his Chief Juſtice, who had long rul'd all under him; whom, tho' he had a Patent for Life, he thruſt out of his Office: And no ſooner was this great Miniſter fall'n into the King's Diſpleaſure, but a whole Volley of Accuſations were diſcharg'd upon him. To avoid this Storm, *Hubert* flies to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, from whence the King commanded him to be drawn out by Violence. The Biſhop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be return'd back to Sanctuary, upon Pain of Excommunication; but the King commanding him to be kept from ſuſtenance, hunger, at laſt, compell'd him to ſurrender himſelf to the King's Mercy: And all his Goods, which were of a conſiderable value, were confiſcated, and he ſent Priſoner to the *Devizes*. *Walter*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, is alſo put out of his Office of Treaſurer, and *William Rodon*, Knight, from his place of Marſhal of the King's Houſe, and all the chief Councellors, Biſhops, Earls and Barons of the Kingdom are removed, as Perſons diſtruſted, and only Strangers are prefer'd to their Places; of which Courſe *Peter de Rupibus*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, and *Peter de Rivalis*, the King's ſpecial Favourite, were ſaid to be the Authors

Strangers are brought in.

1228.

Engliſh *put out of their Places.*

Nine Years the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd under theſe intollerable Oppreſſions; and now, being about Twenty eight Years old, the King marries *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Raymond*, Earl of *Provence*; by which Match he had neither Portion nor Alliance that ſignified any thing, but a number of poor Kindred ſucking from him: Yet the Marriage was ſolemnized with as great Pomp and State, as if ſhe had been

been Heireſs of *India*. His unſufferable Violences had now exaſperated the Nobility, ſo that many combined for the Defence of the Publick; and by the Mouth of *Richard*, Earl Marſhal, boldly ſhew the King his Errors in A. D. 1228.

The Earl Marſhal's Speech.

'harbouring Strangers about him, to oppreſs his Natural Liege People, contrary to their Laws and Liberties; and told him if he would not reform thoſe Abuſes, that put his Crown and Kingdom in danger, he 'and the reſt of the Nobility, would withdraw themſelves from his Counſels. To which the Biſhop of *Winchester* anſwers "That it was Lawful for the King to call 'what Strangers he pleas'd about him, for Defence of his 'Crown and Kingdom, and to compel his Proud and Rebellious Subjects to their Due Obedience. With which Anſwer the Earl and the reſt of the Nobility depart with greater Indignation; vowing in this Cauſe, which ſo nearly concerned them all, to ſpend their deareſt Blood. Hereupon the King brings over Legions of *Poictevins*, and calls a Parliament at *Oxford*, to which the Lords refuſe to come. After this another Parliament is call'd at *Weſtminſter*, whither the Lords alſo refuſe to come, unleſs the King would remove the Biſhop of *Winchester* and the *Poictevins* from Court; and plainly tell him, unleſs he do ſo, they would expel him and his Evil Counſellors out of the Kingdom, and elect another King. Upon theſe Threatnings, Pledges were required of the Nobility to ſecure their Allegiance: But no Act paſſed this Parliament, becauſe the Earl Marſhal, the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet*, and others of the chiefeſt Nobility were abſent: And therefore Writs were iſſued out to all that held by Knights Service, to repair to the King at *Glouceſter* upon a prefix'd Day, which the Earl Marſhal and his Aſſociates refuſing, the King cauſes them to be proclaim'd Outlaws, ſeizeth upon their Lands, which he gives to the *Poictevins*, and ſends out Writs to attach their Bodies. Of theſe Confederate Lords, the Biſhop of *Winceſter* gains from them the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Lincoln* with a Thouſand Marks; and the King ſo cajoled his Brother, the Earl of *Cornwal*, that he alſo deſerted them. Whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederated with *Lewellin* the Prince, whither alſo came *Hubert de Bourg*, eſcaped out of Priſon, to join with them. The King, upon notice hereof, goes in Perſon into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Glouceſter*, implores new Forces of Strangers, but all without Succeſs. At laſt a Fryar is employ'd to perſwade

Pledges required.

The King's ill ſucceſs.

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A. D. 1232. the Earl Marſhal to ſubmit to the King's Mercy, who gave him Aſſurance, that the King would not only pardon him, but give him ſo much Land in *Herefordſhire* as would maintain his Character; beſides, the Fryar told the Earl, that his Reconciliation was earneſtly deſir'd by all the King's Council, and the Fryar preſs'd him with all the Arguments ariſing from his Allegiance, his Safety and Advantage, to comply with the Offer; but the Earl, nothing moved at all theſe plauſible Suggeſtions, told the Fryar what Injuries he had received, and that he could not truſt the King, ſo long as he kept ſuch pernicious Counſellors about him, who only ſought his Deſtruction, and all his Confederates, that were Loyal and Faithful Subjects, and had no Deſign but the welfare of their Country. After many Objections made by the Fryar, and urging the King's abſolute Power, the Earl's Weakneſs, and the imminent Danger he was in; the Earl reply'd, That he fear'd no Danger, and would never ſubmit to the King's Will, who was an utter Enemy to Reaſon, nor relinquiſh the Juſtice of his Cauſe to the Arbitrement of ſuch unrighteous Men, as prefer'd their own Intereſts before Honour and Equity.

This attempt to draw off the Earl not ſucceeding according to their wiſhes, the War continu'd with great Effuſion of Blood. All the Borders of *Wales* were miſerably deſolated, and nothing but the Ruin of the Kingdom could be expected from ſuch violent Concuſſions and Depredations. At length, means are uſed to draw the Earl Marſhal over into *Ireland*, to defend his own Eſtate in that Country, which was likewiſe ſeized by the King, and all thoſe large Poſſeſſions which deſcend to him by the Earl *Strongbow*, who firſt conquer'd that Country, which were now all waſted and taken from him. And here endeavouring to retrieve his Eſtate, he was treacherouſly circumvented, and loſt his Life; whoſe Death gave occaſion of Sorrow, both to his Friends and Enemies. The King diſavows the ſending his Commiſſion into *Ireland*, and after the manner of weak and Arbitrary Princes, diſcharges himſelf upon his Miniſters, which may ſerve a Turn here, but will be inexcuſable hereafter.

After Two Years continual Troubles, a Parliament is aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the Biſhops admoniſh the King from his Father's Example to be at Peace and
1234. Unity with his People, to remove Strangers, and go-

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vern by the Natives and the Laws, or they would proceed against him and his Counsellors by Ecclesiastical Censure. The King seeing no way to subsist but by Temporizing, consents to call home the Lords out of *Wales*: Restores them to their Places and Possessions: Removes all Strangers, and calls his new Officers to account. Upon this change of Hands, the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Revalis* and *Stephen Seagrave* take Sanctuary; but afterwards by great Fines and Mediation they obtained their Liberties, having dearly paid for their two Years Greatness. Another Parliament was called to be held in the *Tower*, but the Lords making Exception against the Place, one more free was appointed; in which, in consideration of an Aid, the King promised to regrant their Liberties, but never kept his Word; whereupon the Lords confederate again, but upon fresh Promises that their Liberties should be granted, they make no farther Attempts towards Hostility. A Parliament again is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein, in Person, the King demands a Subsidy; but nothing would be granted without the *Assurance of a Reformation of Abuses, the due and regular Execution of the Laws, and that four of the greatest and discreetest Peers should be appointed Conservators of the Kingdom, and be sworn of the King's Council, to see Justice administred, and the Treasure issued out; and also, that the Lord Chancellor and the Chief Justice should be nominated by the Parliament.* But while these things were doing, comes one *Martin*, a new Legate from the Pope, to raise Money to assist him in his Wars against the Emperor, which being, at the same time, opposed by Letters from the Emerpor, this business took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament, but only an Aid granted to the King, for the Marriage of his Daughter to *Alexander*, King of *Scots*, Twenty Shillings on every Knights Fee.

A. D. 1234. 1235. *A Parliament to sit in the* Tower. 1239. 1243.

The Winter following he assembled another Parliament, and demands an Aid to carry on a Design against *Wales*, and to pay his Debts; but they all, to his Face, refuse to grant him any thing, which put him upon violent Courses to raise Money. The Pope also demanded Money of the Kingdom, but it being shew'd the King, that the Pope and his *Roman* and *Italian* Priests, of whom the last Year he had sent over Three hundred, had already Sixty thousand Marks a Year out of

The Pope demanded Money.

A. D. 1243. of *England*, which exceeded the Annual Revenue of the Crown, it was ordered that the Pope ſhould have no more Contributions out of *England*, and by his Procurators, the King complained of theſe Exactions to the General Council then aſſembled at *Lyons*; which ſo enraged the Pope, that he is ſaid to have uttered theſe Words: *It is time to make an End with the Emperor, that we may cruſh the Petty Kings; for the* Dragon *once appeaſed or deſtroyed, theſe leſſer* Snakes *will ſoon be trodden under Foot*: Which extravagant and impious Expreſſion proceeding from a Mouth, from whence nothing but Oracles of Peace, Friendſhip and Charity ſhould be expected, gave great Offence to *Chriſtendom*, and warn'd all Chriſtian Princes not to give the Popes too great Advantages over them. The Clergy of *England* were the forwardeſt to ſuppreſs the Papal Exactions, which of late by degrees, had extremely oppreſs'd the Nation, under the colour of Zeal and Piety: And openly ſaid, if the Popes, who were the great Profeſſors of Sanctity, took Advantage of Men's Humility to make their own Wills as boundleſs as their Powers; ſo that to queſtion their Sanctions, was to be guilty of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, no wonder that Secular Princes, whoſe Conſciences are unty'd, and live under no ſuch Religious Confinements, break out into the Gratifications of their Arbitrary Wills, againſt the Laws of the State over whom they are placed, when they have the Pope's Example, who pretends to Infallibility.

1244.

Next Year the King calls another Parliament, and inſiſting upon a ſupply of his Wants, they complain of their Grievances, and would give him nothing, inſomuch that he was conſtrained to ſell his Plate, and the Jewels of the Crown, and being informed they were bought by the *Londoners*, he ſaid, *That City was an inexhauſtible Gulph, and if* Octavius's *Treaſure were to be ſold, they would ſurely buy it.* Now comes on his Two and fortieth Year, in which was held a Parliament, that by ſome was called *Inſanum Parliamentum*, the Mad Parliament, to which the Lords came with Retinues of Armed Men, and enacted unprecedented things. At this time the Pope ſollicits King *Henry* to undertake the Croſs, to reſcue the King of *France*, who was taken Priſoner by the *Sultan*. He undertakes the Croſs, rather to get Money from the People, than perform the Journey: However, another Parliament wiſely conſideri[ng]

1247. *The King ſells his Plate.*

1250.

it was better to ſupply the King by Legal ways, than force him upon theſe violent Methods by which he ſerved himſelf: Upon promiſing a Reformation of the Government, and a farther Ratification of their Laws and Liberties, after fifteen days conſultation, a Tenth is granted him by the Clergy, and three Marks on every Knights Fee by the Laiety, and thereupon thoſe often confirm'd Charters are again ratify'd in the moſt ſolemn manner that State and Religion could deviſe. A. D. 1253. *Charters Ratified.*

Some Troubles ariſing in *Gaſcoign*, the King with a Fleet of three hundred Ships goes thither himſelf, and ſoon compoſes all differences. The King of *Spain* alſo pretending a Title to *Aquitain*, King *Henry* took him off by marrying his Son *Edward* to the King of *Spain*'s Siſter, and inveſting the Prince and his Wife in it; to whom he alſo gave *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Briſtol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*; from whence it came, that the King of *England*'s Eldeſt Son is immediately upon his Birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. After this, King *Henry* prepares to return Home, having ſpent in this, and his former Expedition into thoſe Parts *Seven and twenty hundred thouſand Pounds*, which was more than all his Lands there were worth; and the King being acquainted with it, *deſired no Words might be made about it for his Credit ſake*. At his return, to recruit his extravagant Expences there, and through *France*, which he took in his way Home, he amerces the *Londoners* 3000 Marks, fleeces the *Jews*, and lets them out to Farm to his Brother *Richard* for a great Sum; and he to make what more of them he could. Yet after all this, he ſtill complains of being in Debt, and the Parliament of his Breach of their Charters, and again inſiſting upon having *the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, and Chief Juſtice choſen by themſelves*; they broke up without effecting any thing, and the King falls to his old ways of getting Money, and by ſtarting yearly one new Quarrel or other, extorts great Sums from the *Londoners*, which is always his laſting Exchequer. Now his wants increaſe extraordinarily, for he bought of the Pope, who pretended he had Right to diſpoſe of it, the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Sicily* for his Son *Edmund*, whom he always after called King of *Sicily*, which was but a Trick in the Pope to get Money from him; for whereas he drew the King on by this engagement of a Hundred and fifty thouſand Marks, under pretence that the Pope had overcome all *Manfred*'s Forces, London, *the King's Exchequer.*

A. D. and was thereby in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; the truth
1256. was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Pope's Troops, and was thereby eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, by the Power of his Money, is elected King of the *Romans*: The Archbiſhop of *Cologn* comes to fetch him over, and he is accordingly crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*: But now having given much Money for this purchaſe, and endeavouring to reimburſe himſelf (as all Men deſign) in the Exerciſe of his Office, he took ſuch violent Courſes to repair himſelf, that he was ſoon forſaken, diſpoſſeſſed, and forc'd to return into *England*, a Poorer King, than he went out an Earl.

1257. King *Henry*, pleaſing himſelf that his Younger Son, as well as his Brother, was a King, calls a Parliament, and bringing his Son *Edmund* cloathed in *Sicilian* Habit into the Houſe, acquaints the Parliament, that for advancing this Son of his to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, he had bound himſelf under the Forfeiture of loſing his Kingdom, to pay 140000 Marks, and hoped they would aſſiſt him with Money for the obtaining ſo great a Dignity; but the Parliament told him plainly, *They would not conſent to pay him any Money, and if he unadviſedly, and without their Approbations, had been deceived in Purchaſing the Kingdom of* Sicily, *he muſt impute it to his own Raſhneſs or Imbecility, who might have been better inſtructed by his Provident Brother, who, when the ſame Kingdom was offered him by* Albert, *the Pope's Legate, he abſolutly refus'd it, ſince it lay at ſo great a diſtance, where ſo many Nations were between: The Popes always Cavilling, the People unfaithful, and the Pretender Powerful. Then they repeat their own Grievances; the Breach of his Promiſes, contemning the Keys of the Church, and the Charter he had ſolemnly Swore to obſerve: The Inſolency of his Brethren, and other Strangers whom he protected contrary to Law, eſpecially* William de Valence, *who, having reproachfully given the Lye to the Earl of* Leiceſter, *he could not be righted upon his Complaint: How they abounded in Riches, and yet himſelf ſo poor, that he could not drive the* Welſh *out of his own Country, but diſhonourably returned the laſt Year without effecting any thing.* The King hearing the Complaint humbles himſelf, and tells the Parliament that he had often been ſeduc'd by evil Counſel, but promiſes by his Oath, which he had taken on *St. Edmund*'s Tomb, that all theſe Errors and Abuſes ſhould be reformed; but the Lords not being able to hold their ever changing *Proteus*, and the buſineſs being difficult

Liberties again demanded.

The King grants them.

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procur'd the Parliament to be adjourn'd till St. *Barnabas* Day, and then to assemble at *Oxford.* In the mean time, the Earls *Glouceſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Hereford*, the Earl Marſhal *Bigod*, *Spencer*, and other great Men Confederate, and provide to effect their Deſigns by Force, that they could not procure by Entreaty. The King being now put to his ſhifts, to furniſh himſelf with Mony, perſwades the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, upon Promiſe of great Preferment, to put the Seal of his Convent to an obligatory Deed, as a Security for 300 Marks, that by his Example, others might be perſwaded to do the like. Which being done, he ſends his truſty Counſellor and Clerk, *Simon Poſſeleve*, with his Letters and this Deed to their Monaſteries, but with all the Skill he could employ, either by Promiſes or Threatnings, and telling them, *That all they had enjoyed was from the King's Bounty, and that he was Lord of all they had*: Yet they poſitively refuſe to yield to ſuch a Deed, ſaying, *They acknowledged the King was Lord of all they had, but ſo as to defend, and not to deſtroy what had been given them*; and ſo the King was diſappointed in this Project. The Prince, who alſo ſhar'd in his Father's Wants, was forced to Mortgage the Town of *Stamford*, *Braham*, and other things to *William de Valence*, who ſupply'd him with Money; which at length prov'd good to neither; for the neceſſity of the Prince, made him break through his Obligations, while the other's Superfluity made him envy'd by ſome, and Odious to all Men.

A. D. 1257. 1258.

But now the Parliament aſſembled at *Oxford*, and there broke out the Fire of Diſcontent that had been ſo long a kindling. The Lords begin the the Seſſion by demanding their Liberties, according to the Oaths and Orders that were formerly in that Caſe provided: *That the Chancellor, the Chief Juſtice, and the Treaſurer, ſhould be named by the Lords. That Twenty four Conſervators ſhould be choſen, Twelve by the Lords, and Twelve by the King, to govern the Kingdom, and whatſoever elſe tended to their fancied Security:* And the King, unable to ſtem the Torrent, ſwears the Confirmation of them, and obligeth the Prince to do the like. Nor would the Lords reſt here; but the King's Brethren, the *Poictevins*, and all other Strangers, but Merchants, muſt immediately leave the Kingdom, which the Prince ſeeming to oppoſe, they told him, *That if he and his Father did not in this conſent with the Barons, they ſhould not enjoy a Furrow of Land in* England. To appeaſe the angry Lords, the King under his Hand

New Regulations.

A. D. 1258. and Seal, proscribes his Brothers and their Followers, who were despoiled of all their Estates, and wheresoever any of their Money or Goods were found, it was confiscated to the King's Use; and by those means, in pretending to redress Grievances, many Injuries were committed; for now *Monfort*, *Glouceſter* and *Spencer*, who, by instituting the Twenty four *Conservators*, had drawn the whole Management of the Kingdom into their own Hands, forced the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where the Authority of the Conservators is delivered up to themselves, who obliged the King to discharge them from their Legal Obedience, if ever he attempted to infringe their Privileges, or his own Charter.

King of the Romans *returns.*

In this state was the Kingdom, when the Lords had notice, that *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, was coming into *England*, which made them suspect (being ignorant of the occasion) that he came with Forces to subvert their new Authority, and therefore command the Ports to be guarded, and marched with an Army to the Coasts to encounter him, if occasion offer'd; but when they saw his Train was small, accompanied only with his Queen, two *German* Earls, and eight Knights, they permitted him to Land, upon Promising to take their propounded Oath; but would neither suffer him nor the King, who came thither to meet his Brother, to enter into *Dover Castle*. In this manner proceeded the Lords to gain this great Earl, supposing his Power to be greater than it was, which at length they found to be nothing but an airy Title, without any thing to trust to, but what he had in *England*.

The King takes heart

However, upon his return, the King re assumes his Courage, and seeks all means to recover and vindicate his Kingly Authority. First, he sends Messengers to *Rome*, to be absolv'd from his Oath: Engages the King of *Scot-*

1259. *land*, and the Queen his Daughter to assist him; and se-

cures his Peace with *France*, by resigning the Dutchy of

1261. *Normandy*, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Touraine* and *Maine*, to that King. The Lords likewise endeavour to strengthen their Association, and oblige each other to

1262. observe their Oaths and Orders, which was hard to do; for, consisting of divers Humours and Interests, they were daily wavering, and Piques arising among themselves, were Temptations to desert their Party, and many accordingly forsook it, and went over to the King. So new Differences arising, without hopes of Pacification the Lords Confederate, and betake themselves to Arms

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and this laid the Foundation of all those Bloody Wars between King *Henry* and his Barons. Several Skirmishes and Encounters passed between them, and at length in a Battle near *Lewis* in *Sussex*, the fortune of the Day turn'd to the Barons side, and the King, the Prince, the Earl of *Cornwal* and his Son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Hereford*, and the *Scotch* Lords, who came to assist the King, were all taken Prisoners by *Monfort*, Earl of *Leicester*, and he carried the King about with him to Countenance his Actions, till he had took in all the strong Castles of the Kingdom. And now, as it commonly happens in Confederacies, where all must be pleas'd, or the Knot must be unty'd, a Difference arises between the Earls of *Glouceſter* and *Leiceſter* about the Dividend, according to their Agreement: *Glouceſter* forsakes him, and takes the Prince's part; who, escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford*, had got an Army about him of such as waited the Turn of Fortune, to revenge the Dishonour of the former Battle. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, to stop the Prince's Proceedings, being with his Army about *Worceſter*, encounters him in a Plain near *Eveſham*, but was killed in the Fight, and with him his Son *Henry*, 11 other Barons, and many Thousand private Soldiers. So ended this Great Earl of *Leiceſter*, who, if he had not been too great for a Subject, he might have been numbred among the bravest Men of his time.

A. D. 1264. *The Battle of Eveſham.*

This Battle deliver'd the Captive King, and rid him of his Gaoler *Monfort*, whom he hated and fear'd more than any Man living. And now the King, with the Victorious Prince, who redeem'd his Father and the Kingdom, hastned to *Winchester*, and called a Parliament, wherein all that adher'd to *Simon Monfort* are disinherited, and their Estates given to others at the King's Pleasure: And yet in all these Combustions we find no Nobleman dye on the Scaffold, either in this King's Reign, or any other since *William* the First: Only in the 26th of this King, *William Mariſc*, the Son of *Jeffery Mariſc*, a Nobleman of *Ireland*, was drawn, hang'd and quarter'd for Pyracy, and was the first Example of that kind of Punishment we find in our Histories. Three Years together after, the disinherited Barons held out against the King, to his great vexation; with whom the Earl of *Glouceſter*, not finding his Expectations answer'd by the King in his late Revolt, takes part; but being disappointed of his Hopes, by the Defeat given his Confederates in the Isle of *Ely*, he was perswaded by

1265.

1267. *The Confederates overcome.*

A. D. 1267. the Legate to ſurrender himſelf to the King, and by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans*, was reconciled to him. And here was an end of the firſt Barons Wars in *England*, wherein neither ſide got any thing but Miſery and Trouble; for whilſt one ſide ſtruggled to do more than they ſhould, and the other leſs than he ought, they both ſuffered extreme Loſs, according to the uſual Events of ſuch Inteſtine Commotions.

1268. The next Year after the Concluſion of this Peace, the Legate *Ottobon* ſigns the King's Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, with the *Croiſado*, to undertake the Holy War; and the King of *France*, notwithſtanding what he had ſuffered there already, would try his Fortune in another Attempt, tho' it haſtned his Deſtruction. Whilſt theſe Preparations were in hand, the King endeavours to eſtabliſh the Peace of the Kingdom; and about two Years after, Prince *Edward*, notwithſtanding all the powerful Motives to divert him from it, Swore, *That if all his Followers forſook him, he would yet enter* Ptolemais, *or* Acon, *though but with the Groom of his Stable*, Fowin: And undertook the Voyage accordingly, taking with him his Dear Wife *Eleanor*, then big with Child. His Couſin *Henry*, Son of the King of the *Romans*, asking leave to return, was ſet on ſhoar in *Italy*, and was kill'd in the Church of *Viterbo* at Divine Service, by *Guy de Monfort*, Son to *Simon*, late Earl of *Leiceſter*, (who was fled thither) in Revenge of his Father's Death: And ſo found a Tragical end in a Church, by ſeeking to avoid Death in the Field of Honour. This Murder haſtened the end of *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, who dyed ſoon after: And the next Year *Henry* the Third of *England*, finiſhed his Days in the Sixty fifth Year of his Age, having reigned Fifty ſix Years and Twenty Days, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, 1272. By this Wife *Eleanor*, he had ſix Sons, whereof only two ſurvived him, *Edward*, ſirnamed *Long-Shank*, and *Edmund*, called *Crouch-Back*; and two Daughters, who lived to be married; *Margaret*, the Eldeſt, to *Alexander*, King of *Scots*; *Beatrix*, the other, to *John* the Firſt, Duke of *Britain*.

Prince Edward *undertakes the Croſs.*

1272.

King Henry *dyeth.*

His Iſſue.

Never was Son more like a Father in any thing, than King *Henry* was like King *John* in raiſing Money. King *John* had great Subſidies granted him by Parliament for any great Action he undertook, ſo had King *Henry*. King *John* reſumed the Lands alienated from the Crown, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* made

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EDWARD I

9.

Benefit of vacant Biſhopricks, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines for Faults not prov'd, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* made Benefit of a new Broad Seal, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great Sums from the *Jews*, ſo did King *Henry*. He was more covetous of Honour, or he would never have Sold the two great Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of *France*; and yet more deſirous of Honour than Peace, or he would never have contended ſo long with his Barons. His great Commendation was his Chaſtity; for he had neither Concubines nor Baſtards that we read of. This troubleſome Reign brought forth but few Works of Piety, which, though ſo long, yet were there not above 3 Houſes of the (*a*) *Benedictines* founded, 6 (*b*) of the *Cluniack*, 1 of the (*b*) *Gilbertines*, 9 of the (*c*) *Ciſtercian*, 1 of (*d*) *Præmonſtratenſians*, 1 of (*e*) Knights Hoſpitallers, 1 of (*f*) *Carthuſians*, 3 of (*g*) *Trinitarians*, and 1 (*h*) Alien Priories, beſides 15 of (*i*) Black Canons, Regular of St. *Auſtin*. A. D. 1272.

(*a*) Burnham, Bucks; Polſhoe, Devonſhire, *and* Grimsby, Lincolnſhire. (*b*) Steveſholm, Norfolk. (*b*) Fordham, Cambridgeſhire. (*c*) Newenham, Devonſhire; Tarent, Dorſet; Hales, Glouceſterſhire; Littley, Hampſhire; Grace dieu, Leiceſterſhire; Grace dieu, Middleſex; Warham, Barbara, Norfolk; Hulton, Staffordſhire, *and* Cokehil, Worceſterſhire. (*d*) Tichfield, Hampſhire. (*e*) Yevelay, Derbyſhire. (*f*) Hinton, Somerſetſhire. (*g*) Mottinden, Kent; Thelesford, Warwickſhire, *and* Knaresburgh, Yorkſhire. (*h*) Rumney, Kent. (*i*) Poghley, Berkſhire; Chetwood *and* Ravenſton Bucks; Cannon, Leigh *and* Trithelſtoke, Devonſhire; Seleburn, Warwickſhire; Wymondley, Hertfordſhire; Bilſingham, Kent; Ulverſcroft, Leiceſterſhire; St Mary de Bethlem, London; Burnham, Norfolk; Michelham, Suſſex; Laycock, Wiltſhire; Helagh Park, Yorkſhire; *and* Bethkelert, Caernarvonſhire.

The Life and Reign of EDWARD *the Firſt.*

UPON the Death of King *Henry*, the State aſſembled at the new *Temple*, and proclaim'd his Son *Edward* King of *England*: Tho' they knew not whether he A. D. 1272.

A D. 1272. was living or dead; swore Fealty to him, and appoint fit Ministers for the Custody and Management of his Treasure, and for the Peace of the Kingdom, whilst the King himself continued in *Palestine*, where he had been a Year before his Father died, and from whence we cannot bring him Home, without telling what he did, and suffering in the time of his Absence from *England*. At his coming into the *Holy Land* he relieved the great City of *Acon*, and kept it from being surrender'd to the Sultan; after which, out of Envy to his Valour, one *Anzazim*, a desperate Assassin, under pretence of delivering Letters to him, gives him three dangerous Wounds with a poyson'd Knife, which were thought to be Mortal; and peradventure had been fatal to him, if the Lady *Eleanor*, his Wife, had not suck'd out the Poison with her Mouth. After three Years, from the time of his setting out, being disappointed of Recruits, he, with his Wife *Eleanor*, returns homeward, Lands in *Sicily*, and was there kindly entertain'd by *Charles* King of that Island, where he first heard of his Father's Death: Passes thro' *Italy* with all the Honour that could be shew'd him by the Pope and Princes of that Country. Thence descends into *Burgundy*, and at the Foot of the *Alps* was challeng'd by the Earl of *Chalbourn* to a Tournament; which, tho' King *Edward* might have justly refused, as being of superior Quality, yet his noble Mind not suffering him to omit an occasion of shewing his Courage, he engag'd and foil'd the Earl. Here he is met by the Nobility of *England*, passes into *France*, where he is magnificently feasted by *Philip the Hardy*. Thence he takes his Journey into *Aquitain*, and having settled his Affairs there, returns into *England*, where, with his Queen *Eleanor*, he was Crown'd at *Westminster* by *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in *September*, 1275. *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *John* Duke of *Britain*, who both had married his Sisters, being present at the Solemnity.

Prince Edward *returns*,

1275.

The great Abilities of this Prince, discover'd in his Father's Reign, and his long Experience in the World, with his Years of Maturity, coming to the Crown about 35 Years of Age, might well presage he would advance the Royal Dignity to a higher Pitch than it was in his Father's Reign; and accordingly in his first Parliament at *Westminster*, he made Tryal of his Subject's Patience, and had the Fifteenth of all their Goods, both Clergy and Laiety, granted to him, without either Noise

or Trouble; and yet all this could not divert him from abating the Eccleſiaſtical Powers and Juriſdictions, which, by Experience of former times, he found to be grown too ſtrong for the Monarchy, whenſoever they combined with the Temporal Lords againſt it: And therefore at firſt, while he was in the Opinion and Eſtimation of the World, he began to extend the Royal Authority, and depriv'd many famous Monaſteries of their Privileges; and took from the Abbot and Convent of *Weſtminiſter* the Return of Writs, granted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry* the Third. The next Year he procur'd to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the Increaſe of their Temporal Poſſeſſions: In the Second Statute of *Weſtminſter* he leſſen'd the Authority of Eccleſiaſtical Judges; and growing more upon them by degrees, required the Moiety of their Goods: which, tho' it put them into extream Perplexities, they were forced to comply with his Demands. A. D. 1275. *King* Edward *curbs the Clergy.*

To enlarge his Power, *Wales*, that lay neareſt Danger, and had long ſtruggl'd for Liberty, was found a fit Subject for this active Prince to quarry on; and *Lewelin*, the Prince of that Country, having refus'd when ſummon'd, to come to the King's Coronation, it gave occaſion the next Year for *Edward* to enter his Country with a powerful Army; and with Fire and Sword to compel *Lewelin* to ſue for Peace, which he obtain'd, but upon ſuch hard Conditions, as made his Principality little differ from an abſolute Subjection; but being made by Force, was quickly broken: For *Lewelin* riſes in Arms, and joyning with his Brother *David*, whom King *Edward*, to make him his own, had Knighted, and given him a Wife and a Thouſand Pounds a Year; yet they commit all acts Hoſtility to relieve their Country, and regain their Liberty. *Edward*, inform'd of this Revolt, prepares an Army to ſubdue it; and, in the mean time, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom the *Welſh* had ſent a Catalogue of their Grievances, of his own Accord, goes thither, and endeavours to perſwade *Lewelin*, and his Brother, to a Re-ſubmiſſion, to prevent the Ruin which he foreſaw was falling upon the Nation; but *Lewelin* being buoy'd up with a Prophecy of *Merlin*, 'That he ſhould ſhortly be Crown'd with the Diadem 'of *Brute*, would not incline to Peace; but he was miſtaken in the Application of that Prediction, for he was overthrown in Battle, and his Head was cut off by a private *He enters* Wales. 1282, Merlin's *Prophecy.*

A. D. 1282. private Soldier, and presented to King *Edward*; who caused it to be crown'd with Ivy, and set upon the *Tower* of *London*. And thus was the end of *Lewelin*, the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betray'd, as some write, by the Men of *Beulth*. To finish this bloody Work, his Brother *David* was Sentenc'd, first to be drawn at a Horse's Tail thro' the Streets at *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunk of his Body divided, his Heart and Bowels burnt, his Head sent to accompany that of his Brother's on the *Tower* of *London*; his four Quarters sent to Four Cities, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Winchester*. A manifold Execution, not to be parallel'd before in any of our Histories. Thus came *Wales*, all that small Portion of Land which was left to the *Britains*, the Ancient Inhabitants of this Island, to be united to the Crown of *England*, in the Eleventh Year of his Reign: And 'tis strange how it should subsist so long, having neither Assistance from others, nor Alliance with any Foreign Prince, against so Potent a Kingdom as *England* was: Which is a Demonstration of their great Valour and Courage in Defence of their Country, and the Preservation of their Liberties. And now King *Edward*, who was as prudent in Preserving a Country, as valorous in subduing it, establishes the Government thereof according to the Laws of *England*; as you may read in the Statute of *Rutland*, *Anno Regni* 12.

Wales *subdued.*

This work effected, King *Edward* sails into *France*, upon notice of the Death of *Philip the Hardy*, to renew Conditions with his Successor *Philip the Fair*; to whom he does Homage for *Aquitaine*, having before quitted his Claim to *Normandy* for ever. After three Years and a half Abroad, he returns into *England* to supply his Treasury, which was near exhausted in this tedious Voyage: And occasion is given him, by general Complaints against his Ministers, which, upon due examination and Proof of their corrupt Management, are fined to pay the King the following Sums: Sir *Ralph Hengham*, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, 7000 Marks; Sir *John Loveton*, Justice of the Lower Bench, 3000; Sir *Solomon Rochester*, 4000; Sir *Richard Boyland* 4000; Sir *Thomas Sadington*, 2000; Sir *Walter Hopton*, 2000; the four last were Itinerant Justices: Sir *William Saham*, 3000; *Robert Lithbury*, Master of the Rolls, 1000; *Roger Leicester*, 1000; *Henry Bray*, Escheater, and Judge of the *Jews*, 1000; Sir *Adam Stratton*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was fin'd 34000; and *Thomas Wayland*, the

1287.

the greateſt Offender and the Richeſt, had all his Goods and whole Eſtate confiſcated to the King, which brought to the King's Coffers, in the whole 100000 Marks; to which, if we add the Baniſhment of the *Jews*, and repeated Supplies by Parliaments, and otherwiſe, none of his Predeceſſors could equal him. A. D. 1287.

Upon the Death of King *Alexander*, there was a great Controverſy whom the Crown of *Scotland* belong'd to, Six Competitors pretend a Title to it, all deſcended from *David* Earl of *Huntington*, younger Brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and Great Unkle to the late *Alexander*. This Title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, and the *Scots* ſubmit to his Arbitrement. *John Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*, are the principal Candidates, as neareſt in Blood. The Controverſy continued long, and while the King was going into the North to decide it, he loſt his dear Conſort Queen *Eleanor*, the Honour of Womankind, who died by the way at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnſhire*, with whoſe Corpſe, in extream Grief, the King return'd to *Weſtminſter*. Her Funeral Rites perform'd, he return'd to the *Scotch* Affair, and upon Condition of paying him Homage for the Crown, confers it upon *Baliol*, which Act, done to ſecure him, overthrew him; for being but little belov'd before, hereby he became hated. Such as ſtood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility, which were tender of the Liberties of their Country, were enrag'd againſt him; which, with the Injuſtice done to the Earl of *Fife*, for which he was call'd to Anſwer in the Court of the King of *England*, and being forc'd to plead his Cauſe himſelf, he took it in ſuch Diſdain, that he returns Home, renews the League with *France*, Proclaims War againſt King *Edward*, and in the ſequel, having almoſt loſt all his Country to the *Engliſh*, ſues for Peace, pays Homage to the Crown of *England*, himſelf is made a Priſoner. And now when all things ſeem'd at quiet, freſh Troubles broke out from *France*, and requiring the King's ſpeedy care. The Laiety give him the eighth part of their Goods, which the Clergy refuſing, the King put them out of his Protection, which ſo expos'd them to Injuries, that they were forced to commute, and redeem themſelves, and the King's Favour, at large Sums of Money. During this conteſt with the Clergy, the King calls a Parliament, without admitting any of the Clergy to it; and requires certain great Lords to go into the Wars of *Gaſcoign*; who refuſed to obey, unleſs the

1288.

1289.

1292.

1294

1295.

1296.

A: D. the King went in Perſon. The King being diſpleas'd at
1296. this Anſwer, *Said they ſhould go, or he would give their Eſtates to thoſe that would.* The Lords declaring again they would not go; and the King being more offended, *Roger Bigod*, Earl of *Norfolk*, and Marſhal of *England*, told the King, *He would willingly go with him,, and march before him as he ought to do, in Right of his Inheritance; otherwiſe he would not;* But the King plainly told him he ſhould go, tho' he went not in Perſon. *I am not oblig'd to that*, ſaid the Earl, *nor will I go without You*, Then the King Swore *By God, Sir Earl, you ſhall Go or Hang. And I ſwear by the ſame Oath*, ſaid the Earl, *that I will neither Go nor Hang*; and ſo without leave departed. Not long after the Earl Marſhal of *England*, and *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, aſſembled many Noblemen, and others their Friends, to the number of Fifteen hundred well appointed, and ſtood upon their Guard; but the King, like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, took no notice of it, having his Hands full Abroad.

The King of *France*, upon inviting *Guy*, Earl of *Flan-*
1297. *ders* into his Country to Feaſt with him, having taken away his Wife, he invaded his Country; and the King coming againſt him with an Army of 60000, the King of *England* haſtens to help the Earl, and being ready to imbark, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, ſend him a Roll of their Grievances, which he promiſes to reform at his return; and, in the mean time, requires them to do nothing prejudicial to
1298. the Peace of the Kingdom. With 500 Sail of Ships, and 18000 Men, he makes ſail for *Flanders*; but meeting with nothing there but Treachery, Diſappointments, and ill Succeſs, he returns again to *England*, and immediately falls upon *Scotland*, which, in his Abſence, had beaten his Officers and People, almoſt out of their Country; kill'd Sir *Hugh Creſſingham*, and 6000 *Engliſh*; recovered many Caſtles, and regain'd the Town of *Berwick*; and all by the Conduct of *William Wallis*, a poor private Gentleman, tho' Nobly deſcended, who had infallibly redeem'd his Country from Subjection to the *Engliſh*, had not ſome private Emulation among themſelves, and the ſudden coming of King *Edward*, prevented it; for which that Gentleman deſerves Immortal Honour. The King to bring his Buſineſs together, removes his Exchequer, and Courts of Juſtice, to *York*,

where

where they continued six Years. Thither he calls a Parliament, and requires all his Subjects that held of him by Knight's Service, to attend him at *Roxborough*. The Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, notwithstanding their former Denials, came also to him, and tho' in the midst of all his Strength, urge the Ratification of two Charters, and their Pardons; which being secured to be done when the King had subdued his Enemies, these two Earls, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, lead the Vanguard at the famous Battle of *Fonkirk*, which King *Edward* won with the Slaughter of 200 Knights, and 40000 other *Scots*; but *William Wallis*, with some few others, escaped, to find more Employment for the *English* Arms. A. D. 1298.

This expedition ended, a Parliament was called at *Westminster*, where the two Charters, as promised, are confirm'd with the Omission of the Clause *Salvo Jure Coronæ nostræ*, which the King laboured to have inserted, but by no means could procure it.

In the interval of Peace at Home, a Peace is also concluded between the Crowns of *France* and *England*, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface*; and King *Edward* at Sixty two Years of Age, marries *Margaret*, the King of *France*'s Sister, and the Daughter of the same King is betrothed to the Prince, his Son. Upon this Peace with *France*, wherein the *Scots* were excluded, they complain to Pope *Boniface*; shewing him the afflicted Estate of their Country, the Usurpation of the King of *England* upon their Rights and his Tyrannical Proceedings with them, contrary to all Equity and Justice, protesting they never knew of any Pretence of Sovereignty he had over them, being a free Kingdom of themselves, and so acknowledg'd by him, till he found an Advantage against them by their Inability to defend themselves. Upon this Remonstrance of the *Scots*, the Pope writes his Monitory Letters to the King of *England*, to forbear any farther Proceedings against them; claiming, withal the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, as belonging to the Church. The King makes answer to the Pope's Letters, *That the direct and superiour Jurisdiction and Dominion of* Scotland, *had ever of Right belong'd to the Crown of* England, *even from* Brute *to the present time.* And the whole Nobility under their Hands avow the same thing to the Pope, and that the King, their Lord, should not so far weaken his Title, as to condescend to his Holiness's Judgment in it, to the Prejudice of the Crown: 1299. *Remonstrances of the* Scots *to the Pope* 1301.

A. D. 1301. Crown: And that they would defend him in it with their Lives; and therefore desired his Holiness not to concern himself any farther in it. The Pope having his Hands full of other Business, meddles no more in this matter; and not long after, being oppress'd with Trouble, and extream Rage and Anguish of Mind, ended this turbulent Life, of whom it was said, *That he enter'd upon the Pontificate like a Fox, reigned like a Wolf, and died like a Dog.*

Pope Boniface's *Death.* 1303.

The King of *England* having been supplied by a Parliament held at *Lincoln*, upon the Confirmation of their Charters, with a Fifteenth, he enters *Scotland*, makes a fourth kind of Conquest there, having so many times had Homage and Fealty sworn to him by the *Scots*. And now thinking his Sovereignty over them secured, he returns home in Triumph, Feasts his Nobility at *Lincoln*, and gives solemn Thanks to God and St *Edward* for his Victory: And to make it more compleat, *William Wallis*, that renowned Champion of *Scotland*, being betray'd by his Companions, is sent Prisoner to *London*, and there Sentenced to be drawn, hang'd and quartered, as a Rebel against the King, whom he never swore Fealty to, nor own'd to be his Soveraign. Thus in a strange Country this brave Man suffered for the Defence of his own, and his Memory remains with Honour, among the best Examples of Fortitude, Piety, and Love to his Country.

The King grows severe.

And now, King *Edward* being, as he supposed, universal Lord at Home, and formidable Abroad, among other Examples of his Power, which it seems he endeavour'd to make equal with his Will, he falls upon Sir *Nicholas Seagrave*, then one of the greatest Knights in the Kingdom, who being accused of Treason by Sir *John Cromwell*, offers to justifie himself by Duel; but being deny'd it by the King, leaves the Camp, and goes beyond Sea to fight his Accuser; for which, after his return, he was prosecuted at Law, and, upon great Deliberation, condemn'd by the Judges to suffer Death, and to forfeit his whole Estate to the King; but in regard of his Noble Blood, they added, that he went not in Contempt of the King's Command, but to be revenged of his Adversary; and therefore it was not in the Power of the King to Pardon him. To which the King, reply'd, *Have you been all this while consulting about this? I know I can Pardon whom I please, but no more for your sakes, than for a Dog's.* The Offender was com-

committed to Priſon for Terror ſake, but at length 30 of his Peers, with their Swords in their Hands, being bound Body for Body for his Appearance when required, the Knight was reſtored to his Eſtate. Other Stretches of his Power were in iſſuing out Writs of *Quo Warranto*, to enquire by what Title Men held their Eſtates, and by Writs of Enquiry, called *Trial Baſton*, againſt Intruders upon other Men's Eſtates, and againſt *Batterers*, now call'd *Bullies* and *Hectors*, *Incendiaries*, *Murderers*, and *Falſe Aſſizers*; which, were executed with ſo much Severity, that they brought great Sums into his Exchequer. He now alſo ſhew'd his Reſentments againſt the Nobility for their ſtubborn Behaviour in times paſt. *Roger Bigod*, Earl Marſhal, was forc'd to make him Heir of his Lands to recover his Favour, though he had a Brother living; contenting himſelf with 1000 Marks Penſion *per Annum* during his own Life. The Earl of *Hereford* was acquitted by Death. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom he accuſed to have diſturbed the Peace in his Abſence, he ſent to Pope *Clement* the Fifth, who ſucceeded *Boniface*, to be ruined by a double Power. And by a Preſent to the Pope, of Furniture for his Chamber, all of pure Gold, procures an Abſolution from his Oath and Covenant made with the Barons, concerning their Charters, and the Lyon being looſe, by this Act of Injuſtice in the Pope, and Want of Conſcience in the King, he ſoon diſcover'd with how little Sincerity he granted the Charters.

A. D. 1303.

Writs of Quo Warranto *and* Trial Baſton, *what.*

1304.

But ſuddenly fell out an occaſion that made him ſee his Error, in loſing the Love of his People; and therefore he reforms. *Robert Bruce*, who was Son to that *Robert* that ſtood Candidate with *Baliol*, eſcaping out of *England*, makes himſelf Head to the confuſed Body of that People, and was Crown'd at an inſtant, before the Rumour could be ſpread too far; though he was betray'd by *John Cummyn*, his Couſin German, for which *Bruce* murder'd him in the Church of *Dumfraies*. The Foundation of a Monarchy thus laid in Blood, ſtain'd his Beginning, and he had very ill Succeſs in his firſt Attempt; for the Earl of *Pembroke*, with an Army being ſent before the King, with the Aſſiſtance of *Cummyn*'s Family to revenge his Murder. *Bruce*'s Army was beaten; and at King *Edward*'s coming, many great Perſons that took his part were Executed: Which ſo exaſperated the Enemy, that within a few

Bruce *Crowned King of* Scotland.

Years

A. D. 1305. Years the *Scots* overthrew the greateſt Army that ever the *Engliſh* brought into the Field. This Summer the King ſpends in *Scotland*, and winters in *Carliſle*, to be ready the next Spring, if any Fire ſhould break out, to extinguiſh it; and there the King and the Pope divide what they could get from the Clergy between them. Whilſt the King thus employ'd himſelf at *Carliſle*, at the opening of the Spring, the new King *Bruce* appears at the Head of an Army; and falling upon the Earl of *Pembroke* by Surprize, gave him a Defeat, chaſes the Earl of *Glouceſter* into the Caſtle of *Ayr*, and beſieged him, till by King *Edward*'s Forces he was driven back again; but this ſhewed the *Engliſh*, that ſo long as *Bruce* was alive, there would be no end of the War.

King Edward's *laſt Expedition.*

1306.

In *July*, tho' King *Edward* felt himſelf indiſpoſed, he enters *Scotland* with a freſh Army, which he led not far: For being at *Borough* on the Sands, he ſends for his Son *Edward*, whom, after ſome Admonitions to Piety and Goodneſs, he commanded to carry his Bones with him into *Scotland*, till he had ſubdued it: That he ſhould ſend his Heart into the Holy Land, with ſevenſcore Knights to that War, and the Two and thirty thouſand Pounds he had provided for that purpoſe; and that he ſhould never recal *Gaveſton* from Baniſhment: And ſoon after of a *Dyſentery*, or Bloody Flux, dyed there, having reigned 34 Years, 7 Months, being Aged 68, and lies buried at *Weſtminſter*. He was a very tall Man, and therefore called *Long Shanks*; of a ſwarthy Complexion, ſparkling Eyes, black curl'd Hair, of a comely Favour, and lean of Body. He was a Prince of a generous Spirit, and retain'd his Fire till the laſt; born and bred for Military Action; Vigilant and Eager to take all Advantages for the encreaſing of his Power, and endeavour'd more after the Greatneſs of *England*, than the Peace of it; and by this means ſhed much Blood in his own time, and was the cauſe of ſhedding more by thoſe that ſucceeded him. He had Iſſue by his firſt Wife *Eleanor*, four Sons, whereof only *Edward* ſurvived him; and nine Daughters; *Eleanor*, married firſt to *John*, Earl of *Bar*; *Joan* to *Gilbert Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, *Margaret* to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; *Mary*, was Veil'd a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Amsbury*; *Elizabeth*, married firſt to *John*, Earl of *Holland*, afterward to *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*; the reſt dy'd young. By his ſecond Wife, *Margaret*, Eldeſt Daughter of *Philip* the Hardy, King of *France*, and Siſter to *Philip*

He Dyeth.

1306.

His *Iſſue.*

Philip the Fair, he had two Sons, *Thomas*, ſirnamed *Brotherton*, who was Marſhal, and Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*. A. D. 1307.

In the Seven and twentieth Year of this King, was made an Act of Common Council, that Proviſion ſhould be ſold at the following Rates: A fat Cock for Three Half pence, two Pullets for Three Half-pence, a fat Capon for Two-pence Half-penny, a Gooſe for Four Pence, a Mallard, Three Half-pence, a Partridge Three Half-pence, a Pheaſant Four Pence, a Hern Six Pence, a Plover one Penny, a Swan Three Shillings, a Crane, Twelve Pence, two Wood cocks Three Half-pence, a fat Lamb from *Chriſtmas* to *Shrovetide*, Sixteen Pence, and all the Year after for Four Pence; and Wheat was this Year ſo plentiful, that a Quarter was ſold for Ten Groats. *Price of Victuals.*

In this Reign were founded no more than 5 Religious Houſes of the (*a*) *Benedictines*, 5 of the (*b*) *Ciſtercians*, of the (*c*) *Gilbertines*, (*d*) *Knights Hoſpitallers*, and (*e*) *Præmonſtratenſians*, one apiece; beſides 10 of (*f*) *Canon Regulars* of *St. Auſtin.*

(*a*) Miſſenden, Bucks; Oxford, *now* Glouceſter Hall; Oxford, *now* Trinity College; Wallingford, Berks; *and the* Minories, London. (*b*) Dernhale, Vale Royal, Cheſhire; Buckland, Devonſhire; Whalley, Lancaſhire, *and* Rewley, Oxfordſhire. (*c*) Pultor, Wiltſhire. (*d*) Newland, Yorkſhire. (*e*) Aberquilly, Carmarthenſhire. (*f*) Aſhridge, Bucks; Penryn, Cornwall; Exeter Devonſhire; Langeeſter *and* Aukland, Durham; Winchester College, Hampſhire; Wingham, Kent; Marlborough, Wiltſhire; Lancadane, Carmarthenſhire; Llandewybrevy, Cardiganſhire.

The Life and Reign of EDWARD *the Second.*

A. D. 1307.

EDWARD of *Carnarvan* began his Reign in *July* 1307. in the Twenty third Year of his Age. A Prince, whoſe Life, as in a Mirror, ſhews us what diſmal Accidents attend a Monarch that abandons himſelf to Riots, Confuſion, Diſorder, Neglect of the Government, and advancing unworthy and ill deſigning Favourites, to the prejudice of honeſt and able Stateſmen; the Grief of his Subjects, and the Diminution and Diſhonour of Royal Majeſty. Never did Prince come to the Crown with more Applauſe of Nobility and Commoners, nor ever any ſooner loſt it. His firſt Actions were Demonſtrations of a head ſtrong and uncontrolable Temper, for *Walter de Langton*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Treaſurer of *England*, had, like a juſt Servant, in his Father's Life time, reproved his ill Practice; and complain'd of *Pierce Gaveſton*, as the Author, at leaſt the Encourager, of Vices ſo unbecoming a Prince. This good Man, as ſoon as he came to the King, he ſeverely puniſhed, for being ſo full of troubleſome Virtue, arreſted him by Sir *John Felton*, Conſtable of the Tower, impriſon'd him at *Wallingford*, and ſeiz'd upon all his Goods. The next ill Action was the receiving the Baniſhed *Gaveſton* into Favour, before his Father's Funerals were performed, to whom he gave the *Iſle of Man*, and made him Earl of *Cornwall*. Before his Coronation a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, and his Father's Funeral being ſolemniz'd, he paſſes over to *Boloign*, and marries *Iſabella*, Daughter to King *Philip* of *France*, but at his return takes little Notice of his Wife, for he ſpent his whole time in Wantonneſs and Diſorder with *Gaveſton*, who quickly made a Difference between them. The Queen very early complain'd to her Father, the King of *France*, that the King's Affection to *Gaveſton* was ſo great, that he had both alienated his Love from her, and himſelf from her Bed: Which made ſome Writers affirm, that the King was as looſe in a Perſonal Affection to him, as he was in his publick Favours; beſides, he ſlighted and endeavoured to trample upon the Nobility, and nothing could be done, till this Favourite approv'd

King Edward's *firſt Actions.*

The Queen complains.





EDWARD II

01.

Vol. I

prov'd it; which ſo enrag'd the Nobility, *That they preſs for* Gaveſton's *Baniſhment, or threaten, if he deny, to hinder his Coronation.* The King, always haunted with a fatal unſteadineſs, yields to their Demands, and promiſes in the next Parliament all they deſired ſhould be granted: Yet after he had promiſed the Baniſhment of *Gaveſton*, permits him notwithſtanding to carry St. *Edward*'s Crown at the Coronation. A. D. 1307.

After he was Crown'd, all the *Knights Templers* throughout *England* are arreſted, and committed to Priſon; for they were ſo degenerated from their firſt Inſtitution, and grown ſo execrably vicious, that all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, conſpired the Diſſolution of that Society, and condemned it in the General Council at *Vienna*. Theſe Affairs being over, the Lords began their purpoſes againſt *Gaveſton*, whoſe Inſolences and Preſumptions upon the King's Favours, made him ſcorn them all as much as they hated him; which at length grew to ſuch a head, that the King conſented that *Gaveſton* ſhould be baniſh'd into *Ireland*. There he lived a while, rather as a Lieutenant of the Country, than an Exile. *Gaveſton* had not been long in Baniſhment, but the King began to appear a Sharer in his Sufferings; and not able to live without him, in a few Months re-called him, and married him to his Niece, the Daughter of *Joan de Acris*, Siſter to *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter*; a Peer much eſteem'd by all the Nobility, for whoſe ſake he hoped that *Gaveſton* would find more favour among them; but on the contrary, the return of *Gaveſton* re-kindled ſuch a fury in the Barons, that they plainly told the King, *Unleſs* Gaveſton *was baniſh'd, they would treat him as a perjur'd Prince, and all riſe in Arms againſt him.* The King yields again to his Baniſhment, and the Lords procure this Clauſe to be added to his Proſcription, *That if hereafter he ſhould be found again in* England, *he ſhould be put to Death, as an Enemy to the Kingdom.* This ſevere Proceeding of the Lords, put him into great ſtreights; *Ireland* was no more to be his Refuge; *France*, and indeed all Places abroad ſeem'd to be unſafe, by the Power and Intereſt of the King of *France*, who, in all probability, would not neglect to revenge his Daughter's Injuries; which, it ſeems, *Gaveſton* had contemplated; and therefore, after ſculking a while in *Flanders*, he flies back to the King's Arms, the only Sanctuary he thought would not be violated. Upon this Adventure into *England*, he was received again by the

Knights Templers *deſtroyed.*

1309.

Gaveſton *baniſhed and re-called.*

Gaveſton *baniſhed again.*

A, D. 1309. the King with his usual Excess of inconsiderate Joy; and the King keeping his *Christmas* at *York*, all his Rejoycings seem'd to proceed from his enjoying *Gaveston* again. Which so inflam'd the Lords, who now look'd upon themselves as despis'd and injur'd to the highest degree, that they resolve to take Arms, and chose for their Leader, *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, and *Ferrers*.

Gaveston *beheaded.* The Barons, with their united Powers, march'd to *York*, where *Gaveston* was left, who fled from thence to *Scarborough*, where they closely besiege him: Who seeing no means of Safety, but the hopes of once more getting into the King's Presence, deliver'd himself a Prisoner upon those Terms to *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembrooke*, who undertook to see the Conditions perform'd. But the next Morning came the Earl of *Warwick* with his Forces, and carried him to *Warwick* Castle, where, after some Consultations among the Lords, he was brought to a Place then called *Blacklow*, and there beheaded; the King using many Sollicitations, tho' to no purpose, to prevent the fatal Blow. Thus a King seem'd to Petition, which nothing but the total Destruction of all Trust and Confidence could have render'd ineffectual. This was the end of *Peirce Gaveston*, who was a Native of *Gascoigne*, and for the great Service his Father had done for this Crown, was bred up by King *Edward* the First, with his Son this Prince. He was a comely Person, and of undaunted Courage, brave; and hardy in Military Offices. He seems to have been defective only in that part of a Courtier, which causes the longest continuing there; for he could not fawn or stoop to those he loved not, nor force a Disguise upon his Nature, to temporize with his Enemies; but presuming upon his Fortune, in the end he grew to be intollerably arrogant. Thus a Prince's Favour ruins more than his Displeasure; for, tho' shew'd to the best of Men, when it rises to Excess, like a single predominant Humour in the Body, it endangers the whole.

The miserable Estate of Ministers.

The Lords, swell'd with this Success, the usual Effects of ravish'd Power, they march with their Army to *London*, where the King then was, who, in Parliament, complained of the Barons, and they justified their Actions by the Errors of their Prince, and plead Merit for doing what they did. Thus unsteady Actions beget wild Arguments, and false Pretensions are too much supported by Power: However, the Difference was composed by the Queen, the Bishops, and the Earl

Earl of *Glouceſter*, who calm'd the Barons into a Temper of asking the King's Pardon; which ſhewed that the Lords had more Inclination to Obedience than Rebellion, and wanted but the prudent Juſtice of a Prince to cure thoſe Wounds, that Fears, Diſcontents and Jealouſies had made. A. D. 1309.

About this time Queen *Iſabella* is delivered of a Son at *Windſor*, who was chriſtened *Edward*, and great Entertainments were made upon that occaſion; but not long after a Damp was put upon that Mirth, for vigilant *Bruce*, King of *Scots*, who had recovered moſt part of *Scotland*, enters into *England*, and ſo dreadfully waſtes and ſpoils *Northumberland*, as King *Edward*, awaken'd with the Cries of his People, and the Diſhonour of the Kingdom, takes Arms and enters *Scotland* with the greateſt Force that ever yet went thither; conſiſting, as the *Scotch* Writers ſay, of a Hundred thouſand Men. Beſides, the King had moſt of the Nobility with him, except *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Warren* and *Arundel*, who refuſed to go with them, becauſe he had not perform'd his Articles with them. Near unto *Sterling*, by the River *Bannock*, only with 30000 *Scots*, *Bruce* engages the *Engliſh* Army, and having the Advantage of the Ground, in the Front a Mooriſh Ground, and inacceſſible Rocks in the Rear, they gave the greateſt Overthrow to *England* that ever it received from them. This Defeat put *Scotland* both into Arms and Wealth, and ſo diſcouraged the *Engliſh* Borderers, that a hundred of them, ſays *Walſingham*, would flee from three *Scots*. So faint are Inferiors, when the nobler Parts, which ſhould give Life, are ill affected. This Loſs was attended with Inundations and unſeaſonable Weather, that brought forth a Famine which continued three Years, and that ſuch a Peſtilence and general Sickneſs, that the Living ſcarce ſufficed to bury the Dead. Several Attempts after this the King made againſt the *Scots*, as in beſieging *Berwick*, and a Fight at *Milton* on *Swale*, but having no ſucceſs, he concludes a Peace with the *Scots* for two Years, and returns diſhonourably out of thoſe Parts.

1311. *The* Scots *Invade* England.

Bannock-Burough *Fight.*

1312.

1314.

1318.

Now *Hugh Spencer* the younger ſucceeded *Gaveſton* in almoſt unlimited Favour and Power. The firſt Difference occaſion'd by it appeared at the Siege of *Berwick*, which being near taken from the *Scots*, the King declared his Deſign was to make the younger *Spencer* Governor of that Garriſon, which ſo offended the Earl of

The Spencers *ſucceed* Gaveſton.

A. D. 1320. *Lancaſter*, that he withdrew his Forces, with whom other Lords joined, and declared the Cauſe to be for the removing the *Spencers:* The Father being now got into joint Commiſſion of Favour with his Son, who govern'd with as much Inſolence and Abſoluteneſs as *Gaveſton* had done before him. With their Forces the Lords advance toward the King, and boldly demand the Baniſhment of the *Spencers*, and the King not being ſtrong enough at preſent, to oppoſe them, gives them a temperate Anſwer, *That they ſhould be referred to the Law*; but the Lords, not ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, march their Troops to *London*, where their King grants them every thing. The *Spencers*, by an Edict publiſhed in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by the Earl of *Hereford*, were baniſhed the Realm; but in a very little time after the Lords were returned home, the Edict was revok d, and the King raiſes an Army to revenge himſelf on the Barons: They do the ſame; and meeting about *Burton upon Trent*, and the Earl of *Lancaſter* endeavouring to retreat, *Valence*, Earl of *Pembrook*, who then commanded the King s Army, put them to flight, in which Action the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen, were taken Priſoners.

The Spencers *Baniſhed.*

As ſoon as theſe mighty Enemies were in the King's Power, the *Spencers*, full of Revenge, urg'd the Execution of them all. The King, with other Lords, amongſt whom was *Hugh Spencer*, now Earl of *Wincheſter*, ſat and gave Judgment upon the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who was preſently beheaded at *Pomfret*, before his own Caſtle; and many other Lords in their ſeveral Countries, to ſpread a Terror in every Place. About 20 Men of Quality were put to Death at this time, and this was the firſt Noble Blood that ever was ſhed in this manner ſince *William* the Firſt. The King's Power now ſeemingly grown to a great Height, he marches from *York* into *Scotland*, rather with a great number than a powerful Army, which, it ſeems, the *Scots* conſider'd; for they kept cloſe, hindered them of all Proviſions, and left them to overcome themſelves, for the Famine encreaſing, they were beaten without Blows, and return'd purſu'd by Want and Diſhonour, as well as by the *Scots:* Who entred far into *England*, and return'd with great Spoils into *Scotland*. Sir *Andrew de Herkley*, who was raiſed to the Earldom of *Carliſle*, for taking the Earl of *Lancaſter*, was an Example that the King's Favours and Diſpleaſures were equally dangerous; for growing great enough to

The King goes into Scotland.

to give Apprehenſion to the *Spencers*, he loſt his new enjoy'd Honours, together with his Life, being firſt degraded, and then executed. A. D. 1323.

It is no wonder that ſo much Wealth and Glory ſhould ſo much dazle the *Spencer*'s Eyes, as to make them loſe their way. They had all the Spoils of the King's Enemies, with the Sale of his Favours to his Friends; Places and Honours were purchaſed, as in a common Market, and every thing encloſed and expoſed as they pleaſed; yet all this was not enough, unleſs they could leſſen the Queen's Attendants and Maintenance. Afflictions give Thoughts Admittance, but the ſwelled Minds of the fortunate Ambitious ſeldom endure to think. The firſt Accident that ſhew'd the Truth of this, was the Troubles that aroſe in *France*, which grew ſo high, that all the King's Territories were adjudg'd to be forfeited, and many Places of Importance were ſeized. The Storm was ſo violent, that there was no hope of becalming it, but by the King's going in Perſon, or, at leaſt, the Queen to mediate with her Brother; and the laſt being reſolved on, the Queen was ſent away with an indifferent Train, and acted ſeemingly ſo well, that ſhe brought things to a fair Accommodation; but upon ſuch Terms as did neceſſitate the Prince, her Son, to be ſent over to her. With him ſhe had what ſhe deſired, a Foundation to build her Revenge upon, that had long been raked up in glowing Embers, which now ſhe began to diſcover, and was reveal'd to the King by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, who ſecretly withdrew into *England*. The Queen and Prince were preſently ſummon'd into *England*; but ſhe was ſtay'd by the moſt powerful Cauſes, Love and Revenge: For ſhe that now ſeem'd free from all Ties to her King and Husband, placed her looſe Affections upon *Roger Mortimer*, who had lately eſcap'd out of the *Tower* from the Oppreſſion of the *Spencers*, She knew *England* could not be ſafe to her nor *Mortimer*, whom ſhe lov'd as her ſelf, and therefore reſolved to truſt to any thing rather than her Husband, and the *Spencers*. The Queen thus delaying her Obedience to her Husband in returning into *England*, ſhe, and the Prince, were declared Enemies to the Kingdom, and they and their Adherents baniſh'd. At the ſame time the Queen receiv'd Intelligence, that there were great Sums offer'd to have the Prince murder'd; upon which ſhe withdrew to the Earl of *Haynoult*, where ſhe contracted her Son to *Phillippa*, Daughter to that Earl, and

The Queen ſent into France.

1324.

A. D. 1324. there procures ſome Forces and Money, with which ſhe landed at *Harwich*, and many Noblemen and Biſhops repaired to her.

The Queen returns, and the King flies 1325.

The King had now the clamorous effect of ill Counſels calling too loud upon him, yet ſaw no way left to recover or repair the Misfortune thoſe Errors had brought him into. Where-ever he went he found no Subjects, thoſe with their Hearts were loſt before; but led by as uncertain Counſels as his Life had been govern'd by, he knew not whither to fly, but only fled. After many Motions, as various as his former Humour, he deſigns for the Iſle of *Lundy*, and takes with him the Earl of *Glouceſter*, the *Spencers*, and *Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and with ſome few others ſail'd thither; where Safety was their only Hope, and a choſen Priſon their Liberty. The King had left the Government of the City of *London* to *Walter Stapleton*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Lord Treaſurer; but the City, to ſhew their Reſpects to the Queen, cut his Head off, and ſeiz'd upon the Tower of *London*. The Queen, with ſtill encreaſing Forces, purſues her flying King and Husband: From *Oxford* marches to *Glouceſter*, and from thence to *Briſtol*, where the King had put the Earl of *Arundel* and *Spencer* the Father to defend the Place; but it quickly yielded to that Succeſs, which ſeem'd to deny all Hopes to the King's declining Condition. *Spencer* was there taken and executed, with all the Rigour that Revenge and Conqueſt could invent, and with as much Contempt of Law as he and his Son had formerly practis'd. They condemn'd him without Tryal, and prevented the natural Period of his Days, which could not have laſted long, being then above Fourſcore Years of Age.

The elder Spencer Drawn, Hang'd, and Quartered.

About this time Proclamation was made, *That if the King would come in, and conform to the Laws and Government, he ſhould be reſtored by the General Conſent of the People*; but the King, or his Favourite *Spencer*, durſt not truſt to it; and it may be thoſe that put out the Proclamation did as little deſire he ſhould embrace it; for the eager Purſuit of the King was ſtill continued, who, as ſome ſay, ſeeking to land at *Lundy*, was driven by a Tempeſt into *Wales*, and in the Abbey of *Nethe*, or, as ſome write near the Caſtle of *Lantruſſan* in *Glamorganſhire*, he lay conceal'd till by the means of one *Ryce ap Powel*, who was well acquainted with the Country, the King was taken in a Monaſtery, and delivered to the Earl of *Lancaſter*, Brother to him that was beheaded at *Pomfret*;

The King taken Priſoner.

Pomfret; and ſeem'd to ſhew a powerful Purſuit of Blood, to bring the King into the Mercy of a Family where he had ſhew'd ſo little. Others ſay, that the King, and young *Spencer*, were in the Caſtle of *Briſtol* when it was beſieg'd, and fearing the Event, he, and young *Spencer*, ſtole away by Night, and endeavouring to eſcape by Sea, his Boat was driven back, and trying to put to Sea, was diſcover'd by the Lord *Beaumont*, who chaſed him with a ſmall Veſſel, and took the King and *Spencer* in it. However, they all agree that *Spencer* was taken with him, as if the King muſt always appear inſeparable from the Cauſe of his Misfortune. The Earl of *Arundel* that was taken at *Briſtol*, was beheaded at the inſtance of *Mortimer*, who now govern'd the Queen's Affections, and all her Affairs. The young *Spencer* was carried along only to grace the Queen's marching in Triumph, and was rendred as contemptible as was poſſible, and after being expos'd in a fitting Poſture, to encreaſe the Scorn and Reproach that uſe to attend ſuch miſerable Objects, at laſt was eaſed of all his Sufferings, tho' by a Death as full of Torments as Malice could invent. He was at *Hereford* drawn and hang'd on a Gallows fifty Foot high, in his Coat of Armour, whereon was written, *Quid Gloriaris in Malitia, Why Boaſteſt thou in Miſchief? Simon Reading* was hang'd ten foot lower: But *Baldock*, in regard he was a Prieſt, had the Favour to be famiſh'd to Death in *Newgate*.

A.D. 1225.

The younger Spencer put to Death.

After a Month's ſtay at *Hereford*, the Queen with her Son and Favourite *Mortimer*, kept *Chriſtmas* at *Wallingford*, and their *Candlemas* at *London*, where the Parliament or Convention being aſſembled, they agreed to depoſe the King for Male-Adminiſtration, (exhibited many Articles againſt him) and to elect his eldeſt Son *Edward*. To this the Biſhops conſented, and the Archbiſhop preach'd upon this occaſion on this Text, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei, the Voice of the People is the Voice of God.*

1326.

A Convention aſſembled.

The Queen, when ſhe heard of this heavy Sentence, ſeem'd to ſink under the weight that ſhe was to bear, and like a good Wife would have a ſhare in his Misfortunes. But ſhe that by force had reduced him to that condition, could not with her counterfeit Tears, perſuade any to believe, that ſhe really deplor'd it. Beſides, that unjuſtifiable Paſſion for *Mortimer*, which had ſo long and ſo violently govern'd her, was a ſufficient Aſſurance, that there could not be Kindneſs enough left for her un-

A. D. 1326. unhappy Husband, to cauſe a real Grief for his Calamity. However, the Prince her Son, moved by that ſpecious ſhew of Sorrow, vowed, *He would never accept the Crown without his Father's Conſent.* Upon which Commiſſioners were ſent from the Aſſembly or Convention to the King, which conſiſted of three Biſhops, two Earls, two Juſtices, two Barons, four Members for the City of *London*, and three Knights for every Shire, to repreſent the Country.

The Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* went before to *Kenelworth*, where the King was Priſoner, to prepare and perſwade him to reſign the Crown. aſſuring him he ſhould live more happy than he did before. The King received the Sentence with a Sorrow proportion'd to the Occaſion, and being brought before an Aſſembly, as ſoon as his Paſſion, with which he was overcharg'd, would give him leave, he confeſs'd, *He had been miſguided* (the common Excuſe of a mean Soul) *and had done many Things whereof he now repented, and was ſorry he had ſo much diſpleaſed his People, that they had utterly rejected him: But yet gave them Thanks for electing his Son to be their King.* After this Reſignation, and the delivery of the Royal Enſigns, the Commiſſioners cauſed a formal Renunciation to be pronounced, which was done by *William Truſſel* in theſe words: *Unto thee, O King, I* William Truſſel, *in the Name of all the Men of this Land of* England, *and Prolocutor of this Parliament, reſign to thee,* Edward, *the Homage that was ſome time made to Thee, and from this time forth deprive Thee of all Kingly Power: And I ſhall never be Attendant on Thee as King after this Time.*

The Renunciation of Edward the Second.

This was the laſt Act, and the firſt Example of Depoſing a King of *England*; no leſs reflecting upon the State, than diſhonourable to him, who was a Prince more Weak than Wicked, and whoſe Exorbitancies met with as great, if not greater in his People. He had by his Wife *Iſabella* two Sons, *Edward*, born at *Windſor*, who ſucceeded him; and *John*, ſirnamed of *Eltham*, who was created Earl of *Cornwal*, 1315. and died in the Flower of his Youth in *Scotland*: And alſo two Daughters, *Joan*, married to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Eleanor* to the Duke of *Gelders*. This King reigned about eighteen Years; and being murdered in the Forty third Year of his Life, was buried at *Glouceſter* without any Ceremony.



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JAN



EDWARD III

II.

Vol. 1.

In this troubleſome Reign was founded only one Abbey of the (*a*) *Benedictines*, another of the (*b*) *Gilbertines*, and 3 of the (*c*) Black Canons. A. D. 1326.

(*a*) Holland, Lancaſhire. (*b*) Alvingham, Lincolnſhire. (*c*) Baddleſmere, Kent, Coſſingham *and* Halcamprize, Yorkſhire.

The Life and Reign of EDWARD *the Third.*

UPON the Reſignation of *Edward* the Second, *Edward* his Son, about 14 Years of Age, began his Reign the 20th of *January*, 1327. and ſent out Proclamations of Peace into all Counties, in this form. Edward, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *Lord of* Ireland, *and Duke of* Aquitain, *to* A. *our Sheriff of* B. *greeting: Whereas the Lord* Edward, *late King of* England, *our Father, by the Common Counſel and Aſſent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other Chief Men, with the whole Communality of this Realm, did voluntarily Amove himſelf from the Government thereof; Willing and Granting that We, as his Eldeſt Son and Heir, ſhould aſſume the ſame,* &c. Which Proclamation, made to palliate a Wrong, did but the more diſcover it. Now twelve Men of great Parts and Honour, were appointed to manage the Affairs of the Kingdom, till the King was of Age to govern it himſelf; but the Queen and *Roger Mortimer* uſurp'd this Charge, and took all upon themſelves. And to buſy the Multitude, and behold this Revolution, an Expedition is undertaken for *Scotland*, and at *Stanhope Park* the *Engliſh* Army encounter the *Scots*; and being thrice their number, might preſently have defeated them, if the Negligence, or worſe, of ſome great Men had not ſuffered them all to eſcape, without doing any thing: So that the young King, born to be Victorious, was depriv'd of the Honour of his firſt Action; which yet was more diſhonourable to others than himſelf: And therefore upon their return all Stipendiaries

1327. *His Titles.* *An Expedition into Scotland.*

A. D. 1327.

diaries, and the Strangers which the Queen brought over with her, are sent into their own Countries.

While this was transacting, the deposed King remains a Prisoner at *Kelenworth*, with the Allowance of a hundred Marks a Year, whereas the Queen procur'd a third Part of the Revenue to be settled on herself: And *Mortimer*, the worst of Men, by her guilty Passion seem'd to reign like a King, whilst her Sovereign and Husband was deprived of all the Comforts this World might afford him: For the King, not thought safe enough in the Custody of the Earl of *Lancaster*, they committed him to Men of more rough and cruel Natures, the Lord *Maltrevers* and *Thomas Gourney*, who from thence remov'd him to *Berkly Castle* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and from thence to *Corf-Castle*, and thence from Place to Place, that he might not be found, if his Friends should attempt to restore him. And to disguise him, that he might not be known, by *Gourney*'s Order, they shaved his Head and Beard in the open Fields, setting him on a Mole-Hill while it was doing, and then taking cold Water out of a Ditch to wash him, the King told them, *That in despite of them he would have warm Water at his Trimming*; and thereupon gushed out abundance of Tears. Other vile Affronts and Indignities this savage Goaler put upon his Anointed Sovereign; and to shew there is but a short Step between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes, they at length bring him again to *Berkley-Castle*, where he was wickedly murdered with a hot Iron thrust through a Pipe, behind, into his Bowels, by which way they thought the least Discovery might be made by what Death he dy'd; though his loud Groans and Cries sufficiently declar'd the Violence of it. Some write, that *Adam de Torleton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, by a dark Sentence instigated the Murderers to hasten the Execution, by this Line, *Equardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:* At once giving them Encouragement, and concealing an Excuse for himself. After this horrid Execution, the Murderers, *Gourney* and *Maltrevers*, expected Rewards, but found the Queen and Bishop readier to threaten and accuse them, than to own the Service, and therefore were forced to fly beyond Sea, to seek a Safety for their loathed Lives. *Gourney*, after three Years, was taken and sent to *England*, but by the way had his Head struck off, that he might tell no Tales who employd him. *Maltrevers* fled into *Germany*, where in Repentance he had time to wear out a miserable Life.

Cruelty to the deposed King.

King Edward *murdered.*

The

The King's Marriage with *Philippa* of *Hainault* was solemnized, and a Parliament held at *Northampton*, where a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a Match between *David Bruce*, Prince of *Scotland*, and *Joan*, Sister to the King of *England*; the *Scots* in Derision calling her *Joan Make-Peace*. King *Edward* at this Treaty sealed Charters to the *Scotch* Nation, which was contrived by the Queen Mother, *Mortimer*, now Earl of *March*, and Sir *James Douglass*, without the Privity of the *English* Peers. He also delivered to them that famous Evidence called the *Ragman Roll*, and quitted all his Claim to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*; withal rendring back certain Jewels taken by the *English* from the *Scots*, among which was one of special Note, called the Black Cross of *Scotland*. Shortly after, another Parliament was held at *Winchester*, where *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, Brother to the late deposed King, is Accused and Condemned for endeavouring the Restoration of his Brother, tho' no Overt-Act was proved. The miserable Earl stood five Hours on the Scaffold, before an Executioner could be found to dispatch him; at length a poor despicable Wretch out of the *Marshalsea* cut his Head off.

A. D. 1328.

A dishonorable Peace.

Earl of Kent *beheaded.*

These Violences caus'd the meeting of a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where all the Power and Glory of the Queen and *Mortimer*, which was scarce three Years old, dwindled into nothing. Queen *Isabel*'s Dowry was taken from her, and only a Pension of 1000 *l.* a Year was allowed her. *Mortimer* was condemn'd for *procuring the late King's Murder*; *for causing the* Scots *to escape at* Stanhope Park, *for a Bribe of* 20000 *l. for procuring the late Marriage and dishonourable Peace with the* Scots; *for an over great Familiarity with* Isabel *the Queen Mother*; *and for Robbing and Consuming the King and Kingdom's Treasure:* For which treasonable Crimes he was sent up to *London*, drawn and hang'd at the common Gallows at *Elms*, now called *Tyburn*, where his Body remain'd two Days as an opprobious Spectacle to all Beholders. In this Year 1328, died *Charles* the Fair, King of *France*, by whose Death the Crown of that Kingdom devolved to *Edward*, King of *England*, in the Right of his Mother *Isabel*, who was Daughter to *Philip* the Fair, and Sister to *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the Long, and *Charles* the Fair, all Kings of *France* successively, and all three dying without Issue, the whole Right seem'd now to be in *Isabel*,

Mortimer *executed at* Tyburn.

the

A. D. 1328. the only Child of the ſaid *Philip* that had any Iſſue. But the *French* pretending that by the *Salique Law* no Woman could inherit *France*, they advanc'd the Brother's Son before the Daughter's Son; and *Philip de Valois*, though a degree farther off, was put into Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom in his own Right: And King *Edward* was forced to temporize, and pay him Homage for the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which, with his unkind Treatment in *France*, laid the Foundation of future Troubles.

1331. *War with* Scotland. About this time fell out great Diſturbances in *Scotland*, occaſion'd by young *Bruce* and *Baliol*, who both pretended Right to that Crown: Which Opportunity King *Edward* laid hold on, conceiving himſelf not obliged to ſtand to that Contract made in his Minority, by his Mother and *Mortimer*; the *Scots* alſo detaining his Town of *Berwick* from him. Wherefore he raiſes an Army, and with *Edward Baliol* marches to *Berwick*; which having beſieged, *David Bruce* ſent a powerful Army to its Relief, and at *Halydon-Hill* the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Army joyn Battel, where the *Scots* were overcome, with the lamentable Slaughter of 7 Earls, 90 Knights and Baronets, 400 Eſquires, and about 32000 private Soldiers, as our Writers ſay; 14000, as their own affirm; with the loſs of but one Knight and 10 other *Engliſh*. And with this Effuſion of Blood is *Baliol* reſtor'd to his miſerable Kingdom, and had Faith and Allegiance ſworn to him by the *Scots*: Which done, *Baliol* repairs to King *Edward* at *Newcaſtle upon Tine*, where he ſubmitted to *Edward* III. as his Father *John Baliol* had done to *Edward* I. After which the King of *England* aſſiſted this *Baliol* as his Homager, going himſelf in Perſon divers times to ſuppreſs the *Brucian* Party, which he kept under, till he was engaged againſt the *French*. This War he would not raſhly undertake, till he had made ſure of *Robert d' Artois*, who had left *France* in Diſcontent, and reveal'd all their Counſels to King *Edward*: And that he had alſo gained the promiſed Aſſiſtance of his Father-in-Law, *William*, Earl of *Haynault*, the Duke of *Brabant* and *Gelders*, the Earl of *Juliers*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, *Valerian*, his Brother *John* of *Haynault*, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*. Beſides theſe, he procured *Louis de Baviere* the preſent Emperor, to make him Vicar General of the Empire, which entituled him to the Service of all the Princes bordering upon *France*, and the *Flemiſh* Cities were alſo willing to Aid the *Engliſh* rather than the *French*, in regard their Wealth

1333. Baliol *pays Homage to King* Edward.

1336. *King* Edward's *Allies.*

rose chiefly from the Wools of this Kingdom; which were by this King (*Anno Regni* 9) first prohibited to be exported unwrought. Having thus provided himself of Allies abroad, all ways and means are employ'd to raise Money at home, to carry on a War between these two Potent Nations, which continued above a hundred Years from its first beginning. Largely did his Subjects contribute in Parliamentary Ways; and to make his Coffers the fuller, he made bold with the *Lombards*, and the Goods of such Priories in *England*, as were Cells to Monasteries in *France*. A. D. 1336.

Thus provided, he directs a large Letter to the College of Cardinals, justifying his Design upon *France* to be just and honest. *First*, Because he was the nearest in Blood to the late King *Charles*, his Unkle, and undoubted Heir to that Crown. *Secondly*, Because the *French* had refused to put the Cause to a Civil Tryal at Law. *Thirdly*, For that the Process of the twelve Peers in giving the Crown from him, when he was under Age, was void by the Law of all Nations. *Fourthly*, For that *Philip* of *Valois* had invaded *Aquitain*, which belong'd to the Crown of *England*, and wrongfully detain'd such places therein as he had overcome. *Fifthly*, Because the said *Philip* had assisted the *Scots* in rising against him. King *Edward* having thus clear'd his way, he sail'd with his Troops to *Antwerp*, and by the Importunity of the *Flemings*, he first assum'd the Title and Arms of the Realm of *France*, and quartered the *Flower-de-luces with the Lyons*, to justify the *Flemings* taking part against the *French*, since they sided with their lawful King. Entring into *France*, he burnt and spoil'd the Northern Parts as far as *Teroyanne*; then returning to *Antwerp*, he there kept his *Christmas* with his Queen *Philippa*, and about *Candlemas* set sail for *England*, where, in a Parliament held at *Westminster*, he obtain'd liberal Supplies for his design'd Conquest: In lieu of which he granted *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*, with other Priviledges of Right belonging to his Subjects. In *June* following, with a Fleet of 400 Ships, he set sail from *Harwich* to the *Sluce*, near which Place the *French* Fleet lay ready to intercept him; but the King having the Advantage of the Wind, so furiously set upon the *French* Navy, that he gave them a total Overthrow, took or sunk all their Ships, slew Thirty thousand Men, and landed with as great Glory as such a Victory, which was the greatest the *English* ever had at Sea, could

War with France why.

1338. *Arms of France join'd with the English.*

Charters confirm'd.

honour

A. D. 1340. honour him with. Most of the *French*, rather than endure the Arrows and Swords of the *English*, in great desperation leapt into the Sea; and the loss was so very great on the *French* side, that lest the News should too much afflict the King of *France*, his Jester, discloſed it, by often repeating these words unto him: *Cowardly* Englishmen, *Dastardly* Englishmen, *Faint-hearted* Englishmen. *Why?* said the King. *Because*, said the Jester, *they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave* Frenchmen *did*; from which Words the King took the Hint of his being overthrown. After this celebrated Victory, King *Edward* with his Army, consisting of near a Hundred thousand Men, sat down before *Tournay*, and sent the *French* King word, whom he only accosted with the Name of *Philip de Valois*, *That he would decide the Quarrel with him in a single Combat, or with a Hundred Men on a side, or otherwise to join Battle with all their Forces in Ten Days near* Tournay. To which *Philip* made no direct Answer, but waved it, because in his Letters he had not stiled him King of *France*, but barely *Philip of Valois*. Nevertheless, he brought his Army within Sight of the *English*; but by the Mediation of *Jane de Valois*, Sister to *Philip*, and Mother to *Philippa*, Wife to King *Edward*, a Princess of extraordinary Vertue, who came from *Fonnelles*, where she had veil'd herself a Nun, and two Cardinals, a Truce was concluded between the two Kings till *Midsummer* following. The great Reason inducing King *Edward* to yield to it, was the want of Money, through the fault of his Officers in *England*, whom he severely punished at his return. Now to weaken King *Edward*'s Strength, the Pope interdicted *Flanders*, on pretence that they had left their own Earl, and Chief Lord, *Philip*, King of *France*. And *Lewis* the Emperor also breaking League with the King of *England*, took part with the King of *France*; which, when *Edward* understood, in great Anger said, *I will Fight them both.* Not long after he put to Sea with a numerous Fleet, none knowing whither he was bound. At length he landed in *Normandy*, took the Rich and Populous City of *Caen*, and with an Army that carried Terror where ever it came, burning and spoiling all about him, he marched almost as far as the Walls of *Paris*, where, with an irresistible Army, in an Enemy's Country, between two Rivers *Seine* and *Some*, the Bridges being broken down by the *French* King, King *Edward* designed at a low Water to have passed over a Ford between

1345. *A Victory at Sea.*

A Truce concluded.

1345. *The War began again.*

between *Albeville* and the Sea; but the *French* King perceiving his Intentions, ſent *Godnor du Foy* with 1000 Horſe, and 6000 Foot, to prevent his paſſing. Notwithſtanding this intended Obſtruction, undaunted *Edward* enter'd the Ford himſelf, ſaying, *They that Love me will follow me*; reſolving to paſs the Ford or dye; upon which the Soldiers ruſh'd into the Water, and put *Du Foy* to flight. King *Edward* being come as far as *Creſſy* in *Ponthieu*, lying between the Rivers *Some* and *Anthy*, he there provided for his Defence againſt King *Philip*, who was advancing towards him with 100000 Men and upward. When the two Armies were in ſight of each other, the King of *England*, after he had call'd upon God, diſpoſed his Army into three Bodies. To his Son *Edward*, the *Black Prince*, he gave the Van, the Second to the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel*, and commanded the Third himſelf: And as if he meant to barricado his Army from flying, he planted his Carriages in the Rear, and fell'd Trees to immure them behind; commanding withal, that the Troopers ſhould forſake their Horſes, and leave them among the Carriages. On the Enemy's part, the King of *Bohemia* and Earl of *Alenſon* had charge of the Van Guard, King *Philip* was in the Main Battel, and the Earl of *Savoy* commanded the Rear. The Sign of Battle being given by King *Philip*, a bloody Fight enſued, wherein the *Black Prince* was ſo hard beſet, that his Father was ſent for to come to his Reſcue, who ſtood upon the Hillock of a Windmil to behold the Fight, and be ready to aſſiſt where occaſion invited him, but at that Juncture refuſed to go; returning this Anſwer by the Meſſengers, *Let them ſend no more to me upon any Accident that may befal them while my Son is Alive, but let him either Conquer or Dye: For I intend the Honour of this Day ſhall be his own, if God Almighty give him Power to ſurvive it*: Which he did, and beat the *French* out of the Field. Upon this King *Edward*, with his untouch'd Body, advances towards his Victorious Son, and moſt effectionately embracing and kiſſing him, ſaid, *Dear Son, God ſend you always ſuch Succeſs: You have nobly acquitted your ſelf, and are worthy of the Government of a Kingdom for your Valour.* In the Field of Battle were found the dead Bodies of 11 great Princes, and of Barons, Knights, and Men of Arms, above 1500 There was ſlain the King of *Bohemia*, King of *Majorca*, Earl of *Alenſon*, Duke of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Bourbon*, Earl of *Flanders*, Earl of *Savoy*, the Dauphin of *Viennois*, Earl

A. D. 1346.

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A. D. 1346.

The Battle ordered.

The French are beaten.

A. D. 1346. of *Sancere* and *Harcourt*, Earls of *Amarl*, *Nevers*, &c. six Earls of *Germany*, beſides others of great account, with the Grand Prior of *France*, and Archbiſhop of *Roan*; and of private Souldiers, about 30000; But of the *Engliſh* not one Man of Note or Quality was ſlain. The cauſe of this Overthrow was attributed by the *French* to the Raſhneſs and Precipitation of their King, and his Brother; which have always been the Ruin of great Actions, eſpecially in War.

In the eighteenth Year of his Reign he inſtituted the Noble Order of the Garter; about the occaſion of which Inſtitution there are various Opinions among Hiſtorians: The Vulgar and more General is, that the Garter of *Joan*, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, falling caſually off as ſhe danc'd in a Solemn Ball, King *Edward* haſtily ſtooping, took it from the Ground, whereupon ſome of his Nobles and Courtiers ſmiling, as at an amorous Action, and he obſerving their merry Humour, turn'd it off with this Reply in *French*, *Honi ſoit qui maly penſe*, *Evil to him that Evil thinks*; but withal added, in diſdain of their Laughter, that in a ſhort time they ſhould ſee that Garter advanc'd to ſuch Honour and Eſtimation, as they ſhould account themſelves happy to wear it. But if we examine this Tradition, there will appear but little reaſon to give it credit; for Sir *John Froiſſart*, who only among the Writers of that Age, takes notice of this Inſtitution, aſſigns it to no ſuch Original, as the falling off of a Lady's Garter. Nor among our other Hiſtorians, for Two hundred Years after, is any thing found to ſupport that fanciful Opinion, till *Polydore Virgil*, who was a Stranger, ſtumbled upon that Conceit: Nor is there the leaſt appearance in the Original Statutes of that Noble Order, to countenance the Fancy of ſuch a Feminine Inſtitution; nor doth the Author of that piece, intituled, *Inſtitutio clariſſimi Ordinis Militaris a prenobili Subligaculo nuncupati*, let fall the leaſt Touch to that Purpoſe. But that the whole Story may appear, as indeed it is, a Fable, I ſhall inſert the Opinion of a late Learned Writer, who hath taken no ſmall pains to ſatisfy himſelf and the World in this particular. *The Story of the Lady's Garter*, ſays Dr. *Heylin*, *I take to be a vain and idle Romance, derogatory both to the Founder and Order; firſt publiſh'd by* Polydore Virgil, *a Stranger to the Affairs of* England, *and by him taken upon no better ground than* Fama Vulgi, *the Tradition of the common People; too triffling a Foundation to ſo great a Building*: Common

Heylin's *Coſmog.* p. 287.

Bruit

Bruit *being ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, that Wiſe Men will neither report after it, nor give Credit to any thing they receive from it:* And yet it has ſo fallen out, that many Learned Men, for want of Reflection, have incautiouſly ſwallow'd and run away with this Vulgar Error, which has brought it by degrees to the Vogue it is now in. But the truth is, King *Edward* had no Reflection upon a Lady's Garter when he firſt deſign'd this Inſtitution; but it proceeded from a much more Noble Cauſe, *viz.* *To adorn Martial Vertue with Honours, Rewards and Glory: To encreaſe Vertue and Valour in the Minds of his Nobility:* Or, as Monſieur *du Cheſne* ſays, *To Honour Military Vertue with ſome Glorious Favours and Rewards.* And upon theſe grounds does our Learn'd *Selden* affirm, that this Noble Order was raiſed: For King *Edward* finding that *Philip de Valois* had countermin'd his deſign at his Court in *France*, by aſſociating Martial Men there, as King *Edward*, in imitation of King *Arthur*'s Round Table, had done at *Windſor*, he reſolved upon a deſign more particular and ſelect, and ſuch as might oblige and tye thoſe whom he thought fit to make his Aſſociates, in a firm Bond of Friendſhip and Honour; and therefore, having given forth his own Garter for the Signal of a Battle that ſucceeded happily, which, (with *du Cheſne*) we have reaſon to believe was the Battle of *Creſſy*; from thence he took occaſion to inſtitute this Order, and gave the Garter (aſſum'd by him for the Symbol of Unity and Society) Preheminence, among the other Enſigns of it: Whence that ſelect number, whom he incorporated into a Fraternity, are frequently ſtiled, *Equites Aureæ Periſcelidis*, and vulgarly *Knights of the Garter.*

A. D. 1346.

Tit. Hon. p. 794.

Camden *Attrib.* p. 207. *Hiſt. Generale d' Angleterre.* p. 697.

From the Foreſt of *Creſſy* King *Edward* marched to *Calais*, and beſieg'd it; and while the Siege continued, the Governour, for the ſparing of Proviſions, turning out 1500 poor and impotent People, King *Edward* did not turn them back again, but ſuffered them freely to paſs thro' the Camp, relieving them with Victuals *gratis*, and gave them Two Pence a piece Sterling. But whilſt the King was buſied in *France*, the *Scots*, in Favour of the *French*, invaded *England*, and advancing as far as *Durham*, the Lords of the North, with the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, collected ſo great a Force, that, by the Queen's Encouragement, who was there in Perſon, they utterly defeated the *Scotch* Army, conſiſting of 60000 Men, took

Calais *beſieg'd.*

The Scots are beaten.

A. D. 1346. *David* their King Priſoner, with many Noble Men, and put 15000 *Scots* to the Sword. This Victory fell likewiſe upon a *Saturday*, ſix Weeks after that of *Creſſy*, as if Providence had concured to make this Year Triumphant. And as King *Edward*'s Friends were ſucceſsful in *England*, ſo were they alſo in foreign Parts. In *Britanny*, Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, overthrew the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, tho' he had much the odds of him in the number of his Men. In *Gaſcoigne*, and thoſe Parts, *Henry*, Earl of *Derby* and *Lanceſter*, worſted the Duke of *Normandy*, took ſeveral Places of great importance; among the reſt that conſiderable Town of *Bergerac*, where he permited every Soldier to ſeize any Houſe, and to convert all he found to his own uſe; and it ſo falling out, that a Soldier called *Reth* having broken into a Houſe where the Moneyers had, for Safety, ſtow'd the Money of that Country in Sacks, he acquainted the Earl with it, ſuppoſing that the Earl never intended ſo great a Treaſure for a private Share; but the Earl told him, *That according to his Proclamation, let the Treaſure be what it would, it was all his own.* Now almoſt after a Years Siege, *Calais* was deliver'd up to King *Edward*'s Mercy, and the People receiv'd this Sentence; *That ſix of the Principal Burgeſſes ſhould be ſent to the King, Bare-headed, Bare-footed, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, and with the Keys of the Town and Caſtle in their Hands, ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the King's Will.* The reſt he was content to ſhew Mercy to. This Sentence at firſt frighted all, till a brave Citizen, unwilling to ſurvive the Loſs of his Country, offer'd himſelf a Sacrifice; which ſo amaz'd the People, that they now ſtrive who ſhall be one of the Six, and cry'd out, *Let us go, let us go to Death, 'tis the laſt Duty we can pay our Country.* When the Six appeared, the King commanded them to be immediately executed, and would not ſpare them upon the Entreaty of his Council; till the Queen, big with Child, fell upon her Knees, and with Tears obtain'd their Pardon. Which done, ſhe Cloaths and Feeds them, and giving them ſix Nobles a Man, order'd them to be convey'd ſafely through the Army, and ſet at Liberty: An Act worthy ſo great a Queen! Thus was that ſtrong Town of *Calais* taken the third of *Auguſt*, 1347. with great Coſt and Labour: All the Inhabitants being turn'd out to ſeek new Dwellings, a Colony of the *Engliſh* was planted in it, and it remain'd in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England* 210 Years after.

1347. Calais *taken by the* Engliſh.

Calais *planted with* Engliſh.

At

At length, after much Spoil committed upon the *French*, a Truce was concluded for ſome Months, and the King, Queen, Prince and People return into *England*, to rejoyce, and enjoy the Benefit of Peace, and their Booties which they brought Home from *France*, which were ſaid to be ſo great, that every Houſe had a Part, and the Wives of *England* were made fine with the Ornaments of thoſe of *France*; who in the mean time lament their Loſſes, while here is nothing but Feaſting and Rejoycing through the whole Kingdom. At the ſame time King *Edward* was choſen King of the *Romans*, which he refus'd, as too far off, and inconſiſtent with his own Affairs. But before the Year ended, this great Mirth was turned into Mourning and Lamentation; for the inviſible Sword of God, the Peſtilence, made ſuch Ravage upon Mankind in the Eaſt and South Parts of the World, as had never been known before; and in *England* they write, that it ſwept away half the Men. This Affliction was alſo attended by a miſerable Famine; Murrain among the Cattle, and a great Sterility of the Earth, cauſed by the Indiſpoſition of the Heavens, and want of Tillage. But all this was no Obſtruction to the two vigorous Princes; for the *French* having broken the Agreement, King *Edward* enters *France* with an Army, and ſpoil'd it where ever he came, and after his return into *England*, when he heard that *Philip* of *France* was dead, and that the new King *John* had given *Charles*, the *Dauphin*, the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, King *Edward* beſtowed it upon the *Black Prince*, commanding him to defend that Right with his Sword. Whereupon the Prince, furniſhed with a gallant Army, ſet Sail towards *France*, where he took many Towns and Priſoners, advancing into the Boſom of *France*, to the very Gates of *Bourges* in *Berry*: from whence wheeling about to return to his chief City *Bourdeaux*, *John*, King of *France*, encountred him near *Poictiers* with a great Army, having the odds of ſix to one; notwithſtanding which the victorious Prince of *Wales* overcame the *French*, took Priſoners King *John*, and *Philip*, his youngeſt Son, the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, many great Lords, and about 2000 Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen; and in the Fight ſlew about ~~52~~ Lords, and 1700 Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen, with Sir *Reginald Camian*, who that Day bore the *Oriflame*, or Enſign of *France*, and of the private Soldiers about 6000. To *James*, Lord *Audley*, who in the Fight received many Wounds, the Prince

A. D. 1347.

A great Peſtilence.

1349.

1355.

Prince of Wales's *victory.*

A. D. gave 800 Marks Land in Fee-ſimple, which Lands the
1355 Lord *Audley* beſtowed on his four Eſquires that continued with him in all the Heat and Fury of the Action. King *Edward* the Father, whilſt his Son was thus proſperouſly buſied in *France*, proceeded in Hoſtility againſt the *Scots*, and brought King *Baliol* to ſurrender his Crown to him at *Roxburg*. Prince *Edward* after his late Victory march'd in Triumph to *Bourdeaux*, where, having refreſh'd his wearied Soldiers, he took his leave of *France*, tho'
1357. not of King *John*, whom he brought with him a Priſoner
King John *Priſoner in* England. to *London*, where the Prince was welcom'd with all imaginable Honours by *Henry Picard*, Lord Mayor for the time being. Which, *Picard* at his own Charge, once feaſted the Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Cyprus*.

King *Edward* order'd that Eight Days ſhould be ſpent in giving Thanks to God for the Victory; and not long after, with a Fleet of 1100 Sail, paſs'd over from *Sandwich* to invade *France*, and coming before the
1359. Walls of *Paris*, he gave 400 Eſquires and Gentlemen the Honour of Knighthood. Ample Conditions were offered by the *French* to the Knig of *England*, to which at preſent he would not liſten; but at length he was perſwaded to an Agreement upon theſe Conditions: *That himſelf and Son, Prince* Edward, *ſhould for ever releaſe unto King* John, *and his Heirs, the Right and Claim which they had to the Crown of* France, *Dutchy of* Normandy, *&c. That King* John *and his Son, ſhould from them and their Heirs, releaſe unto King* Edward, *and his Heirs, the Counties of* Aquitain, Saintonge, *the County of* Ponthieu, &c. *the proper Inheritance of Queen* Iſabel, *King* Edward's *Mother. That King* John *ſhould pay his Ranſom Thirty Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, every two*
His Ranſome. *of which ſhould be worth Six Shillings Eight Pence, Sterling*, with ſome other Conditions: All which were ra-
1360. tified with Hands and Seals, and Oaths, at *Calais*; tho' by the Falſeneſs of the *French* King, this Friendſhip continued not many Years. For King *John*, by underhand dealing, ſought to alienate the Hearts of King *Edward*'s Foreign Subjects from him; and the Country of *Ponthieu* he ſurpriz'd before King *Edward* could have notice of it. Wherefore the King ſent over *John*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, to invade *France*; who pierced up as far as *Roan*, and after them the King ſent that renowned Captain, Sir *Robert Knolls*, who went on very proſperouſly, till by

the

the Inſtigation of Sir *John Menſterworth* and ſome others, who thought themſelves ſuperiour to Sir *Robert*, Diviſions were ſowed in the Army, which much impaired the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, and coſt *Menſterworth* the loſs of his Head. About the ſame time, ſome great Officers of the King's, as *John*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, and Sir *John Stery*, were complain'd of, for fraudulent dealing with the State, and at the requeſt of the Parliament, called the *Good*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Pieree*, the King's Concubine, were remov'd from the Court. The Complaints againſt them were ſo vehemently preſſed by Sir *Peter de la More*, the Prolocutor, that the King, rather than want Supplies, conſented to their being diſplaced. The Prince was thought to favour theſe Proceedings, there being no good Correſpondence between him and his Brother, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who now managed all Affairs under his aged Father, and whoſe Ambition might be dangerous to his young Son, *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. In this Parliament, being the 50th Year of his Reign, to gratify his Subjects, the King grants another general Pardon, wherein the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is excepted. But this *Jubile* of Indemnity is ſoon turn'd to Sorrow, by the much lamented Death of *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, with whom we may ſay the good Fortune of *England* died alſo. He was a Prince ſo bleſs'd with Vertue and Goodneſs, that there was no Room for Vice; and if he had lived in Heroick Times, would have claim'd a Place among the Worthies. His Body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument now ſtands. This Parliament, tho' called *The Good*, produced ill Effects; for Sir *Peter de la More*, at the Suit of *Alice Pierce*, the King's Concubine, is committed to perpetual Impriſonment at *Nottingham*; but within two Years after, at the Importunity of Friends, is ſet at Liberty. Now the Duke of *Lancaſter* returns to Court, and preſides in all Affairs; and might have preſumed farther, if King *Edward*, to prevent Miſchiefs that might ariſe upon diſordering the Succeſſion, had not providently ſettled the Crown upon *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, creating him firſt Earl of *Cheſter* and *Cornwall*, and then Prince of *Wales*: leſt *John* of *Lancaſter* ſhould ſupplant him, as Earl *John* did his Nephew, *Arthur*, in the ſame caſe.

A. D. 1360.

A Parliament call'd the Good.

The Succeſſion ſettled.

A. D. 1375. Now a certain Divine called *John Wickliffe*, being deprived of a Living in *Oxford* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, preach'd every where againſt the Clergy; for which being cited to appear before the Biſhop of *London* in St. *Paul's* Church, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Sir *Henry Piercy*, the New Marſhal, eſpouſing his Cauſe at his appearance, and giving ill Words and Threatnings againſt the Biſhop of *London*, the *Londoners* ſwore they would loſe their Lives, rather than ſuffer their Biſhop to be ſo injuriouſly treated: And not affecting the Duke, their Anger at length grew ſo high, that the Duke was forced to fly for the Safety of his Life; ſo that this Tumult put by all Proceedings at that time againſt *Wickliffe*, whoſe Followers were then call'd *Lollards*, from *Lolium*, ſignifying Tares or hurtful Weeds among Corn. The Parliament ended, but not the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Diſpleaſure againſt the Citizens, whom the King would have reconciled to his Son, if Sickneſs had not diſabled him.

From whence the Word Lollard.

For he his now forced to give over the World, as that had done him before his Breath had left his Body. Firſt, his Concubine pack'd up what Plate and Jewels ſhe could get, even to the Rings off his Fingers, and then left him. His other Attendants after her Example ſeize upon what they could faſten on, and ſhift away; and all his Counſellors and others forſook him in his laſt Agony, when he moſt wanted them, leaving his Chamber quite empty; which a Poor Prieſt in the Houſe perceiving, approach'd the King's Bed ſide, and finding him yet breathing, call'd upon him to *Remember his Saviour, and to beg Mercy for his Offences.* Upon which the King ſhews manifeſt ſigns of Contrition, and drawing his laſt Breath, expreſs'd the name of *Jeſus*. Thus died this mighty and victorious King, at his Mannor of *Sheen*, now *Richmond*, the 21ſt of *June*, 1377. in the 64th Year of his Age, having reigned Fifty Years, four Months and odd Days. His Body was convey'd from *Sheen* by his four Sons, and other Lords, and was ſolemnly Inter'd at *Weſtminſter* Abbey, where he has a Monument, and where it's ſaid, his Sword that he uſed in Battle, is yet to be ſeen, being eight Pounds in weight, and ſeven Foot long.

King Edward dieth.

1377.

His Character. His Character is beſt expreſs'd in his Actions, yet thus briefly, He was a Prince the ſooneſt a Man, and the longeſt that continued ſo of any that we read of. He was a comely Perſon, ſtrait of Stature, majeſtically Graceful

ful, and reſpectfully Affable; and could expreſs himſelf handſomely upon all occaſions: A Prince who entirely loved Juſtice, Order, and his Subjects, the principal Vertues of a Sovereign. He was Provident in all his Actions, and what his Subjects gave him, he as diſcreetly iſſued out, having no private Profuſion, but ſpent it only upon his Enterprizes for the Honour and Intereſt of the Kingdom. In ſhort, he was a Prince that knew his Work, and did it, and therefore was better obey'd, reſpected and ſerved, than any of his Predeceſſors. His private Buildings were alſo many, as the Caſtle of *Windſor* re-edified and enlarged. The Caſtle of *Queenborough* in Honour of his Wife *Philippa*, and Fortifications at *Calais*, and other Places. His Magnificence was ſhew'd in his Feaſts and Triumphs. To conclude, he was a Prince whoſe Nature agreed with his Office, as only made for it. The Defects which we find in him at laſt, we muſt not attribute to him, but his Age, wherein we never yet ſaw a Prince compleatly happy; for when their Vigour fails them, their Friends and Fortune leave them alſo. A. D. 1377.

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His Works of Piety.

As this King abounded in Works of Piety himſelf, ſo did he encourage others; for notwithſtanding the Statute of *Mortmain*, were founded Seven Religious Houſes of the (*a*) *Benedictine* Order, one of the

(*a*) Bromhall, Berkſhire; Wyrthorp, Northamtonſhire; 2 *Coll. in* Oxford; *the ſame in* Sudbury, Suffolk; *and* Campeſſe *in that Country.*

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(*b*) *Ci-*

A. D. 1377. (*b*) *Ciſtercian*, 2 of (*a*) *Carthuſian* 20 of (*d*) Black Canons, beſides 5 (*e*) Collegiate Churches.

(*b*) Eaſt Minſter *near the* Tower, London, (*c*) Charter-Houſe, London; *and* Greſely, Nottinghamſhire. (*d*) Biſham, *and* Windſor *in* Berkſhire; Flanesford, Herefordſhire; Cobham *and* Dartford, Kent; Kirby, Biller, *and* Leiceſter *in* Leiceſterſhire; Elſing Spittle, London, St Stephen, Weſtminſter; Tomeſton, Ruſhworth. *and* Attilburgh, Norfolk; Cotherſtoke *and* Irtclingburgh, Northamptonſhire; Sibthord *and* Tuxford, Nottinghamſhire; Bruſhyard, Suffolk; Aſtley, Warwickſhire; Eddington, Wiltſhire, *and* St. Davids *in* Pembrokeſhire. (*e*) Stapton, Devonſhire; Sapcole, Leiceſter; Corpus Chriſti Colledge, London; Raveningham, Norfolk; Stratford, Warwickſhire.

The Life and Reign of RICHARD *the Second.*

A. D. 1377. RICHARD the Second, born at *Bourdeaux*, Son of *Edward* the *Black Prince*, and *Joan*, the Daughter of *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, and Grand-ſon to *Edward* the Third, being eleven years old, was crown'd King at *Weſtminſter*, the 21ſt of *June*, 1377. by *Simon Sudbury*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and for the more Solemnity of his Coronation, he made nine Knights, and created four Earls; but the King's tender years requiring a Protector, or chief Manager of Publick Affairs, there aroſe a Difficulty whom to chuſe. If that Truſt ſhould be committed to one, Ambition join'd to Power, might tempt him to uſurp the Crown: If to many it might be feared that different private Intereſts, Factions and ſiniſter Ends from which ſcarce any of the Grandees were free, might entangle or retard their Proceedings, ſo as to obſtruct their acting unanimouſly and chearfully for the Publick Weal. At laſt, hoping to pleaſe all Parties, they entruſted the King's three Unkles; but *Lancaſter* refuſing the Charge, ſeveral other Lords both Spiritual and Temporal were added, till at laſt being found too many, the Truſt was confer'd wholly upon the



RICHARD II

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the Earl of *Warwick*, who diſcharg'd the Office with good Satisfaction. A. D. 1379.

A Protector choſen.

The *Scots* and *French* now promiſing themſelves advantages from the King's Minority, began to make Attempts upon his Territories, almoſt before he was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown. The firſt ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Berwick*, the ſecond the Iſle of *Wight*, and burnt and pillaged ſeveral Towns and Villages on the Coaſts; but were both quickly repuls'd and beaten out again. About two Months after the Coronation, a Parliament was called, which ſat from *Michaelmas* to St. *Andrew*'s Day, and baniſh'd *Alice Pierce*, King *Edward*'s Miſtreſs; for, tho' by the Power of her Money ſhe had obtained many Lords and Lawyers to plead in her Favour, yet the Commons purſued her ſo cloſe, that they baniſhed her, and forfeited all her Goods to the King's Treaſury, from whence, by the King's Favour or Dotage, they had been obtained. In 1379. a Parliament was held at *London*, wherein, for Supply of the King's Wants, it was agreed, that the Poorer ſort ſhould be ſpared and the Burden be laid upon the Richer. And in the next Year a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein every one of each Sex, above ſuch an Age, were aſſeſſed to pay Twelve Pence a Head, which, with the hatred to *John*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, was the Cauſe of a great Inſurrection of the meaner ſort, chiefly of the Inhabitants of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and *Cambridgeſhire*, which began on this occaſion: A rude Collector of Poll Money, coming to the Houſe of one *Wat Tyler*, and demanded Money of his Wife for a Daughter of hers, who ſaid ſhe was not of Age to pay; the rude Fellow ſaid, he would ſee whether ſhe was or no, and thereupon forcibly turn'd up her Coats; whereat the Mother making an Out cry, her Husband being at work hard by, and hearing the Noiſe, came in with his Lathing Hammer in his Hand, with which he gave the Collector ſuch a blow on the Head, that his Brains flew out, and he preſently died. Upon this, at the Complaint of *Tyler* among his Neighbours, and the Inſtigation of *John Ball*, a Factious Clergy-man, who was deſirous to root up the Government, took occaſion to tell the People, that the Difference of Man's Eſtates, where ſome were Potentates and others Bondmen, was an Uſurpation upon Chriſtian Liberty; and deafned the Multitude with that common ſaying.

The Scots and French Invaſion.

1380.

Wat Tyler's *Rebellion.*

When

A. D. 1381.

When Adam *delved, and* Eve *ſpan,*
Who was then the Gentleman?

And with this Theme ſo incens'd them, that the Mobile in the 'fore-named Countries drew together, and the Heads of this giddy Multitude, were *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw*. The Rebels of *Kent* embattled themſelves on *Black-Heath*, from whence they march'd to *London*, arreſting all they met, and ſwearing them to be true to King *Richard* and the Commons, and never to receive any King call'd *John*, which they did out of Hatred to *John*, Duke of *Lancaſter*. The firſt thing they did when they came to *London*, was to ſend for one *Richard Lyon*, a grave Citizen, who had been *Tyler*'s Maſter; his Head they ſtruck off, and carried it upon a Pole in Triumph before them. The next Day they ſet on Fire the Priory of St. *John*'s, and kept it burning ſeven Days. *Savoy* Palace, belonging to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with all the Riches therein, they conſumed by Fire in a kind of Holy Outrage, and threw into the Flames one of their Fellows that had concealed a piece of Plate, ſaying, *They were Men of Juſtice, and would not, like Robbers, enrich themſelves with the Goods of Offenders.* At *Lambeth* they burnt all the Archbiſhop's Goods, and defaced all the Writings, Rolls, and Records of the *Chancery*, having an irreconcilable Hatred againſt the Lawyers. *Simon Theobald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*, a Worthy Prelate and Juſticiary, Sir *Robert Hales*, Lord Prior of *John*'s, and Treaſurer of *England*, they hauled out of the *Tower*, where the King was in Perſon, and beheaded them on *Tower-Hill*, with great Acclamations and Rejoycings. The number of theſe Rebellious Reformers, were ſaid to be a Hundred thouſand. Neceſſity compelling the King, he granted their inſolent Petitions, upon which a great part of the Rout returned Home. The Remainder of the Rabble the King invited to meet him in *Smithfield*, where he would give them entire Satisfaction; but when they were met, and *Wat Tyler* having got the King's Dagger, and offering to kill Sir *John Newton*, for not paying him Reſpect enough, *William Walworth*, Lord Mayor of *London*, waiting an opportunity to ſurprize the Inſolent Rebel, ſnatches the King's Dagger out of the Sheath in *Tyler*'s Hand, and ſheathes it in the proud Traytor's Body, and Alderman *Philpot*, at the ſame time, ſaluting him,

1382. *The miſchiefs the Rebels committed*

Wat Tyler *killed, and by whom.*

him with a violent Blow on the Head, he fell from his Horſe, and dy'd. The Mobile cried out to Revenge their Captain's Death; but being ſomething aſtoniſhed at the ſudden Action, and each one expecting when another ſhould begin, they ſtood ſtaring one upon another, till Sir *Robert Knolls* approaching with armed Citizens, they all flung down their Weapons, ſhifted for themſelves, and quitted the Field; at which the King exceedingly rejoyced, and in the ſame place Knighted *William Walworth*, *John Philpot*, *Ralph Standiſh*, *John Laund*, *Nicholas Twyfield*, and *Nicholas Bramber*, for the great Service they had done him: And, as ſome write, the Dagger was now added to the City Arms. One *Wraw*; a Prieſt, and *Robert Weſtborn*, an Inn-keeper, were alſo principal Incendiaries among this Rabble, and committed divers Outrages. Sir *John Cavendiſh*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, they beheaded, and ſet his Head upon the Pillory of St. *Edmunds Bury*; as likewiſe the Prior of *Cambridge*, and *John de Lackinghuith*, whoſe Heads they carried in Triumph before them to St. *Edmunds Bury*, and placed them upon the ſame Pillory. *John Letiſtar*, a Dyer, play'd the ſame Pranks at *North Waltham* in *Norfolk*. Him they ſtil'd Captain, King of the Commons, and forced the Lord *Scales* and *Morley*, and many Knights to wait upon him at Table; which Sir *Robert Saul* refuſing to do, the Rabble beat his Brains out. *Henry Spencer*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Neighbouring Nobility and Gentry, arm'd and routed theſe Rebels, took their Captain, and immediately cut his Head off; but their Chaplain *Wraw* they ſent Priſoner to *London*, where he was drawn, hang'd and quartered. In *Cambridge* the ranſack'd *Corpus Chriſti* College, deſtroying all the Charters, Records, and Writings, and took all the Plate, Ornaments and Treaſure, out of St. *Mary*'s Church, omiting nothing that was ſacrilegious and barbarous, and might ſhew their malice to the Clergy, but above all, the whole Rout were moſt enraged againſt the Lawyers, whom they killed in all places where they found them. *Jack Straw*, at the time of his Execution confeſſed, That theſe Rebels had deſigned to Murder the King, and the Chief of the Realm, and to have ſet up Kings of their own chuſing in every Shire. The number of the Rebels that were executed in all Places were about 1500, and theſe were called the *Hurling Times*.

A. D. 1382.

Jack Straw's *Confeſſion.*

The

A. D. 1383.

The Nation being now at quiet, King *Richard* married the Lady *Ann*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth. *John*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was sent into *France*, where he concluded a Truce with that Nation for six Months. But these Sun-shine Days were soon clouded: For, besides the Damages done by the *French*, the Laiety were discontented with the Clergy; and a Parliament being called, they remonstrated, 'That the 'Laws of the Lands were disregarded; and that the 'King and his Council took upon them to alter, or 'wholly lay aside things established by Parliament; 'and that Sir *R. Scroop*, Chancellor, was put out of 'his Office, for refusing to sign Grants to alienate the 'Crown Lands, in favour of Court Flatterers, who 'had beg'd them, to the Prejudice of the King's Re'venue. In this Parliament, *John Wickliffe*, descended of an Ancient Family in the North, and who, as *Knighton* says, *was the most Eminent Doctor in Divinity in his time, Divinity Reader in* Oxford, *second to none in Philosophy, and Profoundness of Wit*, discovered the Errors of the *Roman* Church, and the Supremacy of the Monarchy over them; for which the Pope plying the King and Bishop of *London*, with Bulls and Letters to crush him, *Wickliffe* was again convened before them; but on the day assigned for his Examination, Sir *Lewis Clifford*, came into the Court, and in the Name of the Princess *Joan*, the King's Mother, commanded them to proceed no farther in that Affair; with which, being terrified, they desisted, and *Wickliffe* once more got out of their Clutches. Afterwards he was cited again, but whether he appeared or not is uncertain. However they proceeded against his Opinion, some of the most material of which I shall recite, as they are recorded by the Historians of those Times. First, *Wickliffe* affirmed, 'That 'the substance of Bread and Wine remains after Conse'cration in the Sacrament of the Altar. Secondly, That 'Accidents do not remain without a Subject after Con'secration in the same Sacrament. Thirdly, That 'Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar dentically, truly and really in his proper Corporeal Person. 'That if a Man be truly Penitent, all outward Confession is Superfluous. And to make him appear as black as Hell, in the Seventh Article they charged him, *That he obstinately asserted, that God ought to obey the Devil.* A Position that the Devil himself would scarce dare to utter, much less a Man of Dr. *Wickliffe*'s Piety and Learning

Complaints in Parliament.

Articles against Dr Wickliffe

ing: And having muſter'd up to the number of fifteen Articles againſt him, the Biſhops firſt met at *Oxford*, after that at the *Grey-Fryars*, *London*; where, by eight Biſhops, nineteen Monks and Fryars, fourteen Doctors of Law, and ſix Batchelors in Divinity, they were at laſt ſolemnly condemn'd. However, Dr. *Wickliffe* himſelf eſcaped their Malice, and died peaceably in his Bed in the Year 1385. This great Man all Papiſts to this Day condemn as a wicked Heretick, and we juſtly own him as one of the firſt and moſt eminent Authors of the Reformation. A. D. 1384.

An Expedition into Scotland. 1384.

In the Year 1384. *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* entered *Scotland* with a mighty Army, but the *Scots* declining to fight, and many of the *Engliſh* being deſtroy'd by want and coldneſs of the Climate, they return'd, making very ſmall Advantages by that expenſive Expedition. Soon after this, an *Iriſh* Carmelite Fryar diſcovered a Deſign in the Duke of *Lancaſter* to kill the King, and uſurp the Crown; but the King adviſing with none but the *Green Heads* that were his Favourities, the Duke had Notice of it, and clear'd himſelf. The poor Friar was committed into Cuſtody, murder'd the Night before the hearing, and the King ſlipt an opportunity of preventing the Misfortunes that purſued him. Which ſhews, that ſometimes it proves more dangerous to diſcover Treaſons than to act them; but this ſhould diſcourage no good Subjects from the Diſcharge of their Duties. In the Year 1385, the *French* made great Preparations for the Invading *England*, and to facilitate the Attempt, landed an Army in *Scotland*, the common back door at which they were wont to infeſt us: Of which King *Richard* having notice, by ſpeedy Marches, he pierces into the heart of *Scotland*, and reduced the chief City *Edinborough* into Aſhes, as a Bonfire, to give the whole Kingdom notice of his Arrival, and Challenge them to Battle; but they declined it, and the King returned. During this Parliament the King prefer'd his pernicious Favourites *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, to be Marquis of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, the firſt Man in the Kingdom that was ennobled with that Title, and Sir *Michael de la Pole*, a Merchant's Son in *London*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. And now King *Richard* every Day more and more entring upon the Confines of his Deſtiny, creates his Favourite the Marquis of *Dublin*, Duke of *Ireland*, and ſo extreamly doted on him (ſays *Walſingham*) *Non ſine nota* (*ut fertur*) *familiaritatis*

The King's Favourites

A. D. 1387. *tatis obſcanæ*, which I forbear to *Engliſh*, out of reſpect to Royal Majeſty, as being willing to think it the loathſome imaginations of the Monk that writes it, rather than charge an *Engliſh* Prince with ſuch a deteſtable Suſpicion.

The Parliaments Remonſtrance.

While the Parliament was ſitting the King ſtaid lingering at *Eltham*, to whom the Lords and Commons ſent this Meſſage, *That it was for the Good of the Kingdom, that the Chancellor and Treaſurer ſhould be diſplaced.* At which the King being incenſed, return'd this Command, *That they ſhould mention that no more, but mind their Affairs in Parliament.* Adding *That at their Inſtance he would not remove a Scullion-Boy out of his Kitchen.* The Lords and Commons reply, *That they would do nothing till the King came, in Perſon, to them, and removed* Michael de la Pole *from his Office.* To which the King ſent his Commands, *That Forty of the ableſt Knights in Parliament ſhould attend him with their Votes.* But a Plot being diſcover'd to Murder them, they refuſed to ſend any of their Members to him, but ſent their Addreſs to him by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, acquainting him, *That they expected the Confirmation of their Privileges, and their other Requeſts to be granted, or in Forty Days they would return Home.* To which the King reply'd, *That he now ſaw plainly that the Commons would Rebel, and therefore he would call in the King of* France, *his Kinſman, to ask his Advice and Aſſiſtance; nay, even ſubmit his Crown to him, rather than truckle to his own Subjects*: But the Parliament ſhewing him the Danger of theſe Counſels, he laid aſide his Anger, and put his Favourites, the Treaſurer and Chancellor, out of their Offices; and *Michael de la Pole* being Impeach'd of ſeveral High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and all ſubſtantially proved, the King ſhook his Head, and ſaid, *Alas! alas!* Michael, *ſee what thou haſt done*: And when the King deſir'd a Supply, the Commons anſwer'd, *That he had no occaſion of Tallage from his Subjects, when he might have ſo great a Sum from one that was his juſt Debtor.* Farther, the Parliament obſerving that by the Covetouſneſs of the King's Miniſters, the Publick Revenue was conſumed, and the whole Kingdom out of order, they therefore choſe Fourteen Lords to manage all Affairs; and the King took an Oath not to revoke any thing they did, and confirm'd the Authority of theſe Lords by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*. But no ſooner was the Parliament diſſolved, but the King unra-

The Earl of Suffolk *Impeach'd.*

velled all again, receiv'd the Duke of *Ireland* and the reſt into favour, who being full of Revenge themſelves, were not wanting to blow their Poiſon into the Kings' Ear, and whiſper'd their venemous Suggeſtions to exaſperate him againſt his Subjects, whoſe Youth and Weakneſs rendred him too much diſpoſed to ſuch Impreſſions. The Earls of *Nottingham* and *Arundel* had done good Service in clearing the Sea of Pyrates; but the Duke of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Court Ear-wigs, ſo enviouſly miſrepreſented their Services to the King, that at their return, inſtead of Reſpects and Thanks, the King look'd upon them ill, and the Duke of *Ireland* would not look upon them at all. Still to exaſperate both Nobility and Commons, the Duke put away his Wife *Philippa*, Grand Daughter to King *Edward* the Third, a Lady of a ſufficient Beauty, and irreproachable Virtue, and took to his Bed *Lencerona*, a Vintner's Daughtet of *Bohemia*: Which Affront offered to his Couſin German, the Duke of *Glouceſter* highly reſented, and waited for an opportunity to revenge it.

A. D. 1384.

The Duke of Ireland puts away his Wife.

Eaſter was now come and paſt, the time limited by Parliament for the Duke of *Ireland*'s being gone, which after many delays, he ſeemingly began, and was accompanied in great State by the King himſelf, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Chief Juſtice *Treſilian*; but this prov'd only a Progreſs through *Wales*, and ſo about *Nottingham*, where they entred into private and black Conſultations. The firſt was to deſtroy the diſaffected Lords; the next was to pack a Parliament; but the People were not yet ſo infatuated, as to make their Ruin their Choice, The laſt Attempt was deſign'd by ſurer means. the Judges. Of theſe were Summoned the two Chief Juſtices, *Treſilian* and *Belknap*, to whom were put Queries, which might comprehend the Safety of the Miniſters, and the Deſtruction of all they pleaſed beſides; and they ſoon gave Anſwers, that all that the Court would have ſo, was Treaſon, and the Offenders worthy the Death of Traytors.

Juggling with the Judges.

1387.

The Queſtions propoſed to the Judges, with their Anſwers, are theſe that follow.

1. Whether the Statute, Ordinance, and Commiſſion (meaning that granted againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*) iſſued out by the laſt Parliament, does not derogate from the Royal Prerogative of the King?

A. D. 1387.

2. How they were to be puniſhed, who procur'd that Statute to be Enacted?

3. How they are to be dealt withal that provoked the King to aſſent to it.

4. What Puniſhment they deſerve for ſo doing?

5. What did they merit, that hindred the King from exerciſing his Royal Authority, in remiting or releaſing any Penalties or Debts due to him?

6. When a Parliament is Aſſembled, and the Affairs of the State, and cauſe of Convocating the Parliament is declared, and Articles limited by the King, upon which only the Lords and Commons ſhould meddle; the Lords and Commons will notwithſtanding proceed upon other Matters, and not upon thoſe the King has appointed; whether the King in this Caſe ought not to have the Rule of the Parliament, and ſo to order the Fact, that the Lords and Commons ſhould proceed upon the Articles limited by the King; or that they ſhould firſt have Anſwer of the King to the Articles by them propounded, before they proceed any further?

7. Whether may the King, at his Pleaſure, diſſolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart?

8. Since the King may at his Pleaſure remove any Officers and Juſtices, and puniſh them for their Offences; whether may the Lords and Commons, without the King's leave, accuſe his Officers and Juſtices in Parliament, Yea or No?

9. What Puniſhment have they deſerv'd, who mov'd the Parliament that the Statute whereby King *Edward* of *Carnarvan* was depoſed, ſhould be produced as a Precedent to form the late Statute by?

10. Whether the Judgment given in the laſt Parliament againſt *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, was erroneous and revocable, Yea, or No?

Theſe Queries were drawn up by the Direction of *Treſilian*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*, and were anſwered by him and *Belknap*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, *Holt*, *Stilthorp* and *Burgh*, of the ſame Bench, after the manner following.

1. They did derogate from the King's Honour, becauſe extorted againſt his Will.

2, 3. That they deſerv'd to be puniſh'd by Death, unleſs the King in Mercy remit it.

4, 5. Wor-

4. 5. Worthy to be punished as Traytors. A. D. 1387.

6. Whoso resisteth the King's Rules in that Point, was punishable as a Traytor.

7. That the King may at his Pleasure dissolve the Parliament; and whoso afterwards shall presume to proceed against the King's manifest Will as in a Parliament, is worthy the Punishment of a Traytor.

8. That they cannot, and whoso doth the contrary, deserveth a Traytor's Punishment.

9. As well the Mover as the Bringer of that Statute to the House are worthy of the same Death.

10. And lastly, that the said Judgment seem'd erroneous and revokable.

And to these Opinions all the aforementioned Judges set their Hands and Seals, and sent the Instrument to the King.

The King look'd upon this Opinion of the Judges as Authentick enough, to throw into his Power the Lives and Estates of those Lords that appear'd more eminent against his Ministers. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, by the Bishop of *London*, adviseth the King against these violent Courses, and he seem'd to incline to a better Temper, but in this particular, as in most of his unhappy Actions, he always acted against himself, and his own Reason. The Earl of *Suffolk* soon turn'd him, and his Unsteadiness begat new Distrusts. At this the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham* and *Derby*, who were all design'd for the same Condemnation, stand upon their Guard, and assembled at *Herengey Park*; but upon a Mediation of Peace, the Lords were coming to *London*, but being advertised that armed Men were got together by Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, to destroy them by Treachery, they delay'd coming. At last, upon new Faith and Security, the Lords came to the King at *Westminster*; but so strongly guarded, that they did not appear like Men that came to submit, or to petition, but boldly challeng'd for Traytors the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Chief Justice *Tresilian*, and others. The King at that time, when Favourites could not be heard, spoke like himself, a King, and with equal Temper and Reason shew'd the Lords, *That if all were true they alledged, yet they had not taken a proper way to seek for Justice, by a shew of Rebellion; and give that Opportunity and Power to a licentious Multitude, which perhaps might prove difficult to take from them after they were possess'd of it*; and having

The King's Speech to the Lords.

A. D. 1387. gently ſhew'd them the way to obtain what they deſired, he raiſed them from their Knees, and retired with them; whilſt the adverſe Party abſconded. But yet all the while that things put on this calm and ſmiling Face, the Duke of *Ireland* gather'd Forces, and was met and overthrown by the Earl of *Derby* near *Burford*. Upon which News the Earl of *Suffolk* fled in diſguiſe to *Calais*, and never returned again. The Duke of *Ireland* alſo eſcaped into *Holland*, where, finding but cold Entertainment, he went to *Utrecht*; and after two or three Years rambling up and down like a Fugitive, he died at *Louvain* in *Brabant*. The reſt of the hated Faction, as the Archbiſhop of *York*, Juſtice *Triſilian*, and others, ran every Man like Conies to their Coverts, and were not to be heard of at preſent.

1388. *The Duke of Ireland's eſcape and death.*

At this time it was alſo diſcovered, that King *Richard* had ſold *Calais*, and other ſtrong Holds, to the King of *France*, and had received Money for them. The Lords hearing this, march with their Army to *London*, and the Parliament, which was called *the Great*, was preſently ſummoned. The firſt day of their Meeting, many of the Judges were arreſted at they ſat upon the Bench, and ſent to the *Tower*. Next were ſummoned the Capital Offenders to anſwer Articles of Treaſon exhibited againſt them by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, *Derby* and *Nottingham*; but not appearing, the Parliament condemn'd them to perpetual Impriſonment, and all their Eſtates to be forfeited. *Treſilian*, the Chief Juſtice, truſting to a Diſguiſe, conceal'd himſelf in *Weſtminſter*, but being betray'd by a Servant of his own, he was brought before the Parliament about Eleven of the Clock, and the ſame Day in the Afternoon was drawn from the *Tower* of *London* to *Tyburn*, and there his Throat was cut; an Execution that ſeems very ſtrange, unleſs it was ſo order'd, that he might dye the reſembling Death of a Beaſt. Next Day *Bramber* was executed, who had long tyranniz'd over the City of *London*.

Judges apprehended.

Treſilian executed.

After this Succeſs of the Lords, every thing was to have a new Face. The King renew'd his Coronation Oath, and the Lords ſwore Homage and Fealty to him; and within little more than a Year, the King being at Age, he took the Adminiſtration of the Government upon himſelf; and began by taking the Great Seal from the Biſhop of *Ely* as if remembring his former Carriage, and gave it to *William* of *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, diſplacing many others, and ſuſpending

1389.

1390.

Glou-

Glouceſter and *Warwick* from the Privy Council. The Tyde was now turn'd to the King, and he began to follow thoſe Advices that had brought him into ſo much Hazard and Danger formerly. And to compleat the King's Misfortunes in the queſt of Arbitrary Power, *Guido*, Earl of *St. Paul*, was ſent by *Charles* of *France*, to compliment King *Richard* and his Queen; and according to the ready Confidence of the *French*, preſently became a Counſellor, and took all Opportunities to inveigh againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſaying, *He was too great to live, and the King could have no Security but in his Deſtruction.* This Advice blew the King's conceal'd Malice into an open Flame: And being further incited to Revenge by the Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Nottingham*, the King made a viſit to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, at his Houſe in *Plaſhy* in *Eſſex*, and as the Duke waited upon the King, he was ſeiz'd by a Company of armed Men, planted ſecretly for that purpoſe, and hurried blindfold to the *Thames*, where a Veſſel lay ready that carried him to *Calais*, where ſhortly after he was ſmother'd between Feather-beds and Pillows, being not thought guilty enough to be brought to a Tryal. Two Days after the King invited the Earl of *Warwick* to Dinner, and in the midſt of all ſhews of Kindneſs ſent him to Priſon, and alſo the Earl of *Arundel* and his Son, upon pretence of being guilty of new Crimes. Then the King called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, which was opened by a Speech from *Edward Stafford*, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Declaring the King's Power was abſolute:* And to ſupport theſe Opinions, the King ordered 400 Archers to guard the Parliament; and the Power of Guards and Archers ſo prevail'd upon the terrified Houſe of Commons, that they undid all that the *Great Parliament* had done; and made them the beſt Subjects, that the other had condemn'd as Traytors. The Earl of *Arundel* was try'd and beheaded, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* baniſhed, the Earl of *Warwick* condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, and the whole Nation ſeem'd to court Arbitrary Power, and their own Slavery. The King now thought himſelf in a condition to do what he pleaſed, and wholly addicted himſelf to Eaſe and Pleaſure. All Power, or rather the ſhadow of it, was exerciſed by upſtart and ignorant Miniſters, who oppreſſed all Perſons of Courage and Ingenuity. A brave Man was counted dangerous, and a wiſe Man mutinous. In this height of a conceited abſolute Power,

A. D. 1390.

The Tyde is turned. 1396.

The Duke of Glouceſter murder'd.

Arbitrary Power advanced.

A. D. 1399. he seiz'd the Estate of *John of Gaunt*, deceased, Father to the Duke of *Hereford*, whom he had banished, and made seventeen whole Counties, under pretence of having formerly taken part with the Duke of *Gloucester*, pay unsupportable Sums of Money for the Redemption of their Lives and Estates. And the King bearing so heavy a Hand over his People, 'tis no wonder if they bear as hard Hearts towards him, and made them inclinable to revolt, as resolving rather to run the hazard of a speedy Ruin by Rebellion, than to perish by such a lingring Death of Tyranny and Slavery. In order hereunto, there had been some Overtures very privately made to the Duke of *Hereford*, importuning his speedy return into *England*; and the Duke entertain'd these Addresses with such great Wariness and Moderation, that he seem'd rather worthy of a Kingdom, than desirous of it. The Earl of *March*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, being killed by the Wild *Irish*, King *Richard* went in Person into *Ireland* to revenge his Death, and took with him all his Treasure, Jewels, Plate and Royal Robes, as if he had design'd to take his leave of his Kingdom and Dignity. Whilst he was absent, the Duke of *Hereford*, now also Duke of *Lancaster*, with a very small Force, landed about the beginning of *June*, at *Raven Spur* in *Yorkshire*. His arrival was no sooner known, but the Lords *Willoughby*, *Ross*, *Darcy* and *Beaumont*, and shortly after the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son Sir *Henry Piercy*, with the Earl of *Westmorland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and Commoners, came to him. Never did Snow ball encrease so fast by rolling, as the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Forces were augmented in his march to *London*; where he was receiv'd with triumphant Pageants and Shews, solemn Processions of the Clergy, and loud Acclamations of the common People. In six Weeks time, all *England*, in effect, submitted to him: Which King *Richard* hearing, he landed in *Wales*, and retired to the Castle of *Conway*, where the Earl of *Worcester*, Steward of his Majesty's Houshold, broke his White Staff of Office, and went to the Duke of *Lancaster*; who not long after came in Person to *Conway* Castle, and in very humble manner approaching the King's Presence, he said, *My Sovereign Lord and King, the cause of my coming is to have Restitution of my Person, my Lands and Inheritance.* To which the King reply'd, *Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your Will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception*

Duke of Lancaster *invited into* England.

King Richard *lands in* Wales.

ception. From hence the King and Duke rode together to *Cheſter*, and with great Expedition from thence to *London*, and lodged the King, on pretence of State, but in truth for Security, in the *Tower*, he having not in all that Journey ſhifted his Cloaths, being but bad ones, tho' he was wont to be very profuſe in thoſe Matters, having one Coat valued at Thirty thouſand Marks. A. D. 1399.

The Duke of *Lancaſter*, but in King *Richard*'s Name, calls a Parliament, and the Duke of *York* now becoming the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s great Adviſer, propos'd, that King *Richard* ſhould reſign the Crown; which the King ſeem'd as ready to yield to, as *Lancaſter* ambitiouſly deſir'd it. The Reſignation was contriv'd to be done the Day before the Parliament was to meet; and ſeveral Lords, Clergymen and Lawyers, were commiſſioned to receive it: Who, being aſſembled in the *Tower*, King *Richard* was brought out in all his Kingly Ornaments, and placed in a Chair of State, where he heard his Charge.

The principal Articles exhibited againg King *Richard* were, firſt, That he had waſted the Kingdom's Treaſure, and given the Poſſeſſions of the Crown to undeſerving Perſons, which occaſioned great Impoſitions, and heavy Taxes upon the Common People. *Articles againſt him.*

That divers Lords being commiſſioned by Parliament to enquire into the State of the Nation, and to regulate Abuſes, he, with other his Accomplices, endeavoured to Impeach them of High Treaſon.

That, by Force and Threatnings, he compell'd the Judges to condeſcend to his way for the Deſtruction of thoſe Lords: That he raiſed War againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Earl of *Warwick*: That he Impriſoned and Murdered the Duke of *Glouceſter*, his Unkle: That he ſhamefully put to Death the Earl of *Arundel*, and would not ſuffer him to plead his Pardon.

That tho' he diſſembled, and made Proclamation that the Lords were not apprehended for Treaſon, yet he charged them with Treaſon and Rebellion before the Parliament: That whereas this Realm is immediately held of God Almighty, he had obtain'd in Parliament divers Acts for his own Ends, and procured Bulls, and heavy Cenſures, from *Rome*, to compel his Subjects to obſerve them, contrary to the Honour and Ancient Privileges of the Kingdom; and kept away divers Rolls and Records of Parliament from the Commiſſioners, which declared the Rights of the Subjects, and his own Exactions.

A. D. 1399.

That, contrary to Law, he baniſhed the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Duke of *Hereford*, and would ſuffer none to appear for them: That he put out divers Sheriffs unjuſtly, and put in his Favourites, contrary to his Oath and Honour: That he borrowed great Sums, but never paid them, no, not ſo much as for his own Viands.

That he affirmed all the Law lay in his own Head and Breaſt, by which Phrenetical Conceit he deſtroy'd the Nobility, and beggar'd the Commons.

That, by his Sollicitors in Parliament, he procur'd an Act to be paſſed, That no Act of Parliament ſhould be more prejudicial to him than it was to his Predeceſſors, by which *Proviſo* he did what he liſted, and not what the Law preſcribed. That he put out divers Knights and Burgeſſes, legally Elected to ſerve in Parliament, and put in others that would ſerve his Purpoſes: That he had Spies and Informers in all Countries; and ſeized the Treaſure of the Church without Law or Cuſtom: That he carried the Plate and Jewels of the Crown into *Ireland*, to the great impoveriſhing of the Kingdom, many of them being loſt in that Expedition.

That he affirmed, that the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects were in his Hands, and he might diſpoſe of them at his Pleaſure. That his manner of Writing to other Princes, and his own Subjects, was ſo obſcure, that none could be certain of his Meaning.

That, contrary to the Charter of *England*, he procur'd ſtout Men to appeal aged Men upon Matters determinable at Common Law in the Marſhal's Court, becauſe in that Court there is no Tryal but by Fighting; and the Aged knowing their own Inabilities, were forced to ſubmit to his Mercy, whom he unreaſonably Fined.

That, contrary to Law, he invented ſtrange Forms of Oaths, and compell'd his Subjects to obſerve them, to the utter ruin of many. That he unjuſtly Impriſon'd and Baniſh'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeized upon his Goods. Four other Articles were charged againſt him by the Biſhops, by whoſe Influence and Practices chiefly this King was ruined.

King Richard's *Speech.*

The King, thus convened and charged by his Subjects, before he read the Inſtrument of Reſignation, ſpake to the Lords as followeth: *I am perſwaded that ſome that are now preſent, and many more hereafter will think my Caſe deplorable, that I have either deſerv'd this Ejection, or that if I ſuffer wrongfully, I could not avoid it; for tho' I confeſs*

with

with Shame and Grief; that I have been too regardless of the Publick Good, and have more respected the satisfaction of my own Humour than Law or Justice; yet it was not the result of my Will, Supine Dulness, or Premeditated Malice, but the Rashness of Youth and Evil Counsellors, that engag'd me to it. The remembrance of my Oversights cannot be so grievous to any as to my self; and the rather, because I have no Means left to make Restitution to those I have injured, or convince the World of my Reformation, if I might be permitted to continue. Whether all that be laid to my Charge be true or not, will signify little to examine now, since there is no Place left for a Defence of my self; and it avails as little to complain, since there is no room for the one, nor pity for the other, and therefore I leave all to God, and your own mature Considerations. I accuse no Man, I blame not Fortune, nor complain of any thing; there is no Satisfaction or Pleasure in such Airy Comforts. It may be, if I had stood upon Terms, or sought Assistance from Abroad, or Friends at Home, I might have commenced a dangerous and doubtful War; but I am not so delighted with worldly Dignity, as to hazard the spilling of so much Christian Blood, or destroying such a flourishing Kingdom in my Quarrel. Let the Kingdom rather Rise by my Fall, than I stand by its Ruin; therefore I condescend to your desires, dispossess my self of all Regal Authority, and give you free leave to Elect or Create my Unkle's Son, Henry *Duke of* Lancaster *to be your King*; and then audibly and distinctly read the Instrument of Resignation, deputed two Bishops his Procurators, to declare his consent in Parliament; and under this Extremity discover'd Vertue enough, to convince all Mankind that he might have been an excellent Prince, if he had not suffered his Ministers to abuse him, and to reign as King more than himself. A. D. 1399.

Afterwards, the Resignation and Articles against him being produced in Parliament, they were owned by the Lords and Commons to be so notorious, that they needed no farther Examination or Proof, and being joyn'd with the King's consent, on whom the Articles were charged, it was judged sufficient cause to depose King *Richard*. Then the Duke of *Lancaster* claim'd the Crown by a false and far-fetch'd Title; but the Parliament would not proceed that way, but by way of Election: For after the Bishop had ended his Sermon, he moved them to elect a new King; and seeing them prepared for it, he first proposed the Duke of *York*, but they answered, *No*. Then the Eldest Son to the Duke of *King* Richard *deposed.*

A. D. 1399.

of *Aumerl*, to which alſo they anſwered, *No.* Then he propoſed his Youngeſt Son, to which they made the ſame Anſwer. Then pauſing a little, he asked if they would have the Duke of *Lancaſter* for their King, to which they gave an unanimous Conſent. Then the Archbiſhop went to the Duke, and fell upon his Knees, declaring to him that he was Elected King: The Duke alſo kneeled down, and declared his Conſent to accept the Crown. Which Ceremony ſhews, *That this Right, in extraordinary caſes, can never be ſeparated from the People.*

Duke of Lancaſter's *Election.*

King *Richard* having now reſign'd his Sovereign Power, began to find how much he was miſtaken with the hopes of enjoying that retir'd Peace, for which he ſeem'd willing to exchange his Crown. For the little that was left him was firſt ſhared by his Enemies, and then he was convey'd from the *Tower* to *Leeds* Caſtle in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pontefract* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*. Here, for ſome little time, there ſeem'd to be paid him ſome reſpect by his Attendants, but that ſoon abated; for King *Henry* one Day ſeeming to lament, that neither he, nor the Nation, had a Friend that would pull up the Root from whence Diſquiets and Rebellion could only ſpring; Sir *Pierce Exton* took the hint, and with eight other Villains haſten to *Pontefract*, and forbidding the Ceremony of taſting that was uſually paid to *Richard* as he ſat at Dinner, he demanded the reaſon of it, and being informed that Sir *Pierce Exton* had brought ſuch Orders from King *Henry*, *Richard* was ſo tranſported, that he ſtruck them that told him, and Curſing the King, called him only *Harry* of *Lancaſter*: At which Sir *Pierce* with his bloody Followers, enter'd, and ſhut the Door after them, which the late King *Richard* perceiving, he eaſily gueſs'd at their fatal Intentions; and being but little ſurpriz'd, ſnatch'd a Halberd from the firſt, and with a Reſolution differing from his former Actions, kil-led four of the Aſſaſſinates, and with continual Bravery fought with the reſt, till the Chief Villain *Exton* got upon a Chair behind him, and with a Pole-Axe ſtruck him down, where the unfortunate King ended all his Calamities, and left the Murderer to endure farther Torments. For when he returned to Court, in expectation of great Preferments and Rewards, he found himſelf deceived, and loſt all the favour he had. For tho' a Man might be ill enough to wiſh a Miſchief done, he could ſcarce be ſo confidently wicked as to Reward the Doer of it: And ſo the Murderer's Conſcience gnawing upon him-

King Richard *murdered.*

himſelf, continued him in Torments during his ſhort and miſerable Life, and left an Infamy to outlive him. A. D. 1399.

King *Richard* was the goodlieſt Perſon of all our Kings ſince the *Norman* Invaſion; tall of Stature, ſtrait and ſtrong Limb'd, and of an amiable Countenance. His Education was more to be blam'd than his Nature, for there appear'd in him many good Inclinations, which would have grown to Abilities, if they had not been prevented by corrupt Flatterers in his Youth. Being dead, his Corpſe was embalm'd, and covered with Lead all but the Face, and then brought to *London*, where it lay in St. *Paul*'s Church three Days together, that all Men might behold him, and ſee that he was dead. Afterwards his Corpſe was carried to *Langley* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and was buried there in the Church of the *Predicant* Fryars; and in the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth, was honourably intomb'd with his Wife Queen *Ann* at *Weſtminſter*. *His Character.*

He had two Wives, the firſt was *Ann*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, and Siſter to the Emperor *Wenceſlaus*, who lived with his Wife ten Years, and died without Iſſue at *Sheene* in *Surrey*; whoſe Death King *Richard* took ſo heavily, that he cauſed the Buildings of that Place to be thrown down and defac'd. His ſecond Wife was *Iſabel*, Daughter of *Charles* the Sixth, King of *France*; ſhe was married to him at eight Years old. They never cohabited together, and after King *Richard*'s Death, ſhe was ſent home, and married to *Charles*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *Orleans*. She brought in the Faſhion of riding on Side-ſaddles. This Reign produc'd the Foundations of 4 Religious Houſes of the (*a*) *Carthuſians*, 12 of (*b*) *Black Canons*, and one *Alien* (*c*) *Priory*. *His Wives*

(*a*) Epworth, Lincolnſhire; Coventry *and* Wolſton, Warwickſhire; Hull, Yorkſhire. (*b*) Bunbury, Cheſhire; Grayſtock, Cumberland; Clovely, Devonſhire; Plecy, Eſſex; Wincheſter Colledge, Hampſhire; Bredgare *and* Maidſton, Kent; St Michael Crooked-lane, London; Clifton, Nottinghamſhire; Pontefract, Bolton *and* Wenſlowe, Yorkſhire. (*c*) Arundel, Suſſex.

The

The Life and Reign of HENRY *the Fourth.*

A. D. 1399. HENRY, ſirnam'd *Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third, was crown'd King at *Weſtminſter*, *September* 29. 1399. and a Parliament was held, in which the Acts made in the eleventh Year of King *Richard* were revived, and thoſe made in the One and twentieth were wholly repealed; and they who were by the Parliament attainted, were by this reſtored to their Lands and Honours. *Richard*, Earl of *Warwick*, was deliver'd out of Priſon, the Earl of *Arundel*'s Son recover'd his Inheritance, and many others that were baniſh'd and impriſon'd by King *Richard*, were fully reſtored to their Liberties and Eſtates: And now Men began to exerciſe their Spleens. Sir *John Bagot* accuſed the Earl of *Aumerl* for ſpeaking Words againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, now King: The Lord *Fitz Water* alſo accuſed him for the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. The Lord *Morly* appeal'd the Earl of *Salisbury* of Treaſon, and one *Hall* accuſed the Duke of *Exeter* for conſpiring the Death of *John of Gaunt* the King's Father. But King *Henry* laying aſide the Accuſations of the one, and accepting the Excuſes of the other, received the Duke of *Aumerl*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, into as much Favour as if they had never been accuſed. Now to qualify the hard Opinions which foreign Princes might conceive of King *Richard*'s being depoſed, he ſent Ambaſſadors into divers Countries, to make it known by what Favour of the People he came to the Kingdom; who being unconcerned, were ſoon reconciled, except the King of *France*, who threatned War, but upon Notice of King *Richard*'s Death, gave it over.

1400. *A New Conſpiracy* The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, not affecting King *Henry*, and remembring that he had ſaid long before, *That Prince's Eſtates were too ſmall, and the Clergy's too great*, and fearing that now being King he might diminiſh their Revenues, he forms a Conſpiracy to take away his Life, and draws into his Party, *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, the Duke of *Surrey*, the Duke of *Aumerl*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Maudlin*, one belonging to



HENRY IV

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to King *Richard*'s Chappel, This Murder was to be committed at *Oxford*, where they had appointed a ſolemn Tournament, and invited the King to it; but the Duke of *Aumerl* viſiting his Father, the Duke of *York*, in his way to *Oxford*, where all the Conſpirators were ready, and having in his Boſom the *Indentures of the Conſpiracy*, his Father accidentally eſpied it, and deſiring to know what it was, and the Son refuſing, he ſnatch'd it out of his Boſom, and ſeeing the horrible Contents, reviled his Son for being a ſecond time a Traytor, once to King *Richard*, and now to King *Henry*; and thereupon mounted, and immediately rode to *Windſor*, where the King was: But the younger Years of his Son ſoon out-rid him, and came to Court before him; where, locking the Gates, and taking the Keys from the Porter; he went up to the King, and falling on his Knees, ask'd his Pardon. The King demanding for what Offence, he then diſcover'd the whole Plot; which he had ſcarce done before his Father came rapping at the Court Gates, and coming to the King, ſhew'd him the Indenture of the Confederacy, which he had taken from his Son. This, tho' it amaz'd the King, yet it inform'd him of the truth of the Conſpiracy, and made him lay aſide his intended Journey to *Oxford*. A. D. 1400.

The Lords being all at *Oxford*, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerl*, concluded their Treaſon was diſcover'd, and knowing there was no room for Mercy, the firſt thing they did was to cloath *Maudlin* in Princely Robes, who was very like King *Richard*, and give it out that it was the King himſelf eſcap'd out of Priſon, which they thought would countenance their Proceedings; but as theſe Lords were marching towards *London*, the Bayliff of *Cirenceſter* beſet the Inns where *Surrey*, *Salisbury*, *Exeter* and *Glouceſter* had taking up their Lodgings, and aſſaulted them with ſo much Fury, that they mortally wounded the Duke of *Surrey* and Earl of *Salisbury*, who dying that Night, their Heads were ſtruck off and ſent to *London*. With them were taken Sir *Bennet Shelly*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and 28 other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, who were ſent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay, and were put to Execution. The Duke of *Exeter*, with Sir *John Shirley*, fled into *Eſſex*, from whence they often endeavoured to eſcape into *France*, but by contrary Winds were driven back again, and then abſconding in private Places, the Duke at laſt was taken, led to *Plaſhey*, and there ſhortly after beheaded; *The counterfeit King* Richard.



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A. D. 1400. headed; the Place where, by his Advice, the brave Duke of *Glouceſter*, was apprehended. The Earl of *Glouceſter* fled towards *Wales*, and was taken and beheaded at *Briſtol*. *Maudlin*, the Counterfeit King *Richard*, was taken, committed to the *Tower*, and after drawn, hang'd and quartered. Divers other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, and many of the meaner ſort, were alſo executed in ſeveral Places, inſomuch, that the King, tho' otherwiſe of a merciful Nature, was in this too vindictive: For ſo much Noble Blood, at one time, and for one Offence, was never ſhed in any Reign that we read of. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, in whoſe Houſe the Plot was contrived, hearing of theſe Misfortunes, was taken with a dead Palſy, and died Speechleſs.

The Counterfeit King executed.

1401. *A* Welſh *Diſturbance.*

Now *Owen Glendour*, an Eſquire of *Wales*, endeavour'd to draw the *Welſh* Men to a general Defection, telling them, that the *Engliſh* being at variance among themſelves, now was the time to ſhake off their Yoke, and to reſume their own ancient Laws and Cuſtoms: To whoſe Perſwaſions the *Welſh* Men adhering, they made him their King and Captain; and he having rais'd a competent Army, ſets firſt upon his old Adverſary *Reynold*, Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, who he pretended had wrong'd him of an Eſtate, and takes him Priſoner, yet with Promiſe of Releaſement, if he would marry his Daughter; which Offer, tho' the Lord *Grey* at firſt refus'd, yet out of neceſſity, at laſt, was contented to accept, when notwithſtanding his deceitful Father-in-law trifled out the time of his Enlargement till he died. But the *Welſh* growing Confident upon this Succeſs, break into the Borders of *Herefordſhire*, making Spoil and Prey of the Country, as freely as if they had leave to do it. For indeed none oppoſed them, but only *Edmund*, Lord *Mortimer*, whom at length, in a Fight, *Glendour* took Priſoner, put him into Irons, and kept him in a deep and loathſome Dungeon. So ſucceſsful was *Glendour* in War, that 'twas thought, if he had known as well how to uſe as to get Victory, he might have ſhaken off the *Engliſh* Fetters; but he having killed 1000 of the *Engliſh*, thought he had done enough for that time, and giving over the Purſuit, retired. The Inhumanity of the *Welſh* Women was here very memorable, who fell upon the dead Carcaſſes of the *Engliſh*, firſt ſtripping them, and then cutting off their Privy Parts and Noſes, uſed them in a ſhameful and barbarous manner Many Noblemen, eſpecially the *Peircies* his Kinſmen, ſollicited King *Henry* to

Glendour *his Barbarity.*

to deliver the Lord *Mortimer*; but the King being deaf of that Ear, rather wiſh'd both him, and his two Siſters, in Heaven, for then he ſhould be freed from conceal'd Competitors. A. D. 1401.

Theſe Indignities and Affronts were ſuffered in the *Welſh*, becauſe the King was employ'd in a more dangerous Service againſt the *Scots*; for they taking advantage of the Diſtraction of the Kingdom, as was always their Cuſtom, made an Inroad into *Northumberland*, and ſuddenly in one Night ſet upon the Caſtle of *Wark*, took and ſpoiled it, and then return'd. To requite which the *Engliſh* did the like in the *Iſle of Orkney*. Theſe were but Picquerings of neighbouring Counties, but at laſt it broke out into an open War, in taking part with *George*, Duke of *Dunbar*, againſt *Robert*, King of *Scots*; and King *Henry* reſolving to begin the War in the Enemy's Country, he enters *Scotland* with a powerful Army, and proceeding with Fire and Sword, ſpared neither Caſtles, Towns, Cities, Churches, nor Religious Houſes: But Winter coming on, Proviſions growing ſcanty, and the *Scots* reſolving not to fight, King *Henry* return'd into *England*. *King* Henry *enters* Scotland.

In this time *Glendour* of *Wales* had ſollicited the King of *France* for Aid, who ſent him twelve hundred Men of Quality; but the Winds were ſo contrary, that they loſt twelve of their Ships, and the reſt return'd home. The *Engliſh* deriding this ill Succeſs of the *French*, it ſo exaſperated the King of *France*, that he ſent 12000 Men, who landed ſafely, and join'd the *Welſh*; but as ſoon as they heard the *Engliſh* Army was approaching, whether mitruſting their own Strength, or ſuſpecting the Perfidy of the *Welſh*, they ran to their Ships, and diſhonourably returned.

King *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors lately ſent into *Brittany* to fetch the Lady *Jane* of *Navarre*, Dutcheſs of *Brittany*, the Relict of *John de Montford*, ſirnamed the Conqueror, with whom the King by Procurations had contracted Matrimony, in the beginning of *February*, return'd with her in ſafety: The King met her at *Wincheſter*, where the Seventh of *February* the Marriage was ſolemnized. And now to make King *Henry* ſenſible, that a Crown can hardly ever ſit eaſie on the Head, unleſs it be ſet on right at firſt, a new Conſpiracy is hatching againſt him. The *Pierces*, Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, with *Henry Hotſpur*, began to fall off from King *Henry*, and ſince he refus'd, they go themſelves to redeem *Mortimer*, their Kinſman, and procuring his Deliverance, they con- *King* Henry *married.* 1402.

A. D. 1402. tract a League with *Glendour* Offenſive and Defenſive; And agreed, if they were Victors, to divide the Kingdom in three equal Parts between them. And now having got together ſome *Scots*, and drawn into their Party the Earl of *Stafford*, and *Richard Scroop*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and many others, they purpoſe to joyn with the Captain of the *Welſh*, but firſt fram'd certain Articles againſt the King, and ſent them to him in Writing, *viz.* *That he had falſify'd his Oath given at his Landing, that he would not meddle with the King, nor Uſurp the Crown, and yet had taken up Arms againſt his Sovereign, Impriſoned him, and cauſed him to be barbarouſly murder'd. That ſince the King's Death he had unjuſtly kept the Crown from his Kinſman* Edmund Mortimer, *Earl of* March, *to whom of Right it belong'd, for which, and many other Cauſes, they defied him, and vowed his Deſtruction, and the reſtoring the Earl of* March *to his Right.* King *Henry* could not but know that theſe Articles were true, yet ſeeing the knowing it hindred him not from ſeeking to get the Crown when he had it not, it could leſs hinder him from ſeeking to keep it now he had it. Now each ſide prepare for War. King *Henry* raiſes an Army, and marches towards the Lords; and encountring them about *Shrewsbury*, gives them a total Overthrow. *Hotſpur* was kill'd, the Earl of *Worceſter*; and many others, taken Priſoners; 6000 of the Enemy ſlain, whereof 36 were killed by the King's own Hand, and the Lord's whole Army ſcatter'd. After the Battle the Earl of *Worceſter* was beheaded, and many of that Rebellion drawn, hang'd and quarter'd, and their Heads ſet upon *London Bridge*. Then the King ſent his Son *Henry* the Prince of *Wales*, with his whole Army into that Country; but before his coming *Owen Glendour* was abandon'd by all his Company, and lurking in the Woods was famiſh'd to Death. So with the fourth Year of his Reign, ended all the great Troubles of King *Henry* the Fourth: Thoſe that follow are but trivial Accidents, frequent in all Times, both at Home and Abroad.

The Peircies *Defiance.*

Hotſpur *killed.*

Owen Glendour *famiſhed.*

1404. The *French Britons* under the Conduct of the Lord *de Caſtile*, ravag'd and ſpoil'd the Town of *Plymouth*; in Revenge whereof the Weſtern Men, under the Command of *William Wilford*, ſet forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Brittany*, took forty Ships laden with Wine and Oil, and burnt forty more. Afterwards the *French* landed in the *Iſle of Wight* a thouſand Men, where they got together a great Booty of Cattle; but the Iſlanders coming upon them, re-took the Cattle, and made them

leave

leave many of their Men, to make ſatisfaction for the Treſpaſs they commited. The *French* having recover'd new vigour, caſt Anchor again before the *Iſle of Wight*, and demanded no leſs than the whole Iſland to be deliver'd into their Poſſeſſion; but the Inhabitants making them anſwer, That they muſt buy it with their Bloods before they had Livery and Seiſin; the *French* not willing to pay ſo dear for the purchaſe, thought fit to retire, and glad they had eſcaped with their Bones and Skins whole. Soon after the Fight, the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to the King of *France*, in a boaſting Stile, ſent a Challenge to King *Henry*, to meet him in the Field with a Hundred Men in his Company; to which the King anſwer'd, *That his own Valour had been tried ſufficiently, and for his Challenge, neither the Perſon, nor the Cauſe, were worthy of his undertaking.* Upon this Refuſal divers Taunts and Scoffs were bandied between them, till at length the Duke in great fury falls upon *Vergy*, a Town in *Guyenne*, but after Three Months aſſaulting it, he was forced to march off with loſs. The like Succeſs had the Admiral of *Brittany*, and the Lord *du Caſtile*, in attempting upon *Dartmouth*, where two of his Brothers, and Four hundred of his Men, were killed and Two hundred taken Priſoners; and in requital *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, the King's ſecond Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, with competent Forces, enter'd the Haven of *Sluce*, where they burnt Four Ships, and return'd to the relief of *Calais*, then beſig'd by the *French*: And in their way took three Carracks of *Genoa* richly laden, and brought them to *Rye* in *Suſſex*.

A. D. 1404.

A French Challenge.

At Home the Reliques of the former Rebellion began now to revive again, *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroop*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl Marſhal, the Lords *Haſtings*, *Falconbridge* and *Bardolf*, with divers others, conſpired to meet upon *Yorks-Would-Downs*, and there bid Defiance to King *Henry*. Articles of Grievances, the Common Baits to catch the unthinking Multitude, were ſet up in all Publick Places, which drew many into the Enterprize; but by the Policy of the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, *John*, the King's third Son, Lord *Henry Fitz-Hugh*, *Ralph Ewers* and *Robert Humphreville*, they were all defeated; the Archbiſhop and the Earl Marſhal were brought Priſoners to the King at *Pomfret*, and the next Day were beheaded at *York*; but the Pope excommunicated all that had a hand in the Archbiſhop's Death. The Lords *Haſtings*

1408.

A. D. 1408. and *Falconbridge* were executed at *Durham*. *Northumberland* with the Lord *Bardolf* fled first to *Berwick*, and then into *Scotland*: Whereupon the King summon'd *Berwick*, which at first refused to obey, but upon planting and firing a Gun against them (the first that we read of that was made use of in *England*) they presently yielded without composition.

The first Gun used in England.

1410. *The Lack Learning Parliament.* About this time a Parliament was Assembled at *Coventry*, which was called the *Lack Learning Parliament*, either for the Unlearnedness of the Persons, or for discovering their Ill-will to Learned Men; for in order to supply the King's Wants, a Bill was exhibited against the Temporalities of the Clergy, which were unnecessarily consumed, and would maintain 150 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6200 Esquires, and 100 Hospitals for maim'd Soldiers: But by the Courage of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the King's Care of the Church, their motion had no effect.

1411. The Prince had been a Student in *Queens College*, *Oxford*, and was now called to Court; but now at his own disposal, whether being by Nature Courageous or not well poised by Time and Experience; or whether incited by loose and extravagant Companions, or emboldened by the Opinion of his own Greatness, he ran into so many ill Courses unbeseeming the Dignity of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be a King. It is credibly said, that he would lie in wait, and rob his Father's, and his own Receivers. Another time, when one of his Companions was arraign'd for Felony before the Lord Chief Justice, he went to the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, and offer'd to take away the Prisoner by Force; but being opposed by the Lord Chief Justice, he stept to him upon the Bench, and struck the Judge upon the Face, who sat still undaunted, and boldly said to the Prince, 'Sir, Remember who, 'and what you are; the Seat which I here possess is not 'mine, but your Father's, to whom, and his Laws, you 'owe a double Obedience. If his Majesty's Laws be 'thus Violated by you, who will Obey you when 'you are a Soveraign? And therefore for this Of'fence, I do, in your Father's Name, commit you Pris'ner to the *Kings Bench*, there to remain till his Ma'jesty's Pleasure be farther known. At which Words the Prince stood mute, laid aside his Weapons, and paying Obeisance to the Court, render'd himself a Prisoner. It was a great Satisfaction to the King, to find he had a

Prince Henry's *wild Pranks.*

Judge Gascoin's *Courage.*

Judge

Judge of ſo much Courage; and to ſhew his Approbation of it, he remov'd the Prince from being Preſident of his Council, and confer'd that Honour upon his third Son *John*. A. D. 1411.

To feed this Suſpicion, all the youthful Exploits of the Prince are ſet upon the Tenters, and ſtretched beyond the degree of Wildneſs. His Merriments are called Ryots, his Companions. Bullies and Swaggerers; his Behaviour branded with Diſſoluteneſs, and his Words and Geſtures, dangerous: And ſevere Eyes are employ'd to watch his motions. The Innocent Prince, tho' he was ſenſible of the Contrivances to blaſt his Reputation, and weaken his Credit with his Father, yet took no notice of the Deſigns againſt him, but continued his Sports as formerly: But at length, being adviſed that he ought to preſerve his Credit and his Conſcience untainted, and that he would be cruel to himſelf, if he neglected the Opinion of others, he reſolved to ſatisfy the World, that thoſe who had ſuggeſted ill things againſt him to his Father, had injured him in his Honour, and therefore, firſt by Letters, expoſtulated the matter with ſuch as he knew were guilty of doing ill Offices between them, and afterwards with a great Retinue of Friends and Servants, and himſelf cloth'd in Blue Satin, wrought with Eylet-Holes of black Silk, at every Hole the Needle hanging that made it, and about his Arm a thing like a Hound's Collar ſtudded with *S*'s of Gold, and the Tyrots of the ſame Metal (which begat the Cuſtom of great Men's wearing the Collar of *S*'s upon all Magnificent and ſolemn Occaſions) he went to the King's Court at *Weſtminſter*, and entring into the Hall, he commanded his Servants to continue there, whilſt he himſelf, attended by the King's Servants only, was brought into the Preſence. The King, tho' extreamly afflicted with Sickneſs, was carried in a Chair into his Privy Chamber, where, in preſence of but three or four of his Privy Counſellors, he ask'd the Prince the cauſe of his coming in that fantaſtick Habit? To whom the Prince, in a moſt humble manner, falling upon his Knees, thus addreſſed himſelf to the King: 'Dread 'Soveraign, and Dear Father, thus humbly proſtrate 'upon my Knees, as a Dutiful Son and Loyal Subject, 'I come to pay you my Duty, to beg your Bleſſing, 'and receive your Royal Commands; for being late'ly inform'd by ſome neareſt to your Perſon, that 'the Omiſſion of this Duty, has given your Majeſty

The Cuſtom of wearing a Collar of S s.

The Prince's Speech to his Father.

A. D. 1411.

'cauſe to ſuſpect that my Heart is not ſincere, nor my 'Obedience ſo juſt and reaſonable, as ought to be ex- 'pected from a Dutiful Son to ſo Kind and Indulgent a 'Father, as your Majeſty has been always to me: I 'come to ſhew your Grace, that I am heartily ſorry 'that my neglect ſhould bring my Loyalty into queſti- 'on, and therefore come to give your Grace aſſurance, 'that if I knew any Man that diſturbs your quiet, I 'think my ſelf oblig'd by the Law of God and Nature 'to puniſh that Perſon: And if any ſuſpicion lies up- 'on my ſelf, I come to tender my Life to remove that 'Jealouſy, and to reſtore your mind to a perfect Tran- 'quility. To this end, I have this morning received 'the Holy Sacrament, and, by Confeſſion, prepar'd my 'ſelf to be made a Sacrifice, to put an end to your ſuſpi- 'cions: And therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty 'to eaſe your mind, ſecure your own quiet, and put a 'period to my grief and your own fears, by giving 'this Dagger a paſſage through my Heart; (*and there- with holding his Dagger by the point, gave it into his Fa- ther's hand*) 'for I deſire to live no longer than to be 'juſtly thought what I am, and ever ſhall be, your faith- 'ful and obedient Vaſſal. Give me my death in the 'preſence of your Nobility; I freely forgive the Fact 'in this World, and before God and his Holy Angels 'at the Day of Judgment will acquit you. Which words ſo moved the King to compaſſion, that he threw away the Dagger, roſe out of his Chair, but through weakneſs being unable to ſtand, fell upon his Son's Neck, and with many Tears embracing him, confeſſed, 'That 'his Ears had been too open to receive Reports againſt 'him, and promiſed by the tender Love of a Father, 'and the Faith of a King, that from hence forward no 'miſreports ſhould alienate his Fatherly Affection from 'him; and that at the next Parliament thoſe malicious 'Whiſperers ſhould be cenſured by the Peers, and lie at 'his Mercy for the Scandals they had raiſed upon him. To which the Prince made anſwer, *God forgive them, I do*; and ſo with an abſolute Content and Satisfaction on both ſides they departed.

Benefactions to the Publick.

In this King's Reign died *William* of *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Treaſurer and Chancellor of *England*, who delighted in doing Works of Piety and Charity, left behind him many ſtately Monuments of his Zeal to Religion and Love to his Country. His firſt Work

Work was building a Chappel at *Tirchfield*, where his Father, Mother and Sister were buried, and endow'd it sufficiently. At *Southwick* in the County of *Southampton* near *Wickham*, the place of his Nativity, he founded a Chauntry as a supplement to the Priory of *Southwick*. He bestowed 20000 Marks in repairing the Houses belonging to the Bishoprick. In all places of his Diocess, he discharg'd out of Durance all Prisoners that lay in execution for Debt under Twenty Pounds, which cost him Two thousand Pounds. He repaired all the High Ways from *Winchester* to *London* on both sides the Water, in which he expended 4000 Marks. He purchas'd Lands to the See of *Winchester* valued at 500 *l.* a year. And as if what he had done was but an Essay to what he intended, he built *New Colledge* in *Oxford*, and endow'd it with a liberal maintenance for a Warden, 70 Students, 12 Chaplains, 3 Clerks, 16 Choristers, 1 Organist, and all other requisite Officers either in Church or Colledge. In the next year following, on *March* 26, 1387. he laid the Foundation of the Colledge in *Winchester*, as a Nursery of *Grammarians* for his Colledge in *Oxford*; and in five years having finish'd it, deliver'd the Possession of it to the Warden, Fellows and Schollars chosen by him. *John Maurice* Clerk, being the first Warden, and *John Milton*, the first School-master; and notwithstanding all these occasions of exhausting his Treasure, and giving vast Sums to those that undertook the *Crusado*, he gave away in Legacies at his Death 6272 *l.* A. D. 1411.

King Henry *undertakes the* Crusado.

King *Henry* enjoying an undisturb'd Peace, both at home and broad, and lamenting the folly and rashness of Christian Princes in worrying one another, and thereby giving the *Turk*, the common Enemy of the Christian name, advantage against the whole, he took upon him the *Crusado*, resolving the next Spring to set forward, and endeavour the Recovery of *Jerusalem*: And now all things being ready for an Expedition against the *Turks*, Death seizes on him in an *Apoplectick Fit*, and he several times appeared as dead to all about him; but still upon his recovering Sense, would call for his Crown, which he appointed to be set upon a Cushion in his sight. At length the extremity of the Disease encreasing, and he appearing to be as dead, the Prince came, took away the Crown, and absented. The King reviving, ask'd for the Crown, and being told the Prince had taken it, he sends for him in Anger, and demands the Reason of his doing it; to whom the

1412.

A. D. 1412. Prince made anſwer, *That in his, and all Men's Judgments, he was dead, and I*, added he, *being Heir apparent to it, took it as my undoubted Right, but with no intention to deprive you of it while you are alive, and therefore reſtore it*; and therewith ſet the Crown where he found it. *Well*, ſaid the King ſighing, *what Right I had to it, God knows. But*, ſaid the Prince, *if you die King, howſoever it was got, I will keep it with my Sword againſt all Oppoſers.* Then ſaid the King, *I refer all to God, but charge thee on my Bleſſing, and as thou wilt anſwer it before God's Tribunal, that thou adminiſter Juſtice uprightly; that thou eaſe the Oppreſſed, and exerciſe Mercy; that thou avoid Flatterers, the Bane of Princes; that thou puniſh the Oppreſſors of the People, and ſuffer not thy Officers to wrong nor impoveriſh them by needleſs Delays and Extortions; ſo wilt thou obtain the Favour of God, and the Love of thy Subjects; who while they have Wealth, thou ſhalt have Obedience: But if made Poor by Oppreſſion, they will be making Commotions and Inſurrections.* And ſo turning himſelf, ſaid, *God Bleſs thee, my Son, and the Lord have Mercy upon me*; and with theſe Words gave up the Ghoſt, in a Chamber belonging to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, called the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, on *March* the 20th, 1412, in the 46th Year of his Age, when he had reigned 13 Years, 5 Months, and 20 Days; and was buried at *Canterbury*.

King Henry's Advice to his Son.

He had two Wives, the firſt was *Mary*, Daughter and Coheir of *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Eſſex* and *Northampton*, and Conſtable of *England*; by whom he had Iſſue *Henry*, his Eldeſt Son, who ſucceeded him; *Thomas Plantagenet*, his Second Son, created Duke of *Clarence*, who was killed at *Bongy Bridge* in *France*, by the Duke of *Orleans*; *John Plantagenet*, his third Son, Duke of *Bedford*, Earl of *Richmond*, and Lord of *Kendall*; *Humphry Plantagenet*, his fourth Son, who was ſtiled Humphry, *by the Grace of God, Son, Brother and Unkle to Kings, Duke of* Glouceſter, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, *and Earl of* Pembroke, *Lord of* Friezland, *Great Chamberlain of* England, *Protector of the Realm, and Defender of the Church of* England. His ſecond Wife was *Joan*, Daughter to *Charles* the Firſt, King of *Navarre*, Widow to *John de Montfort*, who died without Iſſue by King *Henry*, at *Hereringe* in *Eſſex*, 1437. His Daughter *Blanch* was married to *William*, Duke of *Bavaria*: After his Death to the King of *Arragon*; and afterwards to the Duke

His Wives and Children.



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Duke of *Barr*, but died without Iſſue; *Philippa* his youngeſt Daughter was married to *John*, King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, but died alſo without Iſſue. A. D. 1412.

King *Henry* was of a middle Stature, and well proportion'd, of a quick Conceit, an active Soul, and of great Reſolution, Courage and Conduct. He was beſt pleas'd when he was oppos'd, becauſe this was moſt like to do him Good, by ſharpning his Invention; and moſt angry when he was flatter'd, becauſe that was ſure to do him hurt, by dulling his Judgment. He affected the Crown, not out of Ambition, but Compaſſion, becauſe he could better relieve the Oppreſſions of his Subjects, being a King, than a Subject; for otherwiſe we may truly ſay, he was a loſer by the Crown, being not ſo great for a King, as he was before for a Subject. The Crown was rather a Gainer by him, which has ever ſince been the richer for his wearing it. *His Character.*

In his Reign were founded 3 Houſes of (*a*) Canons Regular of St. *Auſtin*, and one of the (*b*) Knights Hoſpitallers.

(*a*) Nortull, Bedfordſhire; Battlefield *and* Tong, Shropſhire; *and* Hull, Yorkſhire. (*b*) Weſt Peckham, Kent.

The Life and Reign of HENRY *the Fifth.*

HENRY *of Monmouth*, ſo called from the Place in *Wales* where he was born, Eldeſt Son of King *Henry* the Fourth, ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm ſwore Homage before he was crown'd, an Honour never done before to any of his Predeceſſors; and on the ninth of *April*, 1413, was crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all Rights and Solemnities in ſuch Caſes accuſtomed. This Prince in his Youth, had been corrupted with the Extravagancies that attend it; but preſently after his Coronation, call'd all his former Lewd Companions before him, and ſpake to 1413. *His Reformation.*

A. D. 1413. them in this manner. 'Let it suffice that for many 'Years together I have fashion'd my Life agreeable to 'your Irregularities, tho' not without some Reluctance 'in the very Action; and have follow'd your debauched 'and riotous Courses, till I was almost alienated from 'my Father's Affections, and the Love of all modest and 'sober People, who, for your sakes, thought me un-'worthy of Christian Society. It was your Company, 'and lewd Enticements, that made me forget my self, 'forfeit the Honour I was Born to, and become a com-'mon Scandal to all my Relations. One of you being 'convened before the Lord Chief Justice for abusing a 'reputable Citizen, I went into the Court of Justice, 'and struck the Judge on the Face; and being by him 'deservedly committed to Prison, (for which I always 'account him worthy his Place and my Favour, and 'wish all my Judges had equal Courage in punishing 'Offenders, of what Quality soever) it caused my Fa-'ther to put me out of my Place of President of his 'Council, and confer'd it upon my younger Brother. 'How often have I, by your Encouragement, com-'mited egregious Felonies, and even Robbed my Fa-'ther's, and my own Receivers, to maintain your Mid-'night Revellings and Drunkenness? And now 'tis more 'than time to put an end to these Exorbitances, and to 'heal the wounds which my Intemperance have made 'in my Honour and Reputation, and not only to de-'cline the Company of such Corrupters of Youth, but 'to stigmatize them with Dishonour and Reproach, that 'all Mankind may avoid them. I therefore strictly 'Charge and Command you, and every one of you, that 'from henceforth, upon the forfeiture of your Heads, 'you do not appear in my Presence, nor come within 'the Verge of my Court. For what is past I freely 'Pardon you; and because Necessity and Poverty is a 'Temptation to Dishonesty, I will allow each of you a 'competency for your subsistence in a commendable 'course of Life; but take heed of relapsing, for upon 'the least complaint of your ill behaviour, you forfeit 'your Pardons, and shall be excluded from my Favour 'and Protection for ever. And so without expecting any Answer, he departed from them.

Now, to add his own Examples to his Commands, he fram'd his Life according to the strictest Rules of Vertue, and disposed himself to such magnanimous and heroical Enterprizes, as might become the Person of

of ſo great a Sovereign Prince. He put none into Places of Truſt or Judicature, but ſuch as had the Reputation of being truly Noble, Wiſe, Diſcreet, Modeſt and Temperate, fit to command others, and to govern themſelves; out of which he ſelected a choice number to be of his Privy Council. He ſtrenuouſly endeavour'd to reform the Pride, Covetouſneſs, Sloth, and other Abuſes crept in among the Clergy, and with a moderate Severity inflicted Puniſhments, that might keep all Men within the Bounds of their Duty. Next, to eſtabliſh Peace and Safety at Home, knowing it was the Cuſtom of the *Scots* and *Welſh*, at a new King's coming to the Crown, to make Inroads upon the Borders, he therefore cauſed Forts and Bulwarks to be erected in convenient Places, and planted Garriſons in them, to prevent or repel any ſuch Incurſions. And ſo highly careful was he in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that he would every Day for an Hour's ſpace after Dinner, receive Petitions of the Oppreſſed, and with great Equity redreſs their Grievances.

A. D. 1413.

About this time Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, in the right of his Wife, by Courteſy called Lord *Cobham*, was convened before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for maintaining Dr. *Wickliffe*'s Opinions; and the Articles againſt him being ſhew'd to the King, he required the Prelates to treat him kindly, and to reduce him to Conformity rather by gentle means than Severity; and afterwards ſending for him, perſwaded him earneſtly to reconcile himſelf to the Church; but Sir *John* juſtifying his Principles, told the King, that he alone as Supream Head, was only his Judge, and no other, and that he would come to his Purgation with a Hundred Knights and Eſquires, or fight in defence of his Faith in open Liſts; but the King being informed by his Council, that theſe matters were by Law to be tried by the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, he commited him to their Power; and afterwards the Lord *Cobham*, being convened at St. *Paul*'s, and at the Hall in *Black Fryars* convicted of Hereſy, and remanded back to the *Tower*, he found means to eſcape from thence, and fled into *Wales*; but many of his Party aſſembling by Night in St. *Giles's in the Fields*, tho' with no Deſign againſt the King or Government, it was called an Inſurrection, and they were Attainted of Hereſy by the Clergy, and High Treaſon by the Laiety, and condemn'd to be hang'd and burnt, Gallows and all; which

Sir John Oldcaſtle *proſecuted.*

A twofold Execution.

A. D. 1413. which Sentence was accordingly executed upon Sir *Roger Acton*, and 28 more in *Smithfield*.

In the first Year of his Reign, at a Parliament held at *Leicester*, was a Bill exhibited, where a Complaint was made that the Temporalities of the Clergy were either superfluously or disorderly consumed, which might be employ'd in the Defence of the Land, and for the Honour of the King: And therefore desired that these Possessions might be given to the King and his Successors for ever; which prevailed so far, that 110 Priories Alien were suppressed, and their Lands given to the King accordingly. Now the Bishops and Clergy finding the Commons still harping upon this String, and not knowing how the King would relish it, they thought it best to divert him with what is agreeable to his Humour, and that was by acquainting him with his Right to the Crown of *France*: And to this end, *Chichley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in an elegant Harangue, deduces the King's Right from *Isabel*, Daughter to *Philip* the Fourth, married to King *Edward* the Second, from whom it descended in a direct Line to his Majesty. As for the *Salique Law*, alledg'd against the *English* Claim, he affirm'd that it related only to those Parts of *Germany* that lay betwixt the River *Elbe* and *Sala*, conquered by *Charles* the Great; who, placing the *French* to inhabit there, because of the dishonest lives of those *German* Women, made this Law. *In terram Salicam Mulieres ne succedant*; which the Gross corruptly expounded for the whole Kingdom of *France*; whose practice notwithstanding he shewed to be contrary by many Precedents, both in King *Pepin*, descended from *Bluthua*, Daughter to *Clothair* the First; and in *Hugh Capet*, as Heir to the Lady *Lingard*, Daughter to *Charlemain*; and besides added, that this Exclusion is contrary to the Word of God, which for want of Heirs Male, allows Women to succeed in their Father's Inheritance. And what is not to be omitted, the Archbishop farther added, that if the King would advance his Standard in *France* to challenge his Right, the War being just, the Cause good, and his Claim undeniable, his Clergy, of their own Free Gift, would furnish him with such a mass of Money, as never Subjects at one time presented to their King. This Propolal pleas'd the King exceedingly, for as he affected nothing more than true and solid Glory, so in nothing more than in Warlike Actions.

The Bishops divert the King, to secure their Lands.

The Salique Law disproved.

Now

Now King *Henry*, inſtead of the *Semè de Luces*, quar- A. D.
ers the *Three Flower de Luces* in his Arms, as the King of 1413.
France then bore them; and that he might not be thought
o ſteal Advantages, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Charles* the
ixth, then King of *France*, *Requiring in peaceable man-* *King*
er, the Surrender of the Crown of France; *which if he con-* Henry's
ented to, King Henry *would marry his Daughter* Catherine; *Demands.*
ut if he refuſed to do him Juſtice, he would with Fire and
Sword, compel him to it, or loſe his Life. To the Ambaſ- 1414.
adors the King of *France* made no other Anſwer, than
hat he would ſend Ambaſſadors of his own to diſcourſe
his Affair, and ſpeedily he did it; for the Earl of *Ven-*
doſme, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and the Biſhop of *Ly-*
eux, arrived in *England* almoſt as ſoon as King *Henry*'s
Ambaſſadors: And at their Audience the Archbiſhop of
Bourges made a long Oration in praiſe of Peace, con-
cluding with the Tender of the Lady *Catherine*, and
fifty thouſand Crowns Dowry, beſides ſome Towns of
no conſiderable Importance. To which King *Henry*, by
the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, made Anſwer, *That theſe*
were Triflles, and without yielding to his Demands, he would
never deſiſt from what he intended. And with this Anſwer
the *French* Ambaſſadors were dimiſſed. It is ſaid, that
about this time the Dauphin, who manag'd all Affairs
during the King of *France*'s Sickneſs, ſent King *Henry* a *The Dau-*
Preſent of a Tun of Tennis Balls, in deriſion of his Youth, *phin's Pre-*
as fitter to play with them than to handle Arms; which *ſent.*
King *Henry* took in ſuch ſcorn, *That he vowed he would*
ſend him ſuch Iron Balls, as ſhould ſhake Paris *Walls.* Whilſt
the *Engliſh* were making Preparations againſt the *French*,
Sir *Robert Humphreville* gave the *Scots* a conſiderable De-
feat, and a Treaſon was diſcover'd againſt the King's Life,
plotted by *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry*, Lord *Scroop*
of *Marſham*, Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *Thomas Grey* of *Nor-*
thumberland, at the Inſtance of the *French* Agents. Theſe
Conſpirators being apprehended and examined, confeſ-
ſed the Treaſon, and the receipt of a million of Gold as
the Reward of it, and were immediately put to Death.

The Wind blowing fair, on the ſeventh of *Auguſt* 1414. *King*
the King of *England*, with 150 ſail of Ships, and 30000 Henry's
Soldiers, beſides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and La- *Deſcent*
bourers, put to Sea, and on the 15th of the ſame Month *into*
came to an Anchor in the mouth of the River *Seine*, a- France.
bout three miles from *Harfleur*: Where landing his Men
he fell devoutly on his Knees, imploring God's Aſſiſtance
in the gaining of his Right. Then made Proclamation,

that

A. D. 1414. that on pain of Death, Churches, Church men, Women and Children, ſhould be exempted from any kind of Violence; and after due encouragement to his Soldiers and Followers, he made *Harfleur* the firſt Eſſay of his Fortunes in *France*, it being a Port conveniently ſeated upon the River *Seine*, and a ſafe Entrance into his intended Conqueſts, as well for the Landing of Men, as to hinder the paſſage to *Roan* and *Paris*, both which receiv'd Traffick by the ſame River. *Harfleur* was ſurrender'd and ſack'd, and the Duke of *Exeter* was made Governour of it, who left as his Lieutenant there Sir *John Falſtaff*, with a Garriſon of 1500 men. When the King had continued at *Harfleur* about 14 days, he marched with 2000 Horſe and 13000 Foot through *Caux* and *Eu* towards *Calais*, in which march the *French* uſed all endeavours to annoy him; for beſides many Skirmiſhes, they broke down the Bridges where he was to paſs, plaſh'd the Woods, entrench'd the Ways, ſtuck Stakes in the Fords, and in all places of advantage laid Ambuſhes to obſtruct his march; and conveyed all Victuals out of the Country through which he ſhould go. At *Corbey* the Peaſants of the Country, joined with a Detachment ſent by the Dauphin, charg'd the Right Wing of the *Engliſh* Army, commanded by *Hugh Stafford*, Lord *Bourchier*, and took his Banner, but it was recovered by *John Bromely* of *Bromely*, who killed him that had taken the Colours; for which good ſervice the Lord *Stafford* gave him an Annuity of 50 *l.* a Year. The King continued his march by the River ſide till he came to *Bathancourt*, where he paſſed over his feeble and wearied Army, proceeding in his march till he came to *Agen Court*, where the *French* in a Field of Advantage, purpoſely choſen, had pitch'd the Banner Royal, with an Army ſix times, ſome ſay, ten times greater in number than the *Engliſh*: Who aſſuring themſelves of an eaſy Victory, ſpent the Night before the Battle in Feaſts, Sports and Triumphs; but the *Engliſh* more wiſely in preparing themſelves for the Fight, in which, by the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, the wiſe Conduct of the King, and the Bravery of his Subjects, they obtain'd the Victory; and after it, the King and his whole Army, fell upon their Knees repeating the Words of the Pſalmiſt, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us; but to thy holy Name be the Glory.* And being told the Name of the place, the King ſaid, this ſhall be called to all Poſterity, the *Battel of Agen Court.*

1415.

Harfleur *taken.*

The Battle of Agencourt.

The

The Plunder of the Field, in Armour, Jewels, Money and Apparel was very great. Of the *Engliſh* were ſlain the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, 2 Knights, *David Gam* Eſquire, and 28 private Solders. Of the *French* were ſlain, of Princes, Noblemen, Knights and Eſquires 1000, and of private Soldiers 10000. Memorable was the ſaying of Captain *Gam*, juſt before the Battle of *Agen Court* began, for being told that the *French* Forces were very numerous, he pleaſantly anſwered, *If there be ſo many of them, there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken Priſoners, and enough to run away.* This might be called in reſpect of the few *Engliſh* that were loſt, a Miracle rather than a Victory, which it ſeems extended beyond the Field, for *Lewis* the Dauphin, eldeſt Son of *Charles* the Sixth, King of *France*, hearing the news of their loſs, without any other apparent cauſe, immediately fell Sick and Died. The next Day after the Battle, the great *Henry* marched towards *Calais*, in the next Month ſet ſail for *England*, and on *November* the 23d entred *London*, where he received the Congratulations of his People. The Citizens preſented him with 1000 *l.* and two Baſons of Gold worth 500 *l.* more. A. D: 1414. *King* Henry *returns.*

About this time the Emperor *Sigiſmond* came into *England*, whoſe principal buſineſs was to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*; and had brought King *Henry* to encline to it, till News came that the Earl of *Armagnac* had beſieged *Harfleur*, and then he grew ſo averſe to any propoſitions of Peace, that he would hear no more diſcourſe about it; but immediately ſent his Brother, the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonſhire*, and divers others, with 200 Sail of Ships, who fell upon *Norbon*, the *French* Admiral, in the Mouth of the River *Seine*; and having ſunk of one kind or other, Five hundred *French* Veſſels, and taken three great Carracts of *Genoa*, they won the Harbour, reliev'd *Harfleur*, and forced the Earl of *Armagnac* to raiſe his Siege. This News made the Emperor deſiſt from mediating a Peace for *France*, and puting him upon ſol'iciting one for himſelf, which was concluded in a League Offenſive and Defenſive between him and King *Henry*, wherein the Pope was only excepted; and on the 19th of *October* he ſet Sail for *Germany*. After this the *French* having hired many Ships of the *Genoeſe* and *Italians*, under the Command of *Jacques*, Baſtard of *Bourbon*, they block'd up the River 1415. Harfleur *relieved.*

A. D. 1416. River *Seine*, to hinder Succours from coming to relieve *Harfleur*; but *John*, Earl of *Huntingdon* being sent to scower the Seas, fell upon his Fleet, took him Prisoner, with all the Money for the half years Pay of the Fleet, cleared the Mouth of the River, and returned to the King at *Southampton*. At this time was held a General Council at *Constance*, whither the King sent the Earl of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath* and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, the Prior of *Worcester*; and it was first decreed in this Council, that *England* should have the Title of the *English* Nation, and should be accounted one of the principal Nations; which before, tho' mov'd, yet never was granted.

On the 23d of *July*, in the fourth year of his Reign, King *Henry*, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk* and *Somerset*; the Lords *Ross*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroop*, *Maltrevers*, *Bouchier*, *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Ferrers* of *Chertley*, *Stanhope*, *Grey*, Sir *Gilbert Humphreville*, Sir *Gilbert Talbert*, and an Army consisting of 25528 Fighting Men, besides 1000 Artificers and Pioneers, took Shiping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of *August* Landed in *Normandy*, near the Castle of *Tongue*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of *August* had it yielded to him; at which time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the Castle of *Abbeville*, which the King gave to him and his Heirs, being the first Land that King *Henry* gave in *France*. At the winning of *Tongue* the King made 28 Knights, and from thence marched with his Army to *Caen*, where, to prevent the Citizens from Sallying out, he cast up a Mount, and making many Attacks without Success, he caused his Pioneers to undermine the Walls, offering the Citizens their Lives if they would submit; which they refusing, he made a shew as if he intended a General Assault whilst many of the Soldiers under the Foundation went into the City, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* and his Company were the first: who coming upon the Backs of those that defended the Walls, easily overcame them, and the whole Army enter'd without resistance. The next day the King commanded all the principal Citizens to come before him; some for their stubbornes he put to Death, others he fined, and distributed the Plunder of the Town to his Soldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while, but at last resigned it. Whilst King *Henry* was busied in *France*, the *Scots* wrought what mis-

Scots *Invasion.*

miſchief they could againſt him at home: They enter'd *England* in a hoſtile manner, bringing one with them whom they called King *Richard* the Second, and laid Siege to *Roxborough* and *Berwick*; but hearing the Duke of *Exeter* was coming againſt them with an Army, they retired with great precipitation, and happy was he that could firſt ſet his Foot in his own Country. Now happened a Quarrel between the Dauphin of *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, which greatly facilitated King *Henry*'s Proceedings, and he march'd where he pleaſed without oppoſition. The Duke of *Clarence* took the City of *Bayeux*, the Duke of *Glouceſter* the City of *Lyſieux*, whilſt his Majeſty remained himſelf at *Caen*, put out all the Natives that were impotent, and young Children, and finding a great maſs of Money and Plate depoſited by the Citizens in the Caſtle, he cauſed it to reſpectively delivered to the Proprietors, upon condition that they would acknowledge him to be their Soveraign; which juſt and equitable Reſtitution, won him more Hearts than his Sword had done Knees, eſpecially among the *Normans*, who are a moroſe and rugged kind of People, and are ſooner allur'd by gentleneſs, than forc'd by compulſion. From hence the King marched to *Corſyſe* Caſtle, which in three days ſurrender'd; and ſo afterwards did *Alenſon*, *Falaiſe* and *Argenton*. Now the King returned to *Caen*, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made, that if the Inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled did not return by a Day aſſigned, he would give their Lands to his Soldiers, and thereupon gave the Duke of *Clarence* the Viſcounties of *Ange*, *Orver* and *Ponthieu* for his Life, with all the Lands of thoſe that were not returned according to the Proclamation.

A. D. 1416.

King Henry's Juſtice.

While the King kept his Lent at *Bayeux*, the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot*, took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Domfront*: The Duke of *Clarence* took *Courtain* and *Bourney*, and many others being taken, as *Chamboys*, *Becheloyn*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Crevener*, *Anvillyers* and *Freſney*, in all which he placed Captains and Garriſons. By this time the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*, by the Pope's Mediation, were reconciled, and began to make ſome reſiſtance: And now the Duke of *Exeter*, the King's Unkle, came to him with a ſupply of 15000 Men out of *England*, and preſently took the City of *Evreux*, and the Earl of *Ryme* the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mille le Veſco*.

1418.

The next thing attempted was the Siege of *Roan*, a City ſtrongly fortified both with Walls and Ditches, to

Roan beſieged.

which

A. D. 1418. which there was no convenient paſſages but by the City of *Lovis*; therefore the King firſt laid Siege to that, and for want of relief coming in time, it was ſurrender'd; and yet there was another Impediment to be removed, a Stone Bridge which hinder'd the approach to *Roan*, which was very ſtrongly guarded; but being taken by Stratagem, the Duke of *Exeter* was ſent, and with him *Windſor* Herald to Summon the Citizens to Surrender,

Roan *ſummoned*

who not only gave proud Anſwers, but at the ſame time made a Salley, tho' with the loſs of thirty Men. Upon their obſtinate Anſwer the King forms his Siege, and ſurrounded the City: At the ſame time the Earl of *Kilmain* with 1600 *Iriſh* came to the King, and having the North quarter aſſign'd them, behaved themſelves very bravely. The King of *Portugal* likewiſe ſent a Fleet of Ships which ſtopt up the Mouth of the River *Seine*, and hinder'd Succours from coming to *Roan*. Many Policies and Practices were employed to take it, but none ſucceeded till Famine forced them to reſign; for at the begining of the Siege there being 21000 Perſons in the Town, they were at length reduced to that Extremity, that they were forced to drink Vinegar and Water, and had little to feed upon but Rats and Mice, Dogs and Cats. In this diſtreſs a Parly was deſired by the Beſieged, who, notwithſtanding their Miſery, inſiſted upon ſuch high Conditions, that nothing was concluded; but upon the Commiſſioners return into the City, the almoſt famiſhed Multitude upbraided the Commiſſioners with their Obſtinate Carriage, and told them if they would not agree, they would compound upon any Terms:

Roan *ſurrender'd.*

And being forced to yield to their Importunities, the City was ſurrender'd to the King's Mercy, and the Inhabitants to pay him 30000 Crowns of Gold, each Crown worth ſix Shillings and eight Pence; and every Soldier to Swear, that he would never bear Arms againſt the King of *England*.

1419. The next Day after, being the 20th of *January*, 1419. the King of *England* himſelf made his Entry into the City, with 4 Dukes, 10 Earls, 8 Biſhops, 16 Barons and others: and was by the Clergy conducted to our Lady's Church: Where, after Publick Thankſgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants, making Proclamation that all who would come and acknowledge him to be their Soveraign, ſhould have the Benefit of his Protection, and enjoy their Poſſeſſions. Whereupon many came in, and many

Towns

Towns were ſurrender'd. In the time of the King's continuing at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Honfleur*, *Moutier de Villiers*, *Eu* and *Newcaſtle*; the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon* and *Naunt*, and the Earl of *Warwick* *la Roche Guyon*. A. D. 1418.

Now the Duke of *Burgundy* ſeeing King *Henry*'s great Succeſs, deſires an Interview, and the Time and Place being agreed on, King *Henry*, accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Glouceſter* and *Exeter*, his Unkle *Beaufort*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with the Earls of *March* and *Salisbury*, Sir *John Grey*, Earl of *Tankerville*, the great Anceſtor of the preſent *Ford*, Lord *Grey*, Earl of *Tankerville*, the Earl of *Longueville*, and 1000 armed Men, enter'd the Place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The *French* Queen (her Husband being indiſpos'd) with the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of St. *Paul*, and a Company of Ladies, among whom, as a Lure to the King's youthful Affections, was the King's Daughter, the beautiful Lady *Catherine*, with whom King *Henry* was wonderfully taken; yet he would not diſcover it till other things were concluded. But the Dauphin having work'd the Duke of *Burgundy* to hinder an agreement, nothing was effected: Whereupon, at their parting, King *Henry* told the Duke, *That he would have both the Lady, and all his other Demands, or he would drive the King of* France *out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom:* Which the Duke hearing, thought it his ſafeſt courſe to agree with the Dauphin, and a Reconciliation was patch'd up between them; but the Sore ſtill feſtering, and the Dauphin watching an opportunity to deſtroy *Burgundy*, he procur'd a Meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Monſtrue*, where, though the Duke humbl'd himſelf upon his Knees to the Dauphin, yet he was moſt barbarouſly murder'd; and was ſo much the leſs to be pitied, becauſe, upon the like Interview, he had cauſed *Lewis*, the Duke of *Orleans*, to be cruelly aſſaſſinated. 1419. *Peace deſign'd by the* French. *The Duke of* Burgundy *murder'd.*

Now the Duke of *Burgundy* being a wiſe and politick Prince, and having conſidered with himſelf what courſe to take to revenge his Father's Murder; and knowing that if he himſelf ſhould oppoſe the Dauphin, and the Dauphin him, the *French* King would loſe by both, and King *Henry* would carry away all; he endeavoured to propoſe an Overture of Peace between the two Kings, which he was the more likely to accompliſh, having a great Intereſt among the Peers, and an Aſſurance of *An Overture of Peace.*

A. D. 1419. the Lady *Catherine's* readineſs to joyn with him in any thing that might conduce to the obtaining of her Wiſhes, which was as well as the Love of King *Henry*, as the Peace and Welfare of her Father and her Country; beſides, the Advantage the Duke had of the Dauphin, who was obſerved to be more Deceitful and Revengeful, than Wiſe and Valiant, and by the late Murder, was render'd obnoxious to the hatred of his neareſt Relations. Ambaſſadors are therefore ſent from the *French* King, and the young Duke of *Burgundy*, to King *Henry*, who were receiv'd and return'd with Reſpect, and an Intimation of Favour to the Duke; but withal, an Aſſurance of obtaining nothing from King *Henry*, unleſs the Lady *Catherine* was Interceſſor, whoſe Innocency, he ſaid, knew not how to abuſe his Credulity, as had been the common practice of others.

While theſe things are in Agitation, his Armies were 1420. not idle, for the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Freſney*; the Earls *Marſhal* and *Huntington* enter'd into *Mayne*, and drawing near *Mentz*, were encounter'd by the Dauphin's Forces, whereof they kill'd 5000, and took 200 Priſoners. This News being brought to *Roan*, where the King was come to ſolemnize the Feaſt of our Saviour's Nativity, he gave Publick Thanks to God; and at the ſame inſtant arrived other Ambaſſadors from the King and Queen of *France*, who having Audience, and the importance of their Embaſſy declared, a Letter from the Lady *Catherine* was privately deliver'd by the Biſhop of *Arras* to the King of *England*, and he having well conſider'd the contents, ſaid publickly, That the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood ſhould not lie at his Door, but he would turn it upon the King of *France* and his Adherents, if they ſubmited not to ſuch Terms of Accommodation which he would give them; and therefore returned the Ambaſſadors with good ſatisfaction, and ſent the Earl of *Warwick* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had already agreed upon Terms, if the King, the Peers, and the Commons of *France*, would conſent to them; and they willingly embracing the Propoſitions, appointed the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſend his Ambaſſadors with ample Authority to meet King *Henry's* Ambaſſadors at *Troyes* in *Champaign*, which the King of *England* being earneſtly requeſted to condeſcend to, he ſent his Unkle, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Salisbury* and others, attended with 500 Horſe, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who went with them to *Troyes*, and there it was quickly concluded,

Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace.

cluded, That King *Henry* ſhould be invited thither to eſpouſe the Lady *Catherine*, and to have aſſurance of the Crown of *France* after the Deceaſe of King *Charles*, that was very infirm and ſickly. A. D. 1420.

Offers made King Henry.

This Notice being acceptable to King *Henry*, he, with a Guard of 15000 brave Soldiers, accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntingdon*, *Longueville*, *Tankerville* and *Ewe* came to *Troyes* upon the 18th of *May*, where he was met by the Duke of *Burgundy*, with many of the *French* Nobility, who attended his Majeſty to the Palace, where the Queen, with her Daughters the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* and the Lady *Catherine*, gave him a Splendid and Princely Entertainment; and after a little Pauſe, while the Intercourſe of Compliment was paſſing between the *Engliſh* and *French* Nobility, the King addreſs'd himſelf to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, and ask'd her, If ſhe thought her Siſter *Catherine*'s Affections were not pre engag'd to ſome other Perſon. The Dutcheſs anſwer'd with a graceful and modeſt Smile, That ſhe durſt pawn her Soul till the Hour ſhe firſt ſaw his Majeſty, ſhe was free from the World; but how ſhe ſtood affected now, ſhe refer'd him to her own Anſwer. Opportunity being found to diſcourſe, in which there could be no great difficulty, where both Parties were willing, the King ask'd the Lady *Catherine*, How ſhe ſtood inclined to Matrimony? The Lady anſwer'd, *That ſhe was to be diſpos'd of by the King, otherwiſe if ſhe had the liberty of making her own Choice, ſhe would give him a more ſatisfactory Anſwer*: And ſo making a modeſt offer to leave him, King *Henry*, with an amiable Countenance, reply'd, *Give me but your Conſent, and by the leave of God I will make all the reſt agree, or I'll leave them without Lands or Lives, of which be aſſured by this Pledge of Faith and Affection*; and thereupon preſented her with a Ring of great Value, which, with modeſt Bluſhes, ſhe accepted, and took her leave, and he departed to his Lodging, charging his Commiſſioners to haſten the concluſion of the Treaty; who, in obedience to his Commands, made ſuch diſpatch, that upon the 20th of *May*, King *Henry* was contracted to the Lady *Catherine* in St. *Peter*'s Church. After this the two Kings and their Privy Counſellors adjuſted all Matters, and both the Kings, and all that were preſent, engag'd their Faith for the performance of them; but the Duke of *Burgundy* more particularly made Oath as followeth.

King Henry Contracted

A. D. 1420

Duke of Burgundy's *Oath.*

I Philip, *Duke of* Burgundy, *for my ſelf and my Heirs, do ſwear upon the Holy Evangeliſts to* Henry, *King of* England, *and Regent of* France *under King* Charles, *that we will humbly and faithfully obey King* Henry *in all things which concern the Crown of* France, *and the Commonwealth thereof, and after the Deceaſe of our now Sovereign* Charles, *will remain faithful Liegemen to the ſaid* Henry, *and his Succeſſors for ever: Nor ſhall we admit or allow of any other Lord or Supreme King of* France, *but* Henry *of* England *and his Heirs: Nor ſhall we counſel or conſent to any thing that may be prejudicial to the ſaid King* Henry, *or his Succeſſors, or may be injurious to his Life or Limb, but with all ſpeed ſhall give Notice of it, and endeavour to prevent it.*

The Morrow after *Trinity Sunday*, being the third of *June*, the Marriage between King *Henry* and the Lady *Catherine* was ſolemniz'd; and at the ſame time he was named and proclaimed Heir and Regent of the Realm of *France*; and the following Articles of Agreement were publiſhed through *France*, and Copies of them ſent into *England*, in theſe Words:

The Articles of Agreement.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Heir and Regent of *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to be perpetually remember'd of all Chriſtian People under our Obedience. Know ye therefore, That whereas there has been divers Treaties between our Royal Father, King *Charles*, for the Eſtabliſhment of Peace between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *France*, it is at length concluded and agreed, That our ſaid Royal Father, and his ever to be honoured Queen *Iſabel*, ſhall be intitled the Father and Mother of us, and be reverenc'd and reſpected agreeably to ſuch an Alliance.

That the ſaid King *Charles* ſhall, during his Life, peaceably enjoy his Royal Dignity, Crown, and all the Revenues of *France*; and that all Writs, Proceſſes and Commiſſions ſhall paſs under his Name and Seal as King; and if his Queen *Iſabel* ſurvive him, ſhe ſhall enjoy all ſuch Rights and Revenues as were formerly received by *Blanch*, Queen Dowager to *Philip*, Grandfather to King *Charles*.

That Queen *Catherine* ſhould, with all convenient ſpeed be endow'd with Twenty thouſand Pounds a Year in *England*.

That

A. D. 1420.

That, during the Life of King *Charles*, King *Henry* ſhould not aſſume the Title of King of *France*, and that the *French* King ſhould write and entitle him, *Our Thrice Noble Son* Henry, *King of* England, *and Heir of* France.

That after the Death of *Charles*, the Crown of *France* ſhould really and entirely remain to King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever.

That in regard of the Incapacity of *Charles* to govern alone, and to manage the Affairs of the Kingdom, King *Henry* ſhould be Regent, and to govern the Realm as he thinks expedient for the King's Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom.

That the Parliament of *France* ſhould hold and enjoy all accuſtom'd Privileges, Power and Authority.

That King *Henry*, to his Power, ſhould faithfully aſſiſt both Peers and People in regaining their Rights, and ſhould protect all the Regalities, Privileges and Poſſeſſions of the Crown of *France*.

That King *Henry* ſhould protect all the Subjects of *France* againſt all Foreign Enemies, Inteſtine Broils, Civil Wars, and endeavour the Proſperity and Peace of *France*, by an impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice to all Men.

That in all Places of Juſtice and Truſt, King *Henry* ſhould put in ſuch Perſons as were duly qualified for the diſcharge of ſuch Offices.

That King *Henry* ſhould ſpeedily endeavour to reduce the Dauphin, the Earl of *Armagnac*, and all their Confederates, to their due Obedience to the Crown of *France*.

That King *Henry* ſhould oblige all Perſons, of what Degree, Condition or Quality ſoever, to take a Corporal Oath for their true Obedience to King *Charles*, during Life, and after his Death to King *Henry*, and his Heirs, and admit no other King or Regent, nor conſpire againſt their Perſons or Eſtates, but diſcover all Miſchiefs ploted or intended for his or their Injury.

That all Poſſeſſions which King *Henry* ſhould gain from any Rebel to King *Charles*, except in *Normandy*, ſhould be to the uſe and benefit of the *French* King; but upon voluntary taking the 'forementioned Oaths, to be reſtor'd to their Eſtates.

That after the death of King *Charles*, the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and what elſe had been conquer'd by King *Henry*, ſhould return in Obedience to the Crown of *France*.

A. D. 1420. That King *Henry* ſhould not overburden his Subjects of *France* with Impoſitions, but in caſes of extream neceſſity, and then to be Aſſeſſed and Levied according to the cuſtom and manner of *France*, and not otherwiſe.

That after the death of King *Charles*, the two Kingdoms of *England* and *France* ſhould be governed by one Sovereign, not to admit two Kings, and that neither Crown ſhould be ſubject to the other, but each of them hold and enjoy their particular Cuſtoms, Privileges, Liberties, Immunities, Laws and Prehemiinences.

That diligent Care be taken to keep both Nations in a fraternal Concord and mutual Friendſhip.

That neither of the two Kings ſhould make Peace or Truce with the Dauphin, except they and the Duke of *Burgundy* be all three conſenting to it.

That none ſhould be placed about the *French* King's Perſon but *French* Men, and they only ſuch as the King and his Council ſhould make choice of.

Laſtly, That both Kings ſhould ratify and confirm theſe Articles of Agreement under their Great Seals; and that all the Peers, Prelates, Gentry, Corporations and Commonalty of both Kingdoms ſhould ſwear to obſerve them.

This News coming to *England* cauſed a ſolemn Proceſſion in *London*, and a Sermon at *Paul*'s Croſs, wherein the Preacher, among other things, affirm'd, That for a perpetual Commemoration of this happy Agreement, the Old Seal was deſign'd to be broken, and a New one made, wherein the King's Title, as Heir and Regent of *France*, and the Arms of that Kingdom were to be engraven.

Thus was their *Salique Law* violated, and the Male Heir put by his Succeſſion, which the Genius of *France* will not long endure, though a while it is neceſſitated to comply; and therefore the great Endeavours of both the Kings were to keep him down whom they had thrown down, and to ſecure the new Eſtabliſhment by the Dauphin's Extirpation and Ruin. In order to accompliſh this deſign, the 4th of *June* King *Henry* with the *French* King, *James* King of *Scots*, who was newly arrived, the Prince of *Orange*, 20 Earls, 45 Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army of *Engliſh*, *French*, *Scots*, *Dutch*, and others, conſiſting of 60000, march'd towards the Dauphin, and laid Siege to *Sens*, which, after four days, was ſurrender'd. From thence they removed

moved to *Monſtreu*, ſcaled the Walls and took it: The Caſtle held out ſix Weeks, and then they, with the ſafety of their Lives, reſign'd it. From thence the King march'd to *Melun* upon *Seine*, and beſieg'd it. The Captain of which was *Barbaſon*, a *Gaſcoigner*, no leſs Politick than Courageous, who countermined ſome, and ſtopt up other Mines made by the *Engliſh*, and fought hand to hand with King *Henry* in the Barriers; but at laſt the Famine and Peſtilence raged ſo extremely among the Beſieged, that they were forced to deliver up the Caſtle, and the Captain being ſuſpected to have had a hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was ſent Priſoner to *Paris*. Preſently after this, both the Kings, with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Dutcheſs, with a Royal Retinue went to *Paris*. The *French* King lodged in the Houſe of *St. Paul*, and King *Henry* in the Caſtle call'd the *Louvre*. Here the Three Eſtates of *France* aſſembled, and again under their Oaths, Hands and Seals ratify'd the former Articles, in Solemn and Authentick manner, and the Inſtruments were formally delivered to King *Henry*, and by him ſent to be kept in his Treaſury in *Weſtminſter*.

A.D. 1420.

King Henry goes to Paris.

All things being thus legally ſettled, King *Henry* began to exerciſe his Regency, cauſed a new Coin to be made called a *Salute*, whereon the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarterly Impreſs'd: He alſo placed and diſplaced ſeveral Miniſters, and iſſued out his Proceſs againſt the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble Table at *Paris*; which he refuſing to obey, Sentence was denounc'd againſt him, as guilty of the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and by Decree of Parliament was baniſhed the Kingdom. After this the King conſtituted *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, Lieutenant General of *France* and *Normandy*, and then on the ſixth of *January*, 1421. with his beloved Queen *Catherine* left *Paris*, went to *Amiens*, thence to *Calais*, and landing at *Dover* went to *Canterbury*, and afterward through *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where Queen *Catherine*, upon St. *Matthias* Day, was Crown'd, with great Solemnity, Queen of *England*. This Ceremony being compleated, the King made his Progreſs through the Land; kindly hearing the Complaints of his poor Subjects, and equally adminiſter'd Juſtice to all Degrees of People whatſoever, and then met the Queen at *Leiceſter*, where they kept their *Eaſter*. In the mean time the Duke of *Clarence* making an Inroad into *Anjou*, came to the City of *Ampers*, and there Knighted Sir *William*

The Dauphin Sentenc'd.

1421.

A. D. 1421. *Roſs*, Sir *Henry Goddard*, Sir *Rowland Vydor*, and his Natural Son, Sir *Thomas Beaufort*; and returning home laden with Booty, had notice that the Duke of *Alenſon* intended to intercept his Paſſage; whereupon he ſent out the Scout-maſter General, *Andrew Fogoſa*, a *Lombard*, to diſcover the Strength of the Enemy; who being corrupted, brought Intelligence that their Numbers were but ſmall, and thoſe ill order'd, and that if he preſently charg'd them, they were not in a condition to make any conſiderable reſiſtance. The Duke's over great Credulity made him only rally his Horſe, and leave his Bows and Bill-men behind him, which were his chiefeſt ſtrength, and the Traytor leading him to a Streight, where, by his Appointment, an Ambuſh was laid, and where the Duke could neither retreat nor fly, he ſoon perceived his Treachery; but finding no remedy, he put Spurs to his Horſe, and with great Courage charg'd the Enemy; till, being over-preſs'd with numbers, and wearied out with fighting, he, with the Earl of *Tankerville*, the Lord *Roſs*, Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Lumley*, Sir *John Verent*, and about 2000 *Engliſh* were ſlain, and the Earls of *Somerſet*, *Suffolk* and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *William Bowes*, and 60 Gentlemen, were taken Priſoners. The Body of the Duke of *Clarence* was, by his Son, Sir *John Beaufort*, convey'd into *England*, and buried by his Father at *Canterbury*.

The Duke of Clarence kill'd.

This Diſaſter happen'd on *Eaſter* Eve. The King was at *Beverly* when he heard of his Brother's Death, and preſently diſpatch'd *Edmund*, Earl of *Mortmain*, as his Lieutenant into *Normandy*, and calls a Parliament, wherein Money was readily granted him, to revenge his Brother's Death. The King thus provided, ſent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* to *Calais*, with an Army of 28000 Men, and about the middle of *May* follow'd them himſelf. Arriving ſafely at *Calais*, he relieved *Chartres*, which the Dauphin, with 7000 Men, had beſieg'd; but hearing of the King's Approach, retir'd to *Tours*. The King of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, took *Dreux*, and the King purſued the Dauphin from Place to Place, but could not overtake him; but in his way ſurpriz'd the Town of *Beaugency*, and admited all to Mercy that deſired it; and the ſame he did at *Rougemont*: From thence he went to *Orleans*, thence to *Vignes St. Yon*, and ſo to *Paris*; where, meeting with Recruits, he ſat down before *Menive* in *Brye*, which after ſome Oppoſition he alſo took, and now

The King's Conqueſt.

was

was in Poſſeſſion of all the Fortreſſes in the Iſle of *France*, *Louvans*, *Brye*, and *Champaign*. A. D. 1422.

In the King's abſence, the Duke of *Bedford* called a Parliament in *England*; who granted the King a Fifteenth towards the carrying on his Wars. And upon St. *Nicholas* Day, Queen *Catherine* was delivered of a Son at *Windſor*, who was baptized *Henry*; the Duke of *Bedford*, *Henry*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Counteſs of *Holland*, being God-fathers and God mother: Of which the King having notice, by a kind of Prophetick Spirit, ſaid, *Good Lord, I* Henry, *born at* Monmouth, *ſhall Reign but a ſmall time, and yet ſhall gain much*; *and* Henry, *born at* Windſor, *ſhall Reign long, but loſe all*; *but God's Will be done.* *Prince* Henry *Born.*

Now divers *French* Men, under the Command of *Oliver de Mang*, who had given their Oaths never to bear Arms againſt the King of *England*, enter'd into *Normandy*, and robbed and ſpoiled the Country; but being encounter'd by the Earl of *Suffolk*, after a long and deſperate Engagement, he, and all his Confederates, were routed: Who, notwithſtanding his Breach of Faith, the merciful King would not put to Death, but ſent him Priſoner into *England*, where he died. The Dauphin laid cloſe Siege to *Coſney*, and the Beſieged made Compoſition, That if they were not relieved in 10 Days they would ſurrender. The King hearing the Terms, was ſo intent to raiſe the Siege, that he over-heated his Blood with Travelling, and coming to *Senlis*, found himſelf ſo much diſtemper'd, that he was forced to continue there, and ſent another to proſecute the deſign, who effected it; for the Dauphin ſeeing the *Engliſh* Army approach, he rais'd his Siege, and retir'd diſhonourably into *Berry*, and afterwards in deriſion, was called the King of *Berry*. *The Siege of* Coſney *raiſed.*

The Queen, who with a gallant Company of *French* Men, under the Command of the Duke of *Bedford*, had a little before taken Shiping at *Southampton*, now arriv'd in *France*, and hearing of the King's Sickneſs, made him a Viſit, which much encreaſed his Fever; and therefore by the perſwaſion of the Doctors, and direction of the King's Council, much againſt her own Inclinations and the King's deſire, who ſo entirely loved her, that he could not brook her Abſence, ſhe left the King; who, after her departure, growing worſe and worſe, he was removed to *Bois St. Vincent*, where, within a few Days, he

A. D. 1422. he yielded up his Soul to God, to the Grief of all Mankind that had the honour of knowing him.

King Henry's Death.

Some time before his leaving this World, he made the Duke of *Bedford* Lieutenant General of *Normandy*, and Regent of the Kingdom of *France*: The Duke of *Glouceſter* he made Protector of *England* and his Son's Perſon; exhorting them all to be true and friendly to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to live at Peace and Unity among themſelves, to be dutiful and loyal to their young Prince, ſerviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, and to keep, by their Care and Prudence, what he had gain'd by his Valour and God's Aſſiſtance, and never to make Peace with the Dauphin, and the Duke of *Alenſon*, till they had ſubmited to the King's Authority.

His Character.

He was of tall Stature, lean of Body, his Bones ſmall, but ſtrongly compacted, ſomewhat long Neck'd, black Hair'd, and of a very beautiful Complexion, ſwift in Runing, ſo as with two of his Lords, without Bow or other Engine, he could take a Wild Buck or Doe in a large Park: He was a great Lover of Songs and Muſical Inſtruments, and in his Chappel, among his other Private Devotions, he uſed certain Pſalms of *David*, tranſlated into *Engliſh* Verſe by *John Lydgate*, a Monk of *Bury*. What was ſaid of *Æneas*, may be truly affirm'd of him, *Quo Juſtior alter, nec Pietate fuit, nec Bello major & Armis*; for he ſeldom fought a Battle where he did not gain the Victory, and never won a Victory where he did not give the glory to God by a Publick Thankſgiving. He was a better Man, and a much better King than a Subject: Till then he was not in his proper Orb, and then no wonder that his motion was irregular. He was merciful in his Nature, but not to the prejudice of Wiſdom or Juſtice, and therefore eſteem'd wiſe Severity better than fooliſh Pity. He was ſo temperate in his Diet, and ſo free from Affectation or Vain Glory, that it might be truely ſaid, he had ſomething in him of *Cæſar*, that *Alexander* the Great wanted, Sobriety: And ſomething of *Alexander* that *Cæſar* had not, and that was, he would not be flatter'd. He was indeed a great lover of Glory, but not that which is an Airy Bubble made up of Popular Breath, but what was real and ſubſtantial, and would laſt till Time be no more. Some ſay he was poyſon'd, and *Polydore Virgil* ſeems to ſuſpect it; tho' *Peter Baſſet*, Eſquire, who was his Chamberlain at the time of his Death, affirms, That he died of a Pleuriſy. His Body being embalm'd, was brought from *France*, and buried



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buried at *Weſtminſter*, next beneath King *Edward* the Confeſſor's Tomb. He dy'd the laſt Day of *Auguſt* 1422. when he had reign'd 9 Years 5 Months, and lived 36. A. D. 1422.

He married *Catherine*, the Daughter of *Charles* the Sixth, King of *France*, who enjoy'd him but two Years and three Months. By her he had Iſſue only *Henry*, that ſucceeded him in the Crown. She was afterwards married to *Owen Tudor*, a Gentleman of no extraordinary Deſcent, but accounted one of the handſomeſt Men in *Europe*. By him ſhe had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jaſper* and *Owen*. *Edmund* was created Earl of *Richmond*, and married *Margaret*, Daughter and ſole Heir of *John*, Duke of *Somerſet*, who had Iſſue King *Henry* the Seventh, the only ſurviving Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. *Owen* took the Habit of Religion; and *Jaſper* was firſt created Earl of *Pembroke*, afterwards Duke of *Bedford*, and died without lawful Iſſue. The Queen, either for Devotion, or her own Safety, went into the Monaſtery of *Bermonſey* in *Southwark*, where ſhe died *January* 2. 1436. and was buried in Our Ladies Chappel in St. *Peter*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*.

In this Reign were founded 8 Houſes of *Black Canons* (*a*), and one of (*b*) *Carthuſians*.

(*a*) Spiney, Cambridgeſhire; Stamdrop, Durham; Manchester, Lancaſhire; Syon, Middleſex; Fodering hay *and* Higham Ferrers, Northamptonſhire; North Cadbury, Somerſetſhire; Knoll, Warwickſhire. (*b*) Shene, Surrey.

The Life and Reign of HENRY *the Sixth.*

HENRY of *Windſor*, the only Child of King *Henry* the Fifth, as yet ſcarce nine Months old, ſucceeded his Father, and was proclaimed King of *England*, on the laſt of *Auguſt*, 1422. The Guard and Cuſtody of this Royal Infant, was commited to *Thomas*, Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Nurture and Education of him to his Mo- 1422.

A. D. 1422. Mother the Queen Dowager: The Government of *England* was given to *Humphry*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Regency of *France* to *John*, Duke of *Bedford*; who all demean'd themſelves ſo uprightly and carefully in their ſeveral Truſts, as gave great Satisfaction to the whole Kingdom. The Regent of *France* had many great Aſſiſtants, eſpecially thoſe two Terrors of *France*, *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and *John*, Lord *Talbot*, (one of the great Anceſtors of the preſent *Charles Talbot*, Duke of *Shrewsbury*): And among the *French* themſelves the Duke of *Burgundy*, no leſs Powerful than ſome time Faithful to him.

Great Officers choſen

The Dauphin was now crown'd King at *Poictiers*, and call'd *Charles* the Seventh, his Father dying fifty three days after King *Henry*. He had great Aſſiſtance from the Duke of *Alenſon*, and other Peers, as well as from the *Scots* and *Italians*; by means of which the Game of Fortune was a long time playing between the Contenders. The firſt Act of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Regency, was an Oration made to the *French* in *Paris*, which had ſuch good effect, that King *Henry* was proclaim'd in *Paris*, King of *England* and of *France*; and ſuch Lords as were preſent did their Homage, and took their Oaths to be true and faithful to him. However, the *Pariſians* taking Advantage at the Regent's Abſence, conſpir'd to let the new King into *Paris*; but the Regent coming thither with his Army, the Day before the Night he was to be admited, apprehended the Conſpirators, and put them to publick Execution. The Conſtable of *France* in the mean time lays Siege with the new King's Forces to *Cravant* in *Burgundy*: but being encounter'd by the Earl of *Salisbury*, after a bloody Battle, was put to flight. Eighteen hundred Knights and Gentlemen of Note, beſides 3000 private Soldiers, *Scots* and *French*, were killed upon the ſpot, and the Conſtable himſelf with 2200 others were taken Priſoners, and 2000 of the *Engliſh* ſlain. From thence the the Earl led his Troops to *Montaguillon*, ſat down before it, and after 5 Months Siege took it, while the Duke of *Suffolk* took in the two ſtrong Caſtles of *Cawcy* and *la Roche*.

King Henry proclaim'd in Paris.

1424 *The Fight at Vernouil.* While theſe things were doing in *France*, the Protector of *England* ranſom'd and enlarg'd the young King of *Scots*, *James* the Firſt, and ſent over to the Regent 10000 well equip'd Soldiers, with which Recruits he took many Towns and Fortreſſes: And encountring with the Duke of *Alenſon* near *Vernouil*, got the Honour of

of the day, and kill'd of their Enemies, 5 Earls, 2 Viſcounts, 20 Barons, and above 7000 *French*, and 2500 *Scots* lately arrived, taking the Duke of *Alenſon* himſelf Priſoner, with 200 Gentlemen, beſides private Soldiers. After this the Earl of *Salisbury* takes in the ſtrong Town of *Mants*, *St. Suſan*, the Fort *St. Bernard*, and from thence marches into *Anjou*, where he perform'd ſuch Heroick Actions, as made his Name terrible thro the whole Confines of *France*. As for inſtance, the new high Conſtable of *France*, perfidious *Richmond*, who after ſolemn Oath revolted from the *Engliſh*, laid Siege with 40000 Men to *St. James* in *Benjon*, where the whole Garriſon conſiſted but of 600 *Engliſh*; who being driven to ſome Extremities, ſallied out, crying out, *St. George, a Salisbury, a Salisbury*, which Name ſo frighted the *French*, thinking he had been come to raiſe the Siege, that they threw down their Weapons and run away, except a few that yielded themſelves Priſoners, leaving all their Tents, 14 Pieces of Ordnance, 40 Barrels of Powder, 300 Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and ſome Treaſure behind them. After which, other Caſtles were taken, as *Beaumont*, *Vicount*, *Truney*, *Gilly*, *Oſee*, *Ruſy Vaſick*, and many others, by Sir *John Montgomery* and Sir *John Falſtaffe*; ſo that once again ſeeing they could get nothing by their Valour, they betake themſelves to their old Trade of Fraud, Bribery and Treachery, and compounded with Captain *Gaſcoin* to deliver up *Alenſon* to them, whereof the Regent having Notice, he ſent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Falſtaff* to prevent it, who encountring *Charles de Villiers*, that with 200 Horſe and 300 Foot, was come to the Place appointed for Entry, they either took or ſlew them all, except ſome few Horſe, that ſaved themſelves by flight. After which the Earl of *Salisbury* took in and demoliſhed above 40 Caſtles and Forts, for which there was publick Thankſgiving to God in *London*. A. D. 1425.

Now an unhappy difference fell out between the Protector and his Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Chancellor, which the Regent by going into *England*, and mediating between them, reconciled: Dubb'd the King a Knight, made *Richard Plantagenet*, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Cambridge*, Duke of *York*; reſtored *Thomas Mowbray* to the Dukedom of *Norfolk*, and all things being peaceably ſettled in *England*, the Regent and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* returned into *France*, where the latter was made a Cardinal.

In

A. D. 1425. *The Parliament of* Batts.

In the fourth Year of this King a Parliament was held at *Leiceſter*, vulgarly call'd the Parliament of *Batts*, becauſe their Servants being not allow'd to wear Swords, they follow'd their Maſters to the Houſe with Batts, or Cudgels, in their Hands: But to return to *France*. About this time a Conſpiracy was ſet on foot by the Clergy and Magiſtrates of *Mantz*, which ſo far prevail'd, that the Mareſchals of *France*, with 500 Men, came about Midnight to the Town Walls, where the *Engliſh* Guards were ſuddenly maſſacred by thoſe that ſeem'd their Friends; and ſeting open the Gate, made way for the Enemy to enter: Whereupon the Alarm being given, the Earl of *Suffolk*, with the ſurviving *Engliſh*, withdrew to the Caſtle, wherein they were briskly aſſaulted by the *French*, who yet had more mind to ranſack Houſes and to revel than to fight, which the Lord *Talbot* being acquainted with by Captain *Goſſe*, whom he had ſent to make a diſcovery, he privately gave Notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who immediately ſallied out, when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troops, and both ſides crying out, *St George*, *a Talbot*, *a Talbot*, they fell upon the ſecure and careleſs *French*, and killed 400 of their beſt Men, took all the reſt, regained the Town, and the Conſpirators, being Thirty Citizens, Twenty Prieſts, and Fifteen Fryars, were condemn'd and executed.

1427. *The Protector and Earl of Salisbury's Death.*

The Succeſs in *France* was attended by two unhappy Accidents to the *Engliſh*. The firſt was the Death of the moſt noble *Thomas Beaufort*, Duke of *Exeter*, and Protector of the King and Kingdom; who making King *Henry* his Heir, dy'd at *Eaſt Greenwich* in *Kent*. The other was, that the brave Earl of *Salisbury* having beſieged the City of *Orleans*, and gain'd the great Fort, as he was looking out at a Window to obſerve what paſs'd in the Town, a great Shot from the Beſieged hiting the Bars of the Window, drove the Splinters into his Head and Face, of which Wounds in eight Days time he died; which were both almoſt irreparable Loſſes to *England*. The Earl of *Suffolk* ſucceeded him, to whom the Regent ſends Sir *John Falſtaff* with freſh Supplies, and the Lords *de la Brette*, 9000 ſtrong, endeavouring to intercept him, Sir *John* with great Courage maintain'd a Fight againſt them, kill'd 2500 of their Men, with the Lord *de la Brette* and *William Stewart*, and took 1100 Priſoners, with whom, and a rich Booty, they march to the Camp at *Orleans*. This

Bat

Battle, becauſe moſt of their Carriage was Herrings and *Lent* Proviſion, was called, *The Battle of Herrings.* In this Siege the *French* were reduc'd to great Extremities; but the Duke of *Alenſon* geting an opportunity to ſupply the Town with freſh ſupplies of Men and Proviſions, it put new Life into the Beſieged, and they ſally'd out and killed 600 of the *Engliſh*, and ventur'd upon the Baſtile, where the Lord *Talbot* commanded, but with the loſs of many of their Soldiers: However, the next Day the Earl of *Suffolk* raiſed his Siege, and diſpers'd his Army into Garriſons. A. D. 1427. *The Battle of Herrings.*

And now the whole Scene of Affairs was chang'd to the Advantage of the *French*, who ſucceeded againſt the *Engliſh* in all their Attempts. The Duke of *Alenſon* took *Jargeux* by Aſſault, and in it the Earl of *Suffolk*. The Lord *Talbot*, *Scales* and *Hungerford* going to fortify the Town of *St. Meum*, were encounter'd by the Duke of *Alenſon*, and *Arthur*, Earl of *Brittany*, who took them Priſoners; 1200 Soldiers were ſlain, the reſt, with great difficulty, eſcaping to *St. Meum.* Theſe were great blows given to the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *France*; inſomuch, that fluſh'd with theſe Succeſſes, *Charleton* and *Rheims* rebel, and the *French* King was Crown'd at *Rheims*, whom the Regent purſues from Place to Place, challenges him to a Field Battle, but could not overtake him till he came near *Senly*, where both Armies encamp'd and embattle'd, yet only ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes paſs'd between them, and the *French* King went to *Bray*, and the Regent return'd to *Paris.*

While Affairs were thus tranſacted in *France*, King *Henry*, not yet 8 Years of Age, was, with great ſolemnity, Crown'd at *Weſtminſter*; at whoſe Coronation were made 36 Knights of the *Bath*, and at the ſame time appear'd *La Pucelle*, a Maid call'd *Joan of Arques*, who, to comfort the *French* King, came to him at *Chinon*, exhorting him to take Courage, affirming, that *God had ſent her to deliver* France *from the* Engliſh *Yoke, and to reſtore him to the fulneſs of his Fortunes.* She equip'd her ſelf like a Man, and required that Sword which hung up in St. *Catherine's* Church at *Fiarebois* in *Tourain*; and being thus appointed, and calling herſelf *The Maid of God*, ſhe ſtrangely animated the fainting *French.* She ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Suffolk*, requiring him to deliver, into her Hand, the Keys of all the *French* Towns he had taken, to ſpare Innocent Blood, and leave *Orleans* at the Command of God, and the Holy Virgin. 1429. *King* Henry *Crown'd.*

This

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1430. *King* Henry *crown'd in* France. The young King of *England* being adviſ'd by his Council, that his Preſence in *France* would be neceſſary to keep his Friends in their former Fidelity, and to reduce thoſe that had departed from their Allegiance; upon St. *George*'s Day he took ſhiping at *Dover*, and landed at *Calais* with a great Army, which, by eaſy marches, he led to *Roan*, and from thence to *Paris*, where, by his Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Cardinal *Euſebius*, he was crown'd King of *France*, and received the Oath of Homage and Fealty from all the Nobility of *France* that were preſent, and all the Citizens and Inhabitants of that City, and Places adjacent. It was very obſervable, and not without admiration amongſt Strangers, that ſo ſmall an Iſland as *England*, and under the Government of a tender Infant, ſhould ſo long, and upon ſuch good Terms, contend with ſo large and populous a Kingdom as *France*; which will be no wonder, if we conſider, that the Vertue and Martial Valour of the *Engliſh* Nation was, at that time, ſo eminent, that they knew no Medium betwixt Death and Victory, and always prefer'd an honourable Death before

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The ſix Years Truce was ſcarce proclaimed, before an unexpected accident gave a pretence to break it; and which was worſe, made a Rupture betwixt the Regent and the Duke of *Burgundy*: for his Siſter the Lady *Anne* being dead without Iſſue, he too ſuddenly eſpouſed the young Lady *Jaqueline*, Daughter to *Peter*, Earl of *St. Paul*, at *Terouanne*; from whence, before the Solemnity of the Feaſt was over, he poſted to *Calais*, to puniſh the Inſolency of ſome of the Soldiers there, who, under pretence of wanting their Pay, had hinder'd the Merchants from ſelling their Wool. Four of the Mutineers he cauſed to be executed, 110 he baniſhed the Town, and many others he puniſhed by Impriſonment. From hence with his new Bride he departed to *London*, where he continued till the end of *Auguſt* following. In this time the Truce began to be forgotten, for the *French* taking all advantages by ſecret Plots and Devices, had fraudulently poſſeſs'd themſelves of divers Caſtles and Places of Strength and Importance; and juſtify'd their Actions by ſaying, *What was won by ſtratagem without blows, was no breach of the Truce*; and therefore perfidiouſly conveyed 200 Men into *Roan* Caſtle, in hopes of ſurprizing it, but being diſcovered and taken, they were all executed as Traytors, or put to Ranſom. The Regent knowing theſe Coals would quickly kindle into a Flame, as ſoon as they were ſupplied with freſh matter, makes haſte to his charge; and Preparations for War being made on both ſides, he found the Duke of *Burgundy* leſs active than formerly, which gave the Regent occaſion to doubt his Fidelity, tho' he would not ſeem to take notice of it. The Lord *Talbot* having paid his Ranſom, comes to the Regent with 700 ſtout and experienc'd Soldiers; both ſides take the Field, and make ſhews of being ready to engage; but twice together, tho' the *French* were provok'd by the Regent to Fight, they declined it, and ſlunk away in the dark, not daring to hazard a Battle.

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War breaks out again.

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A. D. 1432. and outrageous manner rambled towards *Caen*, but having neither Ability to command, nor Honesty to obey, they were overthrown by the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Willoughby*, with the slaughter of 1000 of them; the rest were all taken, the Leaders executed, and the meaner sort, upon submission, were pardoned, and returned to their Dwellings. *La Hire*, taking advantage of his own numerous Forces, and the Earl of *Arundel*'s weakness, charged him, and the Earl seeing no hope to escape, but resolving to win or dye, fought courageously, but being wounded with the shot of a Culverin, obliged the Lord *Willoughby* to retire, and convey the wounded Earl to *Beauvais*, where in three Days he dyed, say our Historians, but the Heralds say he dyed and was buried at *Lewes* in *Sussex*.

Earl of Arundel killed.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, who was taken Prisoner at *Agen Court*, after eighteen Years Imprisonment, and paying 18000 *l* for his Ransom, the same day he was discharged from his Imprisonment, dyed at *London*. *Charles* his Son, who had married the Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*, succeeded his Father: Betwixt the two Brothers in Law an unnatural difference was raised, which was pacified by the mediation of *Mary*, Dutchess of *Berry*, by whose labour and industry, with the help of the Duke of *Bourbon*, a Reconciliation was also made between the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Now the Jealousy between the Regent and that Duke was openly discovered, and those that call'd to mind the great charge that *Henry* the Fifth gave upon his Death-bed, to preserve his Friendship, labour'd an Interview betwixt them, to remove all scruples on either part, which was obtain'd at *St. Omers*; where both the Dukes being arrived, they both stood so much upon Punctilios of Honour, who should make the first Visit, that nothing was effected. The Duke of *Bedford*, as Son, Brother, Unkle of a King, and Regent of *France*, thought it dishonourable for him to begin; and the Duke of *Burgundy* challeng'd preheminence, in regard the Place was in his Dominion. The wisest Men, in some particulars, are too often overseen, and this pretended Priority of Honour so swell'd the Minds of these two great Men, that they both departed without seeing one another, and more discontented than they were before: Hereupon the Duke of *Burgundy* rather chose to make a League of Friendship with him that had mur-

murdered his Father, than keep his Oath with the King of *England*, or preserve the Love so often plighted with the Regent his Friend and Brother-in-law; and upon receiving a Blank Patent under the *French* King's Seal, to insert what terms of Peace he pleased proved a Renegado, falsify'd his Faith with *England*, lost his Reputation in the World, and sold himself to perpetual Infamy. A. D. 1432.

The Town of *St. Dennis* was betray'd by the perfidy of *Matthew Gougley*, to the Bastard of *Orleans*, but the Lord *Talbot* presently enclosed it with a Siege, and the Bastard of *Orleans* drew great Forces together to raise it; but before their approach, the Town was given up, and level'd with the ground. The Inhabitants of *Pontoise* nevertheless raise a Rebellion against the Garrison, and thrust out the *English* Soldiers, whose example put the *Parisians* upon the same Attempt, but the vigilancy of the Regent frustrated their Intentions.

But now the glory of *England*'s Victories in *France* began to be eclipsed, and their Fortune every day more and more to decline. The tripple Cord was quite untwisted; for the ever Renowned, Wise, Valiant, and Circumspect *John*, Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford* and *Alenson*, Earl of *Mayne*, *Harcourt*, *Dreux*, *Richmond* and *Carlisle*, and Viscount *Beaumont*, dy'd upon the 14th of *September*, 1435, and with him all the *English* Fortune in *France*. He was buried in our Lady's Church at *Roan*, which offended the *Normans*, who would have had their own Country honoured with his Sepulchre; yet see the levity of this People, who a few years after, in the Reign of *Lewis*, the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument demolished as being dishonourable, that so great an Enemy to *France* should be inter'd in the Metropolitan City of that Province; but King *Lewis* answer'd, *God forbid that I should give way to such a dishonourable Act, as to disquiet his dead Bones who, when he was alive, made all* France *fear and dread him; it savours too much of a base and sordid mind, to insult upon a Dead Lyon.* *Richard*, Duke of *York* was now made Regent of *France*; but before his arrival there, *Paris* was lost by the treachery of the Citizens, on *February* the 26th, 1436. and *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* now in Person, gives proof of his dissatisfaction to the *English*, bringing his Forces before *Calais*; for the relief of which, the Protector, *Humphry*, Duke of *Gloucester*, went thither with a great Army, but *Burgundy* had withdrawn his

1435. *The Regent's Death.*

King Lewis's noble saying.

1436.

A. D. 1436. Forces before the Duke arrived: However the Duke took ſome Revenge upon him by ſpoiling part of his Dominions; which done, he honourably returned to his charge in *England*. At this time the Council of *France* reconciled the King and the Dauphin, who had been long at variance, and this act was luckily timed, for otherwiſe that Kingdom would have been torn to pieces with factions. In *France*, the Earl of *Warwick* was very active driving the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Forces from *Crotoy*; but not long after died at *Roan*, and his Corpſe was carried into *England*, and buried in *Warwick* Caſtle.

1439. *Difference betwixt the Protector and Cardinal.* 1441. The Duke of *Somerſet*, Lord *Talbot* and *Willoughby*, were alſo buſied in other places, in ſecuring what the *Engliſh* had gain'd; but the Earl of St. *Paul* forſaking the *Engliſh*, and reconciling himſelf to *France*, gave another blow to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, tho' nothing ſo conſiderable as the feud between the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Cardinal, which laid the foundation of all Broils, Conteſts, and Diſturbances that ſucceeded. The Duke of *Glouceſter* articles againſt the Cardinal; but moſt men then ſtanding in fear of the Clergy, his Accuſation came to nothing. On the other ſide, the Cardinal having nothing to accuſe the Duke of, he accuſes the Lady *Eleanor Cobham*, the Duke's Wife, of Treaſon, for attempting by Sorcery and Witchcraft the King's death, and her Husband's advancement to the Crown; for which tho' ſhe was acquited of the Treaſon, ſhe was adjug'd to open Pennance, *viz.* to go with a Wax-Candle in her hand, and Hoodleſs thro' *London* Streets, ſeveral days together, and after to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment in the *Iſle of Man*. The Crime objected againſt her, was procuring *Southwell* and *John Hunn*, both Prieſts, and *Roger Bullingbrook*, a ſuppoſed Nicromancer, and *Mary Jordon*, called the Witch of *Eyr*, in *Suffolk*, to deviſe a Picture of Wax in proportion of the King, by Sorcery, that as the Picture conſumed, ſo ſhould the King's Body, for which they were all condemned; the Witch was burnt in *Smithfield*, and *Bullingbrook* was hang'd, who conſtantly affirmed, at his Death, that neither the Dutcheſs, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, than only to reſolve her by the Art of Aſtrology, how long the King ſhould live. *John Hunn* had a Pardon, and *Southwell* dy'd the night before he ſhould have been executed.

King

King *Henry* had been contracted to the Daughter of the Duke of *Armagnac*, afterwards to the Daughter of *Reignier*, Duke of *Anjou* and *Lorrain*, and was now married to her at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, and ſhe crowned Queen of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, on the 30th of *May*, 1444, in the 23d year of his Reign. How advantageous this Match was to *England*, may ſoon be computed, for ſhe had not a Penny to her Portion, but rather was bought by the Reſignation of the Dutchy of *Anjou*, the City of *Mans*, and the whole Country of *Mayne* (which were the Fences of the Dutchy of *Normandy*) to the *French*. And it may be thought God was diſpleaſed with the Marriage, for after it was conſummated, the King's Friends deſert him: Inteſtine Wars are kindled at home; Rebellion in all parts abroad; and which is more grievous to think on, after the ſlaughter of many Thouſands of his Subjects, the deſtruction of his Unkles, and almoſt their Poſterities, the King himſelf was depoſed, his Son barbarouſly murdered, and the Queen ſent home in as much Miſery and Contempt, as before ſhe was received with Pomp and Acclamations. A. D. 1444. *King* Henry *marry'd.*

A Truce being concluded between *England* and *France*, the Duke of *York*, who was now Regent of *France*, and the principal Officers of the Army, came into *England*, to put the King and Council in mind of recruiting their Forces in *France*, and whilſt the Calm laſted to provide againſt a Storm. Whereupon a Parliament was aſſembled, and care taken to ſtrengthen the Frontiers, and to raiſe Men and Money to keep what they had gotten. But now a ſpark is kindled, which tho' unperceived at firſt, quickly grew into a flame; for the Duke of *York* ſucceeding the Earl of *Warwick* again in the Regency, *Somerſet* envy'd his advancement, and ſo undermined *York*, ſo that by means of the new Marquis, the great Favourite of the King and Queen, he ſupplanted him, and procured that employment for himſelf; which ſorely vexed the Duke of *York*, and all his Friends, tho' he had wit enough in his Anger to continue ſilent. Now no Man is in ſuch favour with the King as the new Marquis of *Suffolk*, who brought the Queen into *England*, nor none can have any favour from her, but by his mediation; who got the Wardſhip of the Body and Lands of the Counteſs of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, ſole Daughter and Heir of *John*, Duke of *Somerſet*, afterwards Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh. 1446.

A. D. 1446. The King's easy Nature and flexible Humour occasion'd the augmentation of great Enormities, and many things were made worse, which might have been better, if they had been timely foreseen, and check'd in the beginning. *Humphry*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, was really a good Man, juſt, moderate, prudent and careful in all things that related to the publick Good, and yet, for plainly delivering him mind, was a great Eye-ſore to an ambitious Favourite and an imperious Queen, who will have no reſtraint put upon her deſires, and endeavours after arbitrary Government. Therefore the Duke of *Glouceſter* muſt be removed from his Protectorſhip, excluded from the Council Table, and Perſons encourag'd to exhibit Accuſations againſt him: Wherein the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Marquis of *Suffolk*, the Cardinal, Biſhip of *Wincheſter*, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, were not behind hand in ſhewing their Malice and Ill-nature; But to avoid tumultuous ſiding into Parties, it was concluded by his Enemies, that without being publickly charged for his pretended Offences, he ſhould be privately convicted and condemned. To this end, a Parliament, by the procurement of his Enemies, and unknown to the King, was aſſembled at *Bury*, to which the Duke of *Glouceſter* coming on the ſecond Day of the Seſſion, he was arreſted by the Lord *Beaumont*, then High Conſtable, and commited into Cuſtody: All his Servants were ſequeſter'd from him, of which Two and thirty were commited to ſeveral Priſons.

The next Day after the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s commitment, he was found murder'd in his Bed, yet his Corpſe was ſhewed, and report given out, that he dy'd of an Impoſthume, tho' there was evident conviction that he dy'd unnaturally. His Body was the ſame day carried to St. *Albans*, and buried there. Five of his menial Servants, *viz.* Sir *Roger Chamberlain*, Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Artzis*, Eſquires, and *John Needham*, Gentleman, were all condemn'd to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; but the Marquis of *Suffolk*, to perſwade the World he had no hand in their Condemnation, or their Maſter's Murder, brought them a Pardon, and deliver'd it at the Place of their propoſed Execution. This *Good Duke Humphry*'s death, for ſo he was generally called, was a ſad Prognoſtick of enſuing Calamity; for, as Men in quenching Smoak ſometimes burn their Fingers in the Fire, ſo the Queen, in laying the Foundation of her abſolute Rule, in the Murder of this honeſt Duke, over

ſhot

ſhot her Politicks, and brought that to paſs, that common Diſcretion with the greateſt coſt and labour would have prevented, which was the decay or weakening the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, which was improbable to have happened, if the Duke of *Glouceſter* had been kept alive. His Primogeniture would have kept back and ſtifled the Duke of *York*'s Pretenſions to the Crown, this *Richard*'s Father being but the fifth Son of *Edward* the Third, and *Humphry Plantagenet*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, was the Fourth, which would have put an end to the former claim. A. D. 1446.

By the King's ſpecial favour, and more earneſt ſollicitation and deſire of the Queen, the Marquis is now made Duke of *Suffolk*, which, tho' ambitiouſly affected, brought him into contempt with the King's ſurviving Unkle the Duke of *York*; who, perceiving there were none at the Helm, but what were unable and unfit to adviſe in State Affairs, and that all things were managed at the will and pleaſure of the Queen, and her Favourite the Duke of *Suffolk*, and that the King was but a meer Cypher, or an Engine moved by their hands, he began to whiſper among his Friends the Right and Title he had to the Crown, and his Deſire to ſee the White Roſe flouriſh on the Throne; and ſo privately and politickly carried on his deſigns, that all things were ready to his purpoſe before his Intentions were known. While theſe Projects were forming, *Henry Beaufort*, the rich Cardinal, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, makes his Exit, and left more Riches than Good Works behind him. He was more noble by Blood than remarkable for Learning, of a haughty and wavering mind, being conſtant in nothing but revenge and malice, which he chiefly employ'd againſt *Good Duke Humphry*. His deſires of Money were inſatiable, and he only hoarded it up to make others Rich, and himſelf Poor. What his ends were in being ſo Covetous, no Man can imagine, for had he deſired to meaſure his Greatneſs by his Goodneſs, he had never been Adminiſtrator to his own good Name, for that died long before him; without which we leave him to be ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* by a far more deſerving Prelate, *William of Wainfleet* ſo called from the Place where he was born, for his Name was *Pattern*, and deſcended from a worthy Family. 1448.

In *France*, matters were carried ſo unhappily, that we loſt our Reputation there before we loſt the Country. The Duke of *Somerſet* ſurpriz'd a Town while the Truce continued, and refus'd to make reſtitution: And the 1449.

A. D. 1449. *French*, animated by this Example, ſurprized Town after Town, till they had gain'd all *Normandy*, and within few Years extorted the Dutchy of *Gaſcoign* out of the *Engliſh* poſſeſſion. The loſs of *Normandy* is imputed to want of Reſolution in the Duke of *Somerſet*, the then Regent; but the Duke of *Suffolk* muſt alſo bear a part of the blame, for ſurrendring *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and being the chief Procurer of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s death, a Waſter of the King's Revenue; to which was added, that he had trayterouſly acquainted the *French* King with all the Secrets of State, and had received Rewards from him, to diſappoint all the Succours that came to aid the *Engliſh* in *France*. Upon theſe and many other Accuſations laid againſt him by the Houſe of Commons,

1450. he was commited to the *Tower*; but the Parliament was no ſooner diſſolv'd, but the Queen ſet him at Liberty, which ſo much enrag'd the multitude, that they made an Inſurrection, under the leading of a deſperate Fellow, who called himſelf *Blue Beard*; but by the diligence of the Country Gentlemen, he was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceaſed. The next Seſſions of Parliament, the Duke of *Suffolk* was again Impeach'd by the Commons, and being ſeconded by the Lords of the Upper Houſe, he was baniſhed for five Years. but with deſign in the Court, as ſoon as the heat was abated, to have recall'd him. In order to his Baniſhment, he took Ship in *Suſſex*, deſigning for *France*, but was taken at Sea by an *Engliſh* Man of War, brought to *Dover* Sands, and there his Head was chopt off on the ſide of a Long Boat: Nor was his Death lamented, becauſe he was thought to be a private Actor in the Death of the Noble Duke of *Glouceſter*.

The Duke of Suffolk *beheaded.*

The *Yorkiſts* having thus diſpatch'd *Suffolk* out of their way, thought it a fit time to put their Deſign in practice. They began by reckoning up their Grievances, and the King's incapacity to govern, by reaſon his eaſy Temper was fit to be abuſed by the Queen, who was ambitious and bloody minded. With theſe plauſible Pretences the *Kentiſh* Men were much affected, which being obſerved by a Creature of the Duke of *York*'s, called *Mortimer*, he ſo inſtilled ſeditious Principles into the Heads of the Mobile, that they choſe *Mortimer*, otherwiſe *Jack Cade*, to be their Leader, who, ſtiling himſelf, Captain *Mend-all*, marched with no great numbers, but thoſe he had very well appointed, to *Black-Heath*, where he lay about a Month, ſending for whom

and

and what he pleaſed: Firſt, making complaints a- A. D.
gainſt the King, Queen and Council for miſmanage- 1450.
ments, they proceed to theſe demands: That the Duke of *York*, now in *Ireland*, might be call'd Home, and that he, with ſome others, whom *Cade* had nam'd, might preſide in all Affairs. That thoſe guilty of *Good Duke Humphry*'s Death might be brought to condign Puniſhment, and the Grievances of the People might be redreſſed. The *Kentiſh* Men, with whom others join'd out of *Eſſex*, commited divers Outrages in and about *London*, as in beheading the Lord *Say*, Treaſurer of *England*, and Sir *James Cromer*, High Sheriff, and rifling the Houſe of Alderman *Malpus*, and others. After a ſmart encounter between him and the Citizens, the King ſending all his Men a general Pardon, it was ſo welcome to the Rebels, that, without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew themſelves that Night to their ſeveral Habitations: But *Cade*, afterward, attempting to raiſe new 1452.
Commotions, was apprehended by Mr *Alexander Eden*, Jack
and making reſiſtance in a Garden in *Hothfield* in *Suſſex*, Cade's
Cade was kill'd, his Body ſent to *London*, where the Head *Death.*
of it was cut off, and ſet upon *London bridge*, and his Quarters ſet up in divers Places in *Kent*. This Inſurrection was not unknown to the *French* King, who took the advantage, and ſeized all the Places that the *Engliſh* had in *France*, leaving them nothing but *Calais* and the Caſtles of *Hames* and *Giſnes*. And this was the effect of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Regency in *France*.

The Duke of *York* finding the humour of the People inclining to Commotions, came with great precipitation out of *Ireland*, and confederated with divers of the Nobility, to take the Crown from King *Henry*'s Head, and to place it on his own. However, their pretence of taking Arms was the Reformation of Abuſes in the Government, profeſſing to pay all Honour and Obedience to the King; which King *Henry* and his Friends giving no credit to, chiefly the Duke of *Somerſet*, he alſo provided an Army, and advanced againſt the *Yorkiſts*; but before the Armies came to engage, by ſome that privately favoured the Duke of *York*'s Party, the King was perſwaded to an Accommodation, and that the Duke of *Somerſet* ſhould be commited Priſoner to his own Houſe; which being done, and the Duke of *York* having disbanded his Army, he came to the King, making great complaint againſt *Somerſet*; who hearing of it, came into the Preſence, anſwered the Duke of *York* Face to

Face,

A. D. 1452. Face, and accuſed him of High Treaſon, in *conſpiring to depoſe the King and uſurp the Soveraignty*, which changed the Face of Things, and the Duke of *York* is put under Reſtraint, in St. *Paul's* Church in *London*, till he took a ſolemn Oath to be a true, faithful and obedient Subject to King *Henry*, and then had Liberty to reſide at his Caſtle at *Wigmore*.

Two Dukes accuſe each other of Treaſon.

In the Year 1452. *John*, Lord *Talbot*, the firſt Earl of *Shrewsbury* of that Family was ſent with an Army to regain *Gaſcoign*. *Fourdeaux* yielded to this great Warrior: whence he went to relieve *Chaſtillon*, but charging the Enemy upon very unequal terms, he loſt his Life in the Engagement, together with his Son the Viſcount *Liſle*, on the laſt of *July* 1453 at *Chaſtillon*, after 24 Years Service in the Wars beyond Sea, and was buried at *Roan* in *Normandy*, with this Inſcription upon his Tomb; *Here lyeth the Right Noble Knight*, John Talbot, *Earl of* Shrewsbury, Wexford, Waterford, Valence, *Lord* Talbot *of* Goodrick *and* Orchenfield, *Lord* Strange *of* Blackmere, *Lord* Verdon *of* Acton, *Lord* Cromwell *of* Winkfield, *Lord* Levetoft *of* Warſoppe, *Lord* Furnival *of* Sheffield, *Knight of the Noble Order of St.* George, *St.* Michael, *and the Golden Fleece, Great Marſhal to King* Henry *the Sixth of his Realm of* France. After which Battle, when the Flames of Civil War broke out in *England*, betwixt the Families of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and our *Engliſh* Commanders were called home out of *France*, to ſupport the Factions here, a *French* Man in Contempt asking an *Engliſh* Man, when he thought the *Engliſh* would return again into *France*, the *Engliſh* Officer reply'd, *When your Sins ſhall be more heinous in the ſight of God than ours are now.*

1453. *Lord* Talbot *and his Son killed.*

The Queen delivered of a Son.

This Year the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, whoſe Name was *Edward*: And now happen'd another Turn of Affairs; for the Duke of *York* labouring to procure the hatred of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, he is arreſted in the Queen's Great Chamber, ſent to the *Tower*, and in Parliament Impeached of High Treaſon: Whereupon the King, tho' very weak, was brought from *Clarendon* on purpoſe to diſſolve the Parliament; which he did, and *Somerſet* is again ſet at Liberty. Upon this the Duke of *York*, notwithſtanding his former Oath, raiſes an Army againſt the King, who meets him with another, and in the Engagement the Duke of *Somerſet* was kill'd, and the Duke of *York*, with

1454. the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, finding the King alone

lone in a poor House, where he had fled to save himself from the Arrows, they all on their Knees ask his Pardon for what is past; for seeing the common Enemy was kill'd, they had what they aim'd at. The King terribly affrighted, made Answer, *Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you would have me.* Now the Duke of *York*, in the King's Name, commands a Cessation from Hostilities, and with great respect attends the King to *London*, where all things were carried amicably between the King and his Lords, and no appearance of difference among them The Parliament does justice to the memory of the Duke of *Gloucester*, The Duke of *York* is made Protector of the King's Person and Kingdom. The Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain Governour of *Calais*: In all which Offices they demean'd themselves unblameably. A. D. 1445. *King Henry affrighted.* 1455.

The Queen displeas'd at these Proceedings, assembles all the Lords of her Faction at *Greenwich*, and persuades the King to revoke what was done; who being of an easy nature, consented to the displacing of the former Lords again; which they having notice of refused to obey that Order but exercis'd their triumvirate Authority as despotically, as if they had been so many Sovereigns with Monarchical Supremacy. To break this knot, the Queen employs all the Arts of Dissimulation to get them into her Power; but her Plots being still discovered, put her into a fume upon her disappointment, and kindled such a fire in the Breasts of the Triumvirate, as cost a great deal of *English* Blood to extinguish it; for now the Duke of *York* thinking fit no longer to conceal his design upon the Crown, again makes Preparation, and takes the Field. The Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* do the like, the former being assisted by Captain *John Blunt*, and Captain *Andrew Trolop*, two experienc'd Soldiers that he had brought with him from *Calais*; but the King issuing out his Proclamation of Pardon to all that would desert the Duke of *York*, these two Officers, with all the Men they brought with them from *Calais*, submited to the King, and discover'd all the Counsels of the Duke of *York* and his Complices, which put them to such a loss, that the Duke of *York*, and his Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, fled into *Wales*, and from thence into *Ireland*. The Earls of *March*, *Salisbury* and *Warwick* fled into *Devonshire*; where, by the assistance of *John Dynham*, Esq; the same Person that after 1456. *The Duke of* York *opens the Scene.* 1457.

A. D. 1457. afterward *Henry* the Seventh made Treaſurer of *England*, they were tranſported from *Exmouth* to *Guernſey*, and ſo to *Calais*. The King having made ſome of the Duke's Officers exemplary, in their Puniſhment, pardons all the private Soldiers; and calling a Parliament at *Coventry*, and the Earl of *March*, his Son, *Richard*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *Richard*, Earl of *Warwick*, *John*, Lord *Clifford*, and many other of the Duke of *York*'s Confederates, were attainted of Treaſon, and their Eſtates forfeited to the King. To retrieve theſe misfortunes, the Earl of *Warwick* being aſſured by the Spies and Intelligencers, that the *Kentiſh* Men earneſtly deſired his return, he forthwith came to *Sandwich*, where the Lord *Cobham*, and ſo many Gentlemen, reſorted to him, that almoſt in an inſtant he had collected an Army of 25000 ſtrong, to which was ſoon join'd the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Troops. The King and Queen, with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army march againſt them, and both Armies met near *Northampton*. The Earls of *March* and *Warwick* prepare for the Encounter, and the Queen (the King being more intentive upon his Devotion than fighting) did the like. The Fight continued about two hours, wherein on both ſides were kill'd above 10000 Men; but upon the fall of *Humphry*, Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Army was overthrown, himſelf taken Priſoner and ſent to *London*, and the Queen, with the young Prince, and the Duke of *Somerſet* fled into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. The Lord *Seals*, who commanded the *Tower*, attempting to eſcape in diſguiſe, was taken and beheaded by certain Water-men.

He and his Confederates attainted.

The Duke of York *claims the Crown.*

The Duke of *York* having notice of this ſucceſs, haſtens out of *Ireland* into *England*, and, in the King's name, calls a Parliament, which being aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, he places himſelf in the King's Chair, and boldly claims the Crown of *England*, as his undubitable right, as being the Son and Heir of *Ann*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philippa*, the ſole Daughter and Heir of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the Third, and Elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, Father of the Uſurper, *Henry the Fourth*, Grand-father to King *Henry* the Fifth, who was Father to him that now unjuſtly uſurps the Throne under the Name of King *Henry* the Sixth. This was was a matter that required great deliberation before Judgment could be given; but

but there being but few Lords in the Upper Houſe but what were of the Duke's Party, the Commons were, with little difficulty, perſuaded to aſſiſt his Intereſt; and therefore it was *Reſolved and Enacted, That King* Henry, *during his Life, ſhould have the Title and Honour of King of* England; *That the Duke of* York *ſhould be proclaim'd Heir Apparent to the Crown, Protector of the King's Perſon and Dominions; and if any of King* Henry's *Friends, Allies or Favourites, in his behalf ſhould attempt the Diſannulling or Abrogating this Act, then the Duke of* York *ſhould immediately take Poſſeſſion of the Crown.* A D. 1459.

While theſe things were doing at *Weſtminſter*, the Queen, and the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, rais'd an Army in *Scotland* of 18000 Men, and marched with them into *England*. The Duke of *York* leaving the King in the cuſtody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earl of *Warwick*, with an Army of 5000 Men marches againſt them, and tho' being advis'd by the Earl of *Saliſbury* not to fight till the number of his Men were encreas'd, yet he was ſo fluſh'd with his late Victory, that he was deaf to all good Counſel, and ſo haſtened his own Deſtiny; for encountring the Queen's Army near *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, he was kill'd, his Army overthrown, the Earl of *Saliſbury* taken Priſoner, and with as many others as were taken, contrary to the Law of Arms and Humanity, were in cold blood beheaded at *Pomfret*, and harmleſs *Rutland* his Son, not above 12 years old, who came thither only out of Curioſity, is made a Sacrifice to expiate his Father's Tranſgreſſion; who, tho' kneeling upon his Knees, and with Tears beging pardon, was ſtabb'd to the Heart by the Lord *Clifford*, in revenge, as he ſwore, of his Father's Death. Thus dy'd *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, whoſe Body being in the Poſſeſſion of his Enemies, he was crown'd with a Paper Crown, and treated with all the little diſgraceful Artifices that envious and narrow ſoul'd Enemies could invent, which afterwards were recompenc'd on their Heads that contriv'd it. The Earl of *March* hearing of his Father's Death and Defeat, encreaſed his Army to the number of 23000, and encountring *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earls of *Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, who purſued him with an Army of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, at *Mortimer's Croſs* he overthrew them, took *Owen Tudor*, who had married Queen *Catherine*, *Henry* the Sixth's Mother, and beheaded him at *Hereford*.

The Duke of York *killed.*

Owen Tudor *beheaded.*

The

A. D. 1459. The Queen, encouraged by the Duke of *York*'s death, marched towards *London*, but her Army being engaged by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, near *St. Albans*, put them a while to a ſtand, but at laſt geting the Victory, the King, Queen and Prince met with great joy. The King being in the Army that was routed, the loſs of the day to that Party was aſcribed to the King, for no Enterprize in War ever proſper'd where he was preſent: Which ſhews us, that Piety (which in this King was exemplary) is not always attended with Proſperity, as is manifeſt in his former and future ſtory From the Lord *Clifford*'s Tent, where they firſt met after the Battle, the King and Queen went to *St. Albans* Abbey, where they were entertain'd with Anthems, and an humble Petition to be ſecur'd from the Outrages of the Northern Soldiers: Which was promiſed, and a Proclamation iſſued out, tho' to little purpoſe; for the Northern men ſaid, *It was their Bargain to plunder every place, when they had paſs'd the River* Trent: Not regarding whether the Red or White Roſe prevail'd: Which gave cauſe of diſtaſte to all indifferent People, which only ſought the welfare of their own Country. By theſe diſorders the *Londoners* were fore-warn'd to provide for their own ſafety, and ſince they found there was no ſecurity in the King's promiſe, to keep the Northern men from robing them alſo, they reſolved to make Proviſion for themſelves, and did it accordingly.

The Queen's Victory.

For divers of the Northern Soldiers, who had long wiſh'd for the Plunder of this City, attempting to enter the Gates, were valiantly driven back, and ſent to carry News to their Camp, that the Earl of *March* with a great Army was coming towards them; it was no Fiction, for at *Chippen Norton* by *Catſall*, the Earl of *Warwick* having collected together many of his ſcatter'd Troops he join'd with the Earl of *March*, and haſtned to *London*, where they were joyfully received upon the 28th of *February*, and upon *Sunday* the 2d of *March* the Earl of *Warwick* muſtered his Army in St. *John*'s *Fields*, and having caſt them into a Ring, the Leader read to them the Agreement of the laſt Parliament, and then demanded of them, *whether they would have King* Henry *to Reign ſtill*, who all anſwered *No*, *No*; then they were all ask'd, *whether they would have the Earl of* March *to be their King*, who all, with a great ſhout, cry'd, *Yea*, *Yea*; which the Earl of *March* being acquainted with at *Bernard*'s Caſtle, he ſeem'd at firſt to excuſe himſelf, out of

The Earl of March *Elected King.*

of incapacity to discharge so great a Trust; yet thanking God for so great a Gift, and them for their good Will, being encouraged to it by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he accepted the Offer, and on the 4th of *March* was proclaimed King, by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth. And here, according to the method pursued by all other Historians, ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth; of whom it may be truly said, That never any Prince came to be King so soon after his Birth, nor ceas'd to be King so long before his Death. He was Monarch of *England* at eight Months old, and liv'd twelve Years after he was unking'd. There were, indeed, some vicissitudes in that space of time, sometimes a King, and sometimes none, as will be discoursed in the following Reign, but very little to his satisfaction; for after he had groan'd under the burden of a Crown 38 Years, 6 Months, and odd Days, he was barbarously murder'd by *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, in the *Tower*; from whence he was carried to St *Paul*'s Church in an open Coffin, bare-faced, where he bled afresh; from thence he was carried by Water to *Chersey* Abby, and without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, Saying or Singing, was there Buried; but afterwards, by King *Edward*'s order, was removed to *Windsor*, and there inter'd and a fair Monument erected over him. A. D. 1460. *King Henry's death.*

He married *Margaret*, Daughter of *Reignier*, Duke of *Anjou* and *Lorrain*, by whom he had only one Son named *Edward*, who, when the Day was lost at *Teuksbury*, endeavoured to escape; but being taken, was brought into King's *Edward*'s presence, and answering him with great Resolution and Austerity, it so much provoked King *Edward*, that he struck him on the Mouth with his Gauntlet, and then Crook-back'd *Richard* struck him on the Heart with his Dagger, and his Body was bury'd among the poor Soldiers, in the Monastical Church of the *Black Fryars* in *Teuksbury*.

King *Henry* was tall of Stature, spare and slender of Body, of a comely Countenance, and all parts well proportioned. He had Piety sufficient to render him a Saint, tho' not Policy and Courage enough to make him a Potent King. He was insensible of the Glory of that Bubble, which the World calls Honour, and thought it consisted only in Christian Humility. He had one Privilege peculiar to himself, which was that no Man could ever be revenged on him; because he never offered *His Character.*

ed

A. D. 1460. ed any Man an Injury. He was fitter for a Prieſt than a King, and for a Sacrifice than a Prieſt, and could not be thought but to dye a Martyr, who all his Life lived a Confeſſor: By being Innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his Head ſo long, and if he had equally ſhared in the Wiſdom of the Serpent he had kept it longer.

In this Reign were founded one Religious Houſe of the (*a*) *Benedictines* as many of the (*b*) *Ceſtercians* and (*c*) *Carthuſians* and 9 of (*d*) Canon Regulars of St. *Auſtin*.

(*a*) Mounton, Pembrokeſhire. (*b*) St. Bernard, Oxford. (*c*) Mountgrace *in* Yorkſhire. (*d*) Eaton Coll. Bucks; Thele, Hertfordſhire; Wye, Kent; Taleſhall, Lincolnſhire; Whittington College, London; Northgate, Oxford; Newport, Shropſhire; Lingfield, Surrey; Hemyngburgh *in* Yorkſhire.

The Life and Reign of EDWARD *the Fourth.*

EEWARD, Earl of *March*, Born at *Roan* in *Normandy*, Son and Heir of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, by *Cicily Nevell*, Daughter of *Ralph*, Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, and *Joan*, Daughter of *John of Gaunt* by the Lady *Catherine Swinford*, was Proclaimed King of *England* upon the 4th of *March*, 1460. but before he could have leiſure to be crown'd, he muſt once more tempt his Fortune in the Field of Honour. King *Henry* had raiſed an Army in the North, againſt whom King *Edward* marches with another. At *Towton* Field in *Yorkſhire*, both Armies met and engaged. Ten hours the Fight continued doubtful, till the Earl of *Northumberland* being killed, with the Lords *Beaumont*, *Grey*, *Dacres* and *Wells*, and many Knights and Eſquires, the Earls of *Exeter* and *Somerſet* fled, leaving the Victory to King *Edward*; the bloodieſt that ever *England* felt, for there fell that Day 36776 Perſons, no Priſoners being taken but the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and three others, that at that time were executed



EDWARD IV

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A. D. 1461. *King* Edward *Crown'd.* 1462.

At this time King *Edward* created his Brother *George*, Duke of *Clarence*; his Brother *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*; *John Nevil*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, he made firſt Viſcount and after Marquis *Montacute*; *Henry Boucheir*, Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is made Earl of *Eſſex*, and *William* Lord *Falconbridge*, Earl of *Kent*. Now *Henry*, Duke of *Somerſet*, *Ralph Piercy*, and divers others, ſubmit themſelves to King *Edward*, and were graciouſly receiv'd, tho' not long after the ſame Duke revolting, was beheaded at *Hexham*. All this time King *Henry* was in *Scotland*, and Queen *Catherine* in *France*, who came over again with 500 Men, but thoſe and others the King's Friends had raiſed for him, were all ſlaughter'd near *Hexham*, many Noblemen taken, and the King himſelf narrowly eſcaping, fled again into *Scotland*. Not long after, for what reaſon no Man can imagine, unleſs led to it by his Deſtiny, or evil Genius, King *Henry*, in a diſguiſe, came again into *England*, and removing from place to place, was at length diſcovered and taken at Dinner at *Wad-*

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1463. *King Henry comes into England.*

A. D. 1464. *dington* Hall in *Lincolnſhire*, by one *Cantlow*, who brought him from thence towards *London*, with his Legs ty'd under his Horſe's Belly, whom the Earl of *Warwick* met upon the Road, and brought him to the *Tower* of *London*, while the diſtreſſed Queen, with her Son, were once again driven into *France* for ſhelter, whither the new Duke of *Somerſet* and his Brother *John* went alſo, where they liv'd in great miſery, and the Earl of *Pembrook* travell'd from Country to Country like a Vagabond.

King Edward's employment in Peace.

Now King *Edward* being at leiſure from the Toils of War, and willing to perform the Office of a King in Peace, he endeavours a general Reformation of Abuſes in his Courts of Juſtice, and regulates his Officer's Fees in the *Exchequer*, that his Subjects might not be oppreſſed by Bribery or Extortion. He alſo daily frequented the Council Table, that his own Eyes and Ears might be acquainted with all things requiſite to his Station. Being now Twenty three Years of Age, and adviſed by his Council to marry, he ſends the Earl of *Warwick* his Ambaſſador into *France*, to treat of a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis*, Duke of *Savoy*, and Siſter to the Lady *Charlotte*, then Queen of *France*, a Lady Beautiful and Virtuous; and it was no ſooner propounded in *France* than accepted. In the mean time King *Edward* hunting in *Whittlebury* Foreſt, by accident came into the Mannor of *Grafton*, where the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* than lay, and where her Daughter by Sir *Richard Woodville*, the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, Relict of Sir *John Grey* of *Grooby*, killed at the Battle of St. *Albans*, became a Petitioner to him for certain Lands, which her Husband had given her in Jointure. With this Lady's extraordinary Beauty and graceful Behaviour King *Edward* was ſo extremely taken, that he became a Suiter to her; and finding he could not obtain his Suit by any unlawful ways, he was forced to ſeek it upon Terms of Marriage; which raiſed many ſharp Conflicts within him, upon the Principles of Love and Honour. He thought himſelf oblig'd, in Honour, to make good the Earl of *Warwick*'s Embaſſy to a great Prince, and yet he found the Power of Love had a greater ſway o'er his Paſſions, than the other Conſiderations had on his Politicks; and therefore King *Edward*, who knew no Superior on Earth, obeys the Command of Love, and upon the firſt of *May* was married to the Lady *Grey*, at *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire*: The firſt of our Kings ſince the *Norman* Invaſion, that ever married one of his own Subject.

His Marriage.

jects. The next Year she was Crowned Queen with great Solemnity, her Father created Earl *Rivers*, and made High Constable of *England*. Her Brother, the Lord *Anthony*, was married to the sole Heir of the Lord *Seales*. Her Son, Sir *Thomas Grey*, was created Marquis of *Dorset*, and married to *Cicily*, Heir to the Lord *Bonville*. This Match might be thought a happy Fortune to the Lady, but if weighed with the Accidents that attended it, the Evils will surmount the Advantages. A. D. 1464.

The Earl of Warwick revolts.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* at his return found a Marriage made in *England*, while he had been endeavouring to make one in *France*: His Embassy frustrated, the Lady *Bona* deluded, the King of *France* abused, and himself made a Property; which, altho' he highly resented, he was Courtier enough to dissemble it for the present, and kept it in his Mind, till he could find an opportunity to revenge the Indignity, and therefore procures leave to retire to his Castle at *Warwick*. King *Edward* having just cause to believe he had made the *French* his Enemies, endeavours to gain Friends among other Princes. He makes a league with *John*, King of *Arragon*, and sent him a Present of a score of *Corsal* Ewes and five Rams, a small Present in shew, but great in the Event; for it has proved of greater advantage to *Spain*, by furnishing them with our Wool, and of greater detriment to *England*, than if he had freighted the Vessel he sent them in with Half Crown Pieces; for that had been but one loss, but this is infinite. Now the Earl of *Warwick*'s disgust began to operate. He deserted the Service of King *Edward*, and did all he could for the Restoration of King *Henry*. He engaged the Archbishop of *York* into the Confederacy, and work'd with *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, to favour his designs: The Duke being disgusted against King *Edward*, his Brother, for prefering his Wife's Kindred, and neglecting his own nearest Relations. 1465. Then *Warwick*, by his Agents, stir'd up a Commotion in the North: One *Robert Huldern* first heading a Rabble of about 15000, and he being put to Death, Sir *John Coniers* undertook the leading of them; and marching with them towards *London*, proclaimed, *That King* Edward *was neither a just Prince to God, nor beneficial to the Realm, and consequently unfit to be a King.* Against these King *Edward* sent an Army, and engaging them near *Banbury*, had certainly overthrown them, if *John Clapham*, Esquire, a Servant of the Earl of *Warwick*'s, had not from a Hill display'd *Warwick*'s Colours,

A Rebellion in the North.

1466.

A. D. 1466. with the White Bear in them, crying out, *a Warwick, a Warwick*; for the *Welsh* Men fearing indeed that *Warwick* was coming, betook themselves to flight, leaving their General, the Earl of *Pembrook*, and his Brother, in the Field; who, fighting valiantly, were enclosed and taken, and with Ten other Gentlemen, were led Prisoners to *Banbury*, and there beheaded, *Coniers* and *Clapham* being their Judges. From hence the Northern Men under the Conduct of *Robin of Riddesdale* hastened to the Mannor of *Grafton*, where the Queen's Father then lay, whom, with his Son *John*, they suddenly surpriz'd, and at *Northampton* cut their Heads off.

The King by this time being furnish'd with an Army, marched toward the Earl of *Warwick*'s Troops, and at *Wolney* pitched his Tents, the Enemy lying at a little distance, ready to give him Battle; but by the mediation of Friends, a Treaty of Peace was agreed on, which making the King too secure, Politick *Warwick* surprized him in the dead of the Night, and carried him Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle; from whence he was convey'd by Night to *Middeham* Castle in *Yorkshire*, and there detained under Custody of his Brother *George Nevil*, Archbishop of *York*; but the Bishop permiting him the Liberty of Hunting, he fairly made his escape. *Warwick* was in a great Rage at this misfortune; but seeing no remedy for the oversight, makes a Virtue of Necessity, and gives it out, That it was done by consent, *having Poner to make Kings, or Depose them:* Nor did he and *Clarence* leave off so, but procured another Insurrection in *Lincolnshire*, where Sir *Robert Wells*, an experienced Soldier, with 30000 Men, disturb'd that Country, and in every place where he came, proclaimed King *Henry*; but being too forward in seting upon the King's Forces at *Stamford*, without staying for *Warwick*'s coming, tho' he made bloody work among them, he was at length taken Prisoner; which the *Lincolnshire* Men perceiving, they threw off their Coats, and betook themselves to flight, and therefore this Fight was called the Battle of *Lost Coat Fields*. Upon this defeat, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* fled into *France*, in hopes to take Sanctuary at *Calais*, but the Lord *Vauclear*, whom *Warwick* had substituted his Deputy there, deny'd them entrance, and turned his great Guns upon them; for which good service King *Edward* made *Vauclear* chief Governor of *Calais*. But tho' these Lords were rejected here, they were received with great respect at the

King Edward taken Prisoner. 1468.

1469.

1470. Clarence *and* Warwick *fly beyond Sea.*

French

French Court, and King *Lewis* having furniſhed them with Supplies, they ſailed from *France*, landed at *Dartmouth*, and march'd towards *London*, proclaiming *Henry* King, and commanding all from ſixteen to ſixty, upon great Penalties, to take Arms againſt the Uſurper, *Edward*, Duke of *York*. Incredible it was to ſee the confluence of armed Men that flock'd to them, who a little before applauded and approved none but *Edward*: So fickle and unconſtant are the giddy Multitude. The Baſtard *Falconbridge* in the Weſt, and Earl of *Pembrook* in *Wales*, every where proclaimed King *Henry* alſo, and a Sermon preached by Doctor *Goddard*, Chaplain to the Earl of *Warwick*, in St. *Paul*'s Church, wherein he ſet forth the good Intentions of his Maſter, in reſtoring a rightful King, and freeing the Land from a Tyrant and Uſurper, did that Party no little ſervice; for the Marquis *Montacute*, who pretended to be for King *Edward*, chang'd his Mind, levy'd 6000 Men about *London*, and found them inclinable to go with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and did accordingly: So eaſily may the Vulgar be ſeduced, who are now heard with loud Acclamations, to cry out, *a King Henry, a King Henry, a Warwick, a Warwick*; which ſo amas'd and terrified King *Edward*, that he fled beyond Sea, and his Queen ſtole out of the *Tower*, and took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was delivered of a Son, who, without any kind of State, but like a poor Man's Child, was Chriſtned *Edward*, his God-fathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Weſtminſter*, and the Lady *Scroop* his God-mother.

A. D. 1470.

King Henry *proclaim'd*

October the ſixth, the Earl of *Warwick* enter'd the *Tower*, where King *Henry* had been nine Years a Priſoner, whom he ſet at Liberty, and appeared more joyful at it, than the King himſelf. From thence, attended by the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Prior of St. *John*'s, the Biſhop of *London*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Noblemen, *Henry* being richly apparelled, was conducted through *London* to the Biſhop's Palace, where he continued till the thirteenth of the ſame Month, and then went in ſolemn Proceſſion about St. *Paul*'s Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of *Warwick* bearing up his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* carrying the Sword before him. The next Day King *Edward* was proclaimed an Uſurper, and all his Confederates Traytors to God and the King. On the 20th of *November*, a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, where King *Ed-*

King Henry *reſtored.*

A. D. 1470. *ward* and all his Partakers were attainted of High Treason, and their Estates seized to the use of King *Henry*. *George Plantagenet*, Duke of *Clarence*, was by Authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to *Richard*, Duke of *York*, his Father, and that Dutchy settled upon him and his Heirs, notwithstanding the Primogeniture of *Edward*. Upon him was also entail'd the Crown of *England*, in case Heirs Male of King *Henry*'s body failed. *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembrook*, and *John*, Earl of *Oxford*, were restored to their Lands and Honours, and the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were made Governors of the King and Kingdom.

King Edward lands in England. While Affairs were thus carried on in favour of King *Henry*, a Cloud appear'd that seemed to darken all his Glory; for King *Edward*, by the assistance of the Duke of *Burgundy*, being furnish'd with 18 Ships, 2000 *Dutch* Men, and 50000 Florins of Gold, went on Board, and landed at *Ravenspur* in *Yorkshire*. At his arrival, he seemed to wave his Title to the Crown, pretending only to recover his Right as a Subject; but having got his Friends about him, marched in a hostile manner, till he came to *Warwick*, where his Brother *Clarence* having revolted from King *Henry*, brought into his assistance 4000 Men, and sent Messengers to *Warwick*, to invite him in also; but *Warwick* bid the Messengers tell *Clarence*, *That he had rather be an Earl, and always like himself, than a perjured Duke; and that rather than falsify his Oath, he would lay down his Life at the feet of his Enemies, which he doubted not but should cost them very dear.* This brave Resolution made King *Edward* more wary, and therefore he hastens towards *London*, where, at his arrival, the Gates are set open to him; the Archbishop of *York* makes his Peace, and entertaining King *Edward* at his Palace, takes King *Henry* in his Hand, and delivers him up to him a Prisoner. King *Edward* hearing at the same time, that the Earl of *Warwick* was advanced as far *Barnet*, he draws out his Forces to meet him, taking King *Henry* along with him; and upon *Gladmore Heath*, near *Barnet*, on *Easter* Day in the Morning, the King's and the Earl's Army joyn'd Battle, which continued six Hours, without any apparent advantage on either side; but at length, by reason of the mist and darkness of the Air, the Stars embroider'd on the Earl of *Oxford*'s Men's Coats, being mistaken for the Sun, which King *Edward*'s Men wore, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Batallion let fly at their Friends, that were

The Fight at Barnet,

in

in great forwardneſs towards gaining the Victory, and they not knowing the cauſe of the miſtake, thought they were betray'd, and the Earl of *Oxford* crying out *Treaſon*, fled with 800 Men: Which great *Warwick* perceiving, courageouſly animated his Men by his own example, and furiouſly ruſhing into the midſt of the Battle ſo far that he could not be reſcued, fighting with great Bravery, was killed, and Marquis *Montacute* venturing to relieve him, loſt his Life alſo; and ſo ended the work of that bloody Day. On King *Edward's* part were ſlain the Lords *Cromwell*, *Bouchier*, *Barns*, and Sir *John Liſle*. On the other part, the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brother *John Nevil*, Marquis *Montacute*. On both ſides 10000 Men, moſt of whom were buried upon the ſame Plain, where afterwards a Chappel was built. To *Warwick's* loſs concured many Accidents, which, if foreſeen, had turned the Scales; but (*Fata viam inveniunt*) Providence will effect its own purpoſes, by means that to Men are unaccountable. A. D. 1470.

Queen *Margaret*, when 'twas too late, attended by *John Longſtrother*, Prior of St. *John's*, and the Lord *Winlock*, with divers Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen, and her Son Prince *Edward*, landed at *Weymouth*, from thence came to *Bewly* in *Hampſhire*, where came to her *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, with divers others, among whom it was reſolved once more to try their Fortunes in the Field. From *Bewly*, the Queen, with the Prince her Son, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, marches towards *Briſtol*, to joyn the Earl of *Pembrook*, who was making Preparations in *Wales*. But King *Edward* reſolving to hinder their conjunction, follows Queen *Margaret* ſo cloſe, that near *Tewksbury* in *Glouceſterſhire* he overtook her Forces, who reſolutely face about, and charge the King's Army, where *Somerſet* leading the Vanguard, performed all that could be expected from a Wiſe and Brave Commander; but finding his Soldiers, thro' extream wearineſs begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the conduct of the Battle, came not to his aſſiſtance, he rode to him, and upbraiding him with Cowardize or Treachery, with a Pole Ax beat his Brains out; and before he could bring up thoſe Men to relieve the reſt, the Vanguard was routed, and *John*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, with 3000 others, on the Queen's ſide, were kill'd. The Queen herſelf, *John Beaufort*, the Duke of *Somerſet's* Brother, the Prior of St. *John's*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers others, were

Queen Margaret *lands in* Weymouth.

A. D. 1470. were taken Prisoners, all which, except the Queen, the next Day were beheaded. At which time Sir *Rich. Crofts* presented to King *Edward*, King *Henry*'s Son *Edward*, whom he had taken Prisoner; and the King demanding of him how he durst so presumptuously invade his Realm with Arms, he answer'd, tho' truly, yet unseasonably, *To recover my Father's Kingdom, and my own Inheritance*; which so exasperated King *Edward*, that he dash'd him on the Mouth with his Gantlet, and immediately the King's back being turned, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, *Thomas Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*, and *William* Lord *Hastings* standing by, fell upon him and murder'd him, contrary to the Law of God, Nature and Nations; whose Blood was afterwards revenged upon every one of them in particular. Thus was the White Rose dy'd Red with Blood, and the Red Rose grew Pale with the Blood it lost in these unnatural Quarrels.

Queen Margaret *taken Prisoner.*

Queen *Margaret* in this fatal Day of Battle, retir'd to a Religious House, from whence she was taken and commited to a close Confinement; under which restraint she continu'd till she was ransom'd by her Father. Not long after King *Edward* enter'd *London*, and in a few Days after the Crook-back'd Duke of *Glouceſter* stab'd harmless King *Henry* to the Heart: Whose murder d Body was on *Ascension-Eve* laid in an open Coffin, and convey'd to St. *Paul*'s in *London*, where it one Day rested uncover'd, and then began to bleed afresh: Thence it was carried to the *Black Fryars* Church, where it bled as before, and then was buried at *Chersey* in *Surrey*; but King *Henry* the Seventh translated it to his Chappel at *Windsor*. At the instance of the Duke of *Burgundy*, King *Edward* made War upon *France*, but those that engaged him in the Quarrel, failing in all the promises they made him, there was an Interview between the two Kings, and all Differences accommodated. King *Edward* being return'd into *England*, his Mind was still runing upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of *Richmond*, and therefore dispatches Doctor *Stillingdon*, and two other Ambassadors, to the Duke of *Brittany*, to send him over to him, under the subtle pretence of marrying him to *Cicily*, his younger Daughter, and withal sent such store of Golden Angels to intercede for him, that the Duke delivered the Earl of *Richmond* to his Ambassadors, who conducted him to St. *Maloes*, where, staying for a Wind, the Earl made his escape into the Sanctuary, from whence neither Prayers nor Promises could re-

1472. *King* Henry *murder'd.*

1473.

1474.

move

move him. At *Chriſtmas* following, being the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, he created his Eldeſt Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. His Second Son he made Duke of *York*, and Knighted the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and 24 others. About this time were two great Examples of unmerciful Severity. The firſt was of one *Walter Walker*, an eminent and wealthy Citizen, living at the *Crown* in *Cheapſide*, who hearing his Son commended for a hopeful Boy at School, bid him mind his Book, *and he would make him Heir of the Crown*, meaning his own Houſe; but the words being miſinterpreted, he was call'd in queſtion for them, arraign'd, condemn'd, and put to Death. The other was of *Thomas Burdit*, Eſq; of *Arrow* in *Warwickſhire*; it happen'd, that King *Edward* Hunting in his Park when he was abſent, kill'd a white Buck which Mr *Burdit* had a great fancy for; and hearing of it at his return home, he wiſh'd the Buck, Horns and all, in his Belly, that adviſ'd the King to kill it; and becauſe none adviſ'd him to it, 'twas thought the words had an ill meaning to the King; for which *Burdit* was arraign'd, condemn'd, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there beheaded; tho' *Markham*, then Lord Chief Juſtice, choſe rather to loſe his Place, than conſent to the Judgment.

A. D. 1475.

Two Examples of ſeverity.

All things now wearing the ſmiles of Peace, the Devil of Ambition began to rage in the Breaſt of *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, and as not being ſatisfied with the Bloods of pious King *Henry*, and the innocent young Prince *Edward*, his Son, his heat breaks out againſt his own Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*; and to rid him out of his way to the Crown, cauſes him to be accuſed of High Treaſon, for ſaying, that Mr. *Burdit* was unjuſtly put to Death, and that to exalt himſelf and his Heirs to the Regal Dignity, he had publiſh'd, that the King, his Brother, was a Baſtard, and therefore uncapable to wear the Crown; for which he was in Parliament attainted of Treaſon, found guilty, and on the 11th of *March*, 1478. was in the *Tower*, drowned in a Caſk of Malmſey, and his Body buried at *Tewksbury* in *Glouceſterſhire*, by the Corpſe of his Dutcheſs, who a little time before, being great with Child, was poyſoned.

1478.

The Duke of Glouceſter *begins his Pranks.*

It was now the 22d Year of King *Edward*'s Reign, when *James*, King of *Scotland*, ſent Ambaſſadors to treat of a Marriage between his Eldeſt Son *James*, Duke of *Rothſey*, and *Cicily*, King *Edward*'s ſecond Daughter.

1481.

This

A. D. 1481. This Overture was approv'd by the King and Council, and a great part of her Portion paid, with this Proviſo, That if the Marriage was not concluded, the Provoſt and Merchants of *Edinborough* ſhould be bound to repay it; but the *Scotch* King dallying, without intention to be juſt to his Covenants, King *Edward* ſent an Army of 20000 Men againſt him, under the Command of the Duke of *Glouceſter*: And the Nobility of *Scotland* ſeeing the danger they were in, with great importunity procured a Peace, or, at leaſt, a Ceſſation from War, upon theſe Conditions, *viz.* That preſently full ſatisfaction ſhould be given for all Damages ſuſtain'd by the late Incurſions: That the Duke of *Albany* ſhould be reſtored: That the Caſtle of *Berwick*, which had now been Twenty Years out of the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, ſhould be immediately ſurrender'd into the General's Hands, and from thence no Reduction of the Town and Caſtle ſhould be attempted: That all ſuch Sums of Money as had been advanced upon the Portion of Marriage ſhould be repaid: All which, except the firſt Article, were accordingly performed. When this Affair with *Scotland* was indifferently well accommodated, King *Edward* receives Intelligence from his Leiger Ambaſſador in *France*, that the *French* King not only deny'd the Payment of the Annual Tribute of 50000 Crowns agreed upon, and ſworn to upon the Ratification of the late concluded Peace; but had alſo married the Dauphin of *France* to the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor; which ſo much incens'd King *Edward*, that he reſolves to revenge it, and by the advice of his Council, open War was immediately proclaim'd againſt *France*. But while King *Edward* is giving the neceſſary Orders for this Expedition, he was attack'd by the King of Terrors, and upon the 9th of *April* 1483. ended his Life at *Weſtminſter*.

Peace concluded with Scotland.

1482.

1483.

King Edward's *Character.*

He was, ſays *Comines* and Sir *Thomas Moor*, one of the compleateſt Perſons of the Age he liv'd in. Very Tall, fair of Complection, and of a moſt Majeſtick Preſence, very Familiar with his Subjects, and yet made no Abatement of his Royal Dignity. He was never more confident than when he was in danger, and never ſo doubtful as when ſecure. Never any Man that married for Love, cared leſs for Marriage; for he took as much Pleaſure in other Men's Wives as his own. Courage and Prudence were natural to him; but other Vertues he ſeldom made uſe of but to ſerve his own ends. His

Policy

Policy always run before his Religion, he would ſwear what he never meant, and never left any thing unaccompliſh'd, that Oaths, Promiſes, or Bribery, could purchaſe. He had been happy in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother, or forfeited his Diſcretion, in appointing a Wolf to keep Innocent Lambs. He had an excellent Art in improving his Favours, and in blinding the Receivers of them; for 'tis ſaid, he won the Love of the *Londoners* by owing them Money, and had an eaſy way of Paying them in lying with their Wives. A. D. 1483.

His Wife and Iſſue.

King *Edward* married *Elizabeth*, the Widow of Sir *John Grey*, Daughter of Sir *Richard Woodville*, by his Wife *Jaquelin*, Dutcheſs of *Bedford*; ſhe liv'd his Wife eighteen Years and eleven Months; by whom he had three Sons and ſeven Daughters. *Edward*, his Eldeſt Son born in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. *Richard*, his ſecond Son, born at *Shrewsbury*. *George*, his Third Son, born at *Shrewsbury*, but dy'd a Child. *Elizabeth*, his Eldeſt Daughter, born at *Weſtminſter*, was promis'd in Marriage to *Charles*, Dauphin of *France*, but married afterward to King *Henry* the Seventh. *Cicily*, his ſecond Daughter, promis'd in Marriage to *James*, Duke of *Rothſey*, Prince of *Scotland*, but was afterwards married to *John*, Viſcount *Wells*, whom ſhe out-liv'd, and was re-married, but by neither Husband had any Iſſue; ſhe lieth buried at *Querina* in the *Iſle of Wight*. *Anne*, his Third Daughter, was married to *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal and High Treaſurer of *England*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, both dying without Iſſue. *Bridget*, his Fourth Daughter, dy'd a Nun at *Dartford* in *Kent*. *Mary*, his Fifth Daughter, was contracted to the King of *Denmark*, but dy'd before Conſummation. *Margaret*, his Sixth Daughter, who dy'd an Infant. *Catherine*, his Seventh Daughter, married to *William Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, to whom ſhe bore the Lord *Henry*, who, by King *Henry*, was made Marquis of *Exeter*. Concubines he had many, but three eſpecially, two of which are too great to be nam'd, the other was *Jane Shore*, born at *London*, well Deſcended, and well Married; but when the King had violated her Chaſtity, her Husband never came near her after. King *Henry*, whether it began by Griet at the ill uſage of the *French* King, or by Intemperance, to which he was much addicted, he fell into a Sickneſs, ſome ſay a Catarrh, others a Fever, whereof he dy'd, when he had liv'd

A. D. 1483. liv'd 41 Years, reign'd 22 and one Month, and was buried in the new Chappel at *Windſor*, the Foundation of which was laid by him.

His Death and Burial

The Works of Piety in this Reign conſiſted in the founding 5 Colleges of the (*a*) Black Canons, or Canon Regulars of St. *Auſtin*.

(*a*) Bernard Caſtle, Durham; Middleham, Rotheram *and* Acaſter, Yorkſhire; Aſhford, Kent.

The Life and Reign of EDWARD *the Fifth.*

A. D. 1483.

KING *Edward* the Fourth being dead, his eldeſt Son *Edward* ſcarce yet eleven Years old, ſucceeded in the Kingdom, but not to the Crown; for he was proclaim'd King, but never crown'd, and this time may not ſo properly be call'd the Reign of King *Edward* the Fifth, as the Tyranny of King *Richard* the Third; for, from the time of King *Edward*'s Death, tho' not in Name yet in Power, he not only rul'd as a King, but raged like a cruel Tyrant. Prince *Edward* was at *Ludlow* in *Wales* when his Father dy'd, where he had liv'd ſome time to keep the *Welſh* Men in Awe by his Reſidence amongſt them. The Care of his Perſon, and Direction of his Studies and Councils, was commited by his Father, to Sir *William Woodville* and Earl *Rivers*, Perſons of great Honour, Wiſdom, and Integrity, to which were join'd ſeveral other Perſons of Repute and Quality, that were the Queen's Relations. The Duke of *Glouceſter* was now in the *North*, but notice being given him of the King's Death by the Lord *Haſtings*, he poſts to *London*; for having long projected the obtaining of the Crown, he now thought his way was open'd to it. For underſtanding that the King was under the Care of his Mother's Kindred, and being diſcontented that they ſhould have the keeping him ſecure, whom he intended to deſtroy, that thereby the Crown might become his own; this bloody Man every where repreſented the Queen's Kindred as Enemies

King Edward the Fifth proclaim'd



EDWARD V

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Enemies to the Ancient Nobility, and who would abuse the King's Favour to their Ruin, and Prejudice of the whole Nation; with which false and subtle suggestions, he so far insinuated into the good Opinion of the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings*, who were known Enemies to the Queen's Family, that he assured himself of their assistance to remove them from the King, as Enemies to their Ancient Nobility. Now the Hypocrite *Glouceſter*, being also informed, that the young King was coming up to *London* with a strong Guard, thinking this would be a rub in his way, at least not corresponding with the dark designs he was carrying on, he falls to undermining; writes submissive Letters to the Queen, protesting all humble and faithful service to her and the King, and perswades her that a great Guard about the King would give suspicion, and create Jealousies among the Nobility of the other Faction, that her Kindred intended to monopolize the King's Favours, and be chief in all Affairs of State. The Queen being credulous, and of easie Nature, credited the Duke's suggestions, and gives fresh Orders, that the King should be attended to *London* but with a small Retinue, which Order was accordingly obeyed by Earl *Rivers*, which made a great step towards the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s base designs. The King was by this time advanced as far as *Stony Stratford* in *Buckinghamshire*, whither the two Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham* were come also; but pretending that Town was too little to entertain them all, they went to *Northampton*, and lighted at the same Inn where Earl *Rivers* had taken up his Lodgings for that Night, intending early in the Morning to overtake the King. Upon this accidental Meeting, all intercourses of Respect and Kindness passed between them, and after Supper the Dukes pretending to be weary, retire to their Lodgings, and the Earl to his Apartment: But the Dukes being enter'd into their Chamber, fall into private Consultation with their Friends about the business in hand, and possess themselves of the Keys of the Inn Gates, suffering none to go in or out; whereof the Earl having notice by the Inn keeper, he boldly went to the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest, and demanded *why they imprisoned him in his Inn?* But they, instead of making answer, charge him with many Crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty, and commanded him to be seized and imprison'd, and then rode to *Stony Stratford*, where the King was ready

A. D. 1483.

The Duke of Glouceſter's Dissimulation.

His Plot upon Earl Rivers.

A. D. 1483. dy to take Horſe, whom they ſalute with the profoundeſt Reverence, and charging the Lord *Richard Grey* with ſeveral Miſdemeanors, they apprehend him and Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his Retinue back to *Northampton*, puting away his old Servants, and placing their own Creatures in their rooms. The young King was ſo ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at theſe violent Proceedings, that he wept bitterly; but it ſignify'd nothing, for the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſent the Lord *Rivers* and Lord *Richard*, and Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, to ſeveral Priſons in the North, and afterwards to *Pomfret* Caſtle, where, in concluſion, they were all Beheaded.

King Edward in Glouceſter's Cuſtody.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* having thus gotten the King into his Cuſtody, ſet forward towards *London*, giving out by the way, that the Marquis and the Queen's Kindred had ploted the Deſtruction of the King, and all the Ancient Nobility of the Kingdom, and to overturn the Government; and were only impriſon'd, in order to be brought to their Tryals according to Law. The better to make the Vulgar ſwallow theſe Rumours, they brought with them Carts loaden with Arms (of their own providing) with Cheſts and Dry Fats, wherein they reported was Money for payment of Soldiers; which the infatuated Multitude imbib'd as Oracles; but the fineſt Device of all, was puting five of the Duke of *Glouceſter's* Creatures into Chains, pinion'd and manacl'd like Traytors, and theſe in all Places where the King lodg'd were diſperſed in ſeveral Inns, and given out to be Men of great Quality, drawn into this horrid Plot by the Queen's Brother: Who muſt ſeem to be penitent for their Offences, and acknowledge their Guilt to every Enquirer: And this Trick continued acting till the King came to *London*, where the Vizers were pull'd off, and the diſguiſe, and deſign of it, was ſoon diſcovered.

The Queen takes Sanctuary.

The Queen having Intelligence of theſe Tragical Proceedings, and believing that worſe would follow, with her ſecond Son and five Daughters, ſhe takes Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, which the young King hearing of, expreſs'd his ſorrow in Sighs and Tears; but the Dukes making repeated Proteſtations of their Fidelity, ſeem'd to wonder at his being ſo melancholly. The Duke of *Glouceſter* carrying himſelf ſo repectfully to the King, the Council appointed him to be Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this having the King in his Cuſtody, his next Project was to get the Duke of *York*, his Brother, into

into his Clutches alſo; for without having both, he had as good have neither of them. To effect this, he makes the Effect become the Cauſe. He had made the King melancholly by his ill Treatment, and now muſt have his Brother's Company to make him merry. The Archbiſhop of *York* is made the Tool to accompliſh this great Deſign, who addreſſing himſelf to the Queen, in great humility acquaints her with the Protector's Requeſt, and the Reaſons that mov'd him to it, which the Queen anſwer'd with ſuch ſolid Arguments and Reaſons of State, that the Biſhop being without hope of prevailing by Entreaty, turns his Diſcourſe into Threatning, that if ſhe would not part with the Duke freely, he would be taken from her by force. This put the Queen into ſuch a Terror, that after ſhe had pauſed a while, ſhe took her Son by the Hand, and ſaid, *My Lord Archbiſhop, Here my Child is, I will never deliver him, but if you will have him, take him, and at your Hands I will require him*: And then weeping bitterly, ſaid, *Dear Child, let me kiſs thee before we part, God only knows whether ever we ſhall meet again.* The Child weeping and lamenting as tenderly as the Mother, went along with the Archbiſhop to the *Star-Chamber*, where the Lord Protector, and other Lords, waited for his coming. As ſoon as the Protector ſaw him, he roſe from his Seat, and embraced him, ſaying, *Dear Nephew, you are welcome with all my Heart; next to my Soveraign Lord, your Brother, nothing gives me ſo much ſatisfaction as ſeeing you.* And truly in this he might be believed, for now he had the Prey he deſired: And to ſecure them for his bloody Purpoſes, a few Days after, pretending to lodge them in a Place of greater Safety, till the Diſtempers of the Kingdom were allay'd, which none cauſed but himſelf, they were in great Pomp and State convey'd thro' *London* to the *Tower*, to continue there till his Coronation, which they pretended was providing for.

A. D. 1483.

The Protector's Diſſimulation

But now the great Work in making away the two Princes is in Agitation, and Potent Perſons muſt be engaged in ſuch a Helliſh Conſpiracy. The Duke of *Buckingham* having his own Ends and Ambition promiſed to be gratified, is already ſecured, and the only *Remora* was the Lord *Haſtings*, who being ſo firm to his old Maſter, King *Edward*'s Son, that nothing could take him off; they ploted to remove him out of the way by this Stratagem. All the Lords of the Privy Council, by the Protector's Order, being aſſembled in the *Tower* to prepare for

A. D. 1483. for the King's Coronation, the Protector came to them, and appeared in a pleasanter humour than usual; but absenting himself for a while, and then returning, he looks with a sowre and angry Countenance, kniting his Brows, Frowning, Freting, and Biting his Lips, with other Symptoms of Revenge, and at last broke out into this passionate Exclamation; *What do they deserve who imagine and contrive my Destruction, that am so near in Blood to the King, and Protector of his Royal Person and Realm?* The Lord *Hastings* answer'd, They deserv'd to be punished as Traytors whosoever they are: Whereat the Protector looking sternly upon the Lord *Hastings*, reply'd, *Why, 'tis the old Sorceress, my Brother's Widow, and her Associate the common Strumpet*, Jane Shore, *that by Witchcraft have conspired to take away my Life, and tho' I have escaped the effects of their malice as to my Life, yet you may see the mischief they have done me otherwise.* Then making bare his Left-arm to the Elbow, *See*, says he, *how they have caused this dear Limb of mine to wither and grow useless, and so should my whole Body, if they could have had their Wills a little longer.* Now those who knew the Queen to be a Religious Woman, and that his *wither'd Arm* had been so from his Birth, sat gazing one upon another, not knowing what to answer, till the Lord *Hastings* thinking to lay all the blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Mistress, *Jane Shore*, whom ever since King *Edward* dy'd, he had taken to his Bed, and from whom he had parted but that Morning, very submissively reply'd, *If the Queen has conspired*, which Words were no sooner out of his Mouth, than the Protector striking his Hand upon the Board, said, *Dost thou think to put me off with If's and And's, I tell thee, they, and none but they, have done it, and thou being a Confederate to the Villany, I will first revenge it upon thy self*, thereupon a Watch Word being given, a great number of armed Men enter'd, and seized upon the Lord *Hastings*, whom the Protector commanded to confess himself immediately, for he swore by St. *Paul*, his usual Oath, that he would neither eat nor drink till his Head was off. So he was led to the Green before the Chappel in the *Tower*, where, upon a Log of Timber, his Head was cut off, and afterwards his Body and Head were buried at *Windsor* near the Corpse of King *Edward*.

A Plot upon Lord Hastings.

The Lord Hastings *beheaded.*

To cover this horrid Action, the Protector immediately issues out his Proclamation in the King's Name, that the Lord *Hastings*, with others, had conspired the Death of the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, and to have

have taken upon him the Government of the Kingdom. Further to revenge himself, he sent the Sheriffs of *London* to *Jane Shore*'s House, spoiled all her Goods, valued at Three thousand Marks, and commited her to the *Tower*; but wanting proof to convict her of Sorcery, she was put into *Ludgate*, and being afterward convicted of Adultery, was sentenced by the Bishop of *London* to go before the Cross in Procession upon a *Sunday*, with a Taper in her Hand. In doing which Pennance, tho' she was in an Undress, she appeared such a Beautiful Creature, and behaved herself so demurely, that many, who abhor'd the lewdness of her Life, could not forbear pitying the miserable Condition she was reduced to. And, indeed, 'tis said in her Commendation, that tho' she was in extraordinary Favour with King *Edward*, she never employ'd it to the prejudice of any, but did all the good she could for every one.

A. D. 1483.

Jane Shore's *Pennance.*

To shew how expeditious the Protector was in Murder, he so contrived it, that the same day and hour on which the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded at *London*, Earl *Rivers*, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony Stratford*, were beheaded at *Pomfret*, without any Judicial Proceedings, and Sir *Richard Ratcliff* being the Instrument of his Cruelty, would not suffer them to speak when they were upon the Scaffold, lest their Words might beget a disaffection to the Protector. When these obstructions were removed out of his way, he thought it high time to push for the Crown. Towards the gaining whereof, upon great promises, he got Sir *Edmund Shaw*, then Lord Mayor of *London*, on his side. And the Mayor's Brother, Dr. *Shaw*, by direction of the Protector and his Council, preaching at St. *Paul*'s Cross, declar'd to his Auditors, That King *Edward* was never lawfully married to his Queen, and therefore his Children were all Bastards. Moreover, that neither King *Edward* himself, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, were reckoned by those that were of Secrecy in the Family, to be the Duke of *York*'s Children, but, says he, the Noble Prince the Lord Protector, he is his Father's own Picture, the plain and express likeness of that Noble Duke. At the rehearsing of these Words, as the Plot was laid, the Protector should have come in, that those Words meeting with his Presence, the People might have been more affected with them; but whether by the slowness of the Protector's coming, or the Doctor's too much haste,

Dr Shaw's *Sermon.*

A. D. 1483. that Sentence was over before he came: Nevertheleſs, when the Doctor ſpy'd his Lordſhip coming in, he abruptly broke off from the Matter he was upon, to repeat the former words, *This is the noble Prince*, &c. but the People were ſo far from crying out King *Richard*, as 'twas hoped they would, that they ſtood as People without ſence or motion, being all amaz'd to hear the Preacher ſo ſhamefully abuſe the Sacred Function, as to make it ſtoop to Intrigues of State, and prop up a Tyrant's Title, to the prejudice of an Infant Soveraign; but he, and Provincial *Penker*, who harangued at the *Spittle* on the ſame Subject, had their Rewards; for the latter loſt his Voice, and the former his Reputation, and never durſt ſhew himſelf abroad in *London*, but conſumed and pined to death in a few Days after.

The Duke of Buckingham's *Speech.*

The next Day the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of *London*, went to the Protector at *Baynard's Caſtle*, whither alſo repaired the Duke of *Buckingham* and many other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen. When they were met together, the Duke of *Buckingham* humbly deſires the Protector's Pardon, and Licence to acquaint his Grace, with the intent of their coming, (as tho' he knew it not before) which, in ſhort, was to beſeech him to take the Crown, and the Government of the Kingdom upon himſelf. At which words the Protector ſtarted back, as if he had been frighted, paſſionately anſwers: *I little thought, good Couſin, that you of all Men, would attempt to move me in a matter, which of all things in the World I am obliged to decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which, without apparent wrong to my dear deceaſed Brother's ſweet Children, and my own upright Conſcience, I cannot approve of.* And then, being about to proceed in his premeditated diſſimulation, the Duke, with great emotions, falling upon his Knees, ſaid, *Your Grace was pleaſed to give me Liberty, to make in the name of this Honourable Aſſembly, the Tender of our Humble Duty and Obedience to you; but I muſt further add, that 'tis unanimouſly agreed, that your late Brother King* Edward's *Children, being generally known to be Illegitimate, ſhall never be admited to the Crown of* England; *and therefore if your Grace ſhall ſo much neglect your ſelf and us, as to refuſe our humble Offer of a Crown, we are reſolved to confer it upon ſome other of the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *that will be more ſenſible of his own and our happineſs.* Which words work'd ſo effectually upon the King's Paſſions, that with ſome change of Countenance, and ſeeming reluctancy,

The Duke of Glouceſter *Uſurps the Crown.*



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luctancy, he said, *Since I find the whole Kingdom have taken up a resolution, not to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over them, and seeing then the Right of Succession is undoubtedly in my self as Rightful Heir of* Richard Plantagenet, *Duke of* York, *my Illustrious Father: We are content to condescend to your Importunities, and to accept the Royal Government of the Kingdom, and will endeavour to the utmost of our Power, to procure and maintain its Welfare.* Then he came down from his Gallery, and courteously saluted the whole Assembly, which so pleased the unsteady multitude, that with loud Acclamations, they cried out, *Long Live King* Richard; and so dissolv'd the Meeting. All this time the two innocent Infants were entertain'd with Sports and Pastimes, and wholly unacquainted with what had been transacted to their prejudice. A. D. 1483.

The Life and Reign of RICHARD *the Third.*

UPon the Eighteenth day of *June*, 1483. *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, took upon himself the Crown and Dominion of *England*, so that the imaginary Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, was of no longer continuance than ten Weeks. The next day King *Richard* sat in the Court of Justice at *Westminster Hall*, and there pronounced a general Pardon of all Offences commited against him, and at his return to his Palace, took to Wife the Lady *Ann*, youngest Daughter of the Great Earl of *Warwick*, and Relict to Prince *Edward*, Son of *Henry* the Sixth, tho' she could not be ignorant that he was the Author of her Father's death, and the very Person that murdered her Husband. But *Women's Affections and Intrigues are unaccountable.* He also set divers Prisoners of Quality at large; but *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, who would not consent to the Disinheriting of King *Edward's* Children, he commited to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, to remain Prisoner there. The time of his Coronation approaching, he sent for Five thousand Men out of the North to strengthen his feeble Title, and they being come, A. D. 1483. *King* Richard *married to Lady* Ann

A. D. 1483. come, under the conduct of *Robbin Riddesdale*, upon the fourth of *July*, together with his new Bride, he went from *Baynard's Castle* by water to the *Tower*, and there bestowed Honours liberally. On the morrow, being the fifth of *July*, the King, with Queen *Ann* his Wife, rode through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, Royally attended by many of the Nobility, and fourscore Knights. The next day, being the sixth of *July*. the King and Queen came down out of the *White Hall* in the great Hall at *Westminster*, and went directly into the Court of *King's Bench*, and from thence on a Cloath of Ray, went bare footed to St. *Edward's* Shrine, all the Nobility attending him, every Lord in his degree, and there were both Anointed and Crowned. After the Sacrament received, (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered to St. *Edward's* Shrine, and so returned to *Westminster Hall*, where they feasted, and with other Ceremonies concluded the Coronation. Presently after this, King *Richard* sent a solemn Embassy to *Lewis* the *French* King, to conclude a League of Friendship with him; but the *French* King so abhor'd him and his Cruelty, that he would not so much as see or hear his Ambassadors, but in contempt of their Master, sent them away disgracefully.

King Richard *and Queen* Ann *Crowned*

At this time the King and Queen took a Progress to *Glouceſter*, under pretence of visiting the place of his old Honour; but indeed to be out of the way while a special piece of Villany was to be acted: For the Usurper knowing he was not safe while his Nephews were alive, tho' he had satisfied his Ambition in depriving them of their Inheritance; yet his fears could not be allayed, but by taking away their lives. To effect this piece of the greatest Inhumanity and detestable Wickedness, his old Friend the Duke of *Buckingham* was no fit Instrument, it must be one of a baser Alloy; and to find such a bloody Tool, he need not travel far; for, upon enquiry, he was told of Two that lay in the next Chamber to him, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *James Tyrrel*, one of which was a Man of great Integrity, but the other Brother, Sir *James*, was a Man of loose Principles, fit for his purpose: Who, gaping after Preferment, was ready to do any piece of Villany to make his Fortune. With this Man, King *Richard* soon concludes a bargain, but how to put him into a Capacity of doing the work, was the question. Sir *Robert Brackenbury* was Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and to him King *Richard* had before

Sir Robert Brackenbury's *Honesty*.

before propounded the doing him this ſervice; but his Abhorrence of ſo baſe an Act, ſufficiently inſtructed the King there was nothing to be done, as long as the Government of the *Tower* was in his hands. To remove this Impediment, the King ſends his Letters Mandatory to *Brackenbury*, to deliver the Keys of the *Tower* to Sir *James Tyrrel*, who, being now Lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent Princes in his cuſtody, gets two other as very Villains as himſelf, the one *Miles Forreſt*, the other *James Dighton*, his Horſe keeper, theſe he makes his Under-Agents or Sub-Murderers, who coming into the Children's Chamber by night, they ſuddenly wrapp'd them up in the Bed-cloaths and forcibly keeping down the Feather-bed and Pillows hard upon their Mouths, ſo ſtifled them, that their Breath failing, they gave up their Innocent Souls to God; which, when the Murderers perceived, they called Sir *James Tyrrel* to ſee them, who preſently cauſed their Bodies to be buried under the Stairs, under a heap of Stones, from whence they were afterward removed into a place of Chriſtian burial, by a Prieſt of Sir *Robert Brackenbury*'s, who, dying within a few days, and none knowing the place but himſelf, was the cauſe of its being unknown to the year 1674. when their Bodies were found buried under the Stairs leading to the White *Tower*, and by order of King *Charles* the IId. in the year 1678, removed to *Weſtminſter Abbey*, and had a Monument erected to their Memory. And now ſee how Divine Vengeance purſued the Murderers. *Miles Forreſt* rotted above ground by piece-meal, in the Pariſh of St. *Martins le Grand*. *Dighton* lived and died a Vagabond beyond Sea; Sir *James Tyrrel* died for High Treaſon on *Tower Hill*, under the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, and King *Richard* himſelf, after this abominable Fact, was never at quiet in his mind. When he went abroad, his Eyes ſtill whirl'd about, as if he was ſuſpicious of all Mankind: He wore private Armour, and his hand was always upon his Dagger. He was continually haunted with fearful Dreams, and would ſometimes in the night ſtart out of his Bed, and run about the Chamber in as great a fright, as if all the Furies in Hell were tearing his guilty Soul out of his deformed Body.

A. D. 1484.

King Edward and the Duke of York murdered.

Confederacies in Evil are ſeldom long lived, and commonly end in a reciprocal Deſtruction, and ſo it happened between the Duke of *Buckingham* and King *Richard*; they had combined for the deſtruction of many

The Duke of Buckingham leaves the Court.

A. D. 1484. ny, and now the Confederacy is dissolved in both their Ruins. The occasion of *Buckingham*'s falling off from *Richard* is variously reported: Some say it was because the King would not grant him the Duke of *Hereford*'s Lands, to which he pretended himself the rightful Heir; others impute it to the Duke's lofty mind, who could scarce bear an equal, much less a superior; but the Duke himself says, it was the murder of the two Princes: But let the cause be what it would, the Breach between them proved of good consequence to the rightful Heirs of the Crown. For upon this difference the Duke left the Court, and retired to his own House at *Brecknock*, where he had in custody that true Friend to King *Edward*'s Posterity, *John Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, who, by his great Wisdom, abased the Duke's haughty humour, procured his own deliverance, and settled the Monarchy upon its true Foundation. When the Duke was first alienated from the King, and come to his own House, he importuned the Bishop, his Prisoner, to deliver his mind freely to him, in matters relating to the Government; which the Bishop refused to do, answering him in this manner; In good Faith, my Lord, I love not to talk with Princes, as a thing that often proves of dangerous consequence, where words well intended and innocently spoke, by a misinterpretation, may be wrested to the Author's prejudice, contrary to his meaning. I remember the Fable of *Æsop*: The Lyon proclaimed, on pain of Death, that no horned Beasts should remain in the Woods; Whereupon one that had only a bunch of Flesh in his Forehead, run away with all the speed he could. The Fox, that saw him make such haste to be gone, asked him the reason of his flight, and whether he intended? to which the frighted Beast answered, In troth, I neither know nor care whither, so I can get out of the danger of the Proclamation. Why Fool, reply'd the Fox, thou art not concerned in that Law: That is not a Horn, but a piece of Flesh that grows in thy Forehead: That I know well enough, said the Beast; *but what if the Lyon will say it is a Horn, in what an ill condition am I then?* The Bishop left the Duke to apply the Moral; but in often discoursing the Duke, and having his word of Honour for his security and secrecy, he took opportunity to render the Usurper as infamous as words could make him; by alledging *his Unnaturalness to his own Mother, in charging her with defiling the Marriage Bed; Bastardizing his Brothers,*

A significant Fable.

Mur-

A. D. 1484.

Murdering his Nephews, and other Enormities irksom to repeat. Then to humour the Duke's Ambition, he would commend him, *as a fit Person to be a King, or if he would not accept the Title, as the only Person that was able to lay a Scheme to deliver his Country from the Tyranny of a Cruel and Daring Usurper.* When the Duke had seriously considered the weight and importance of the Bishop's discourses, he broke his Mind freely to him, that he resolved to advance *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, to the Crown, as Heir to the House of *Lancaster*, and that he should marry *Elizabeth*, the Eldest Daughter of *Edward* the Fourth, and unite both the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. This being also the Mark the Bishop aimed at, after the usual Compliments, in commending his Wisdom and Justice, in finding out such a happy Expedient, to reconcile all differing Persons, and establish the Nation in Peace and Tranquility, they first agree to acquaint the Mothers of *Elizabeth* and *Henry* with the design, and then employ trusty Agents to engage the Nobility and Gentry in it. These things succeeding well, *Hugh Conway* and *Thomas Rame* were employ'd to acquaint the Earl of *Richmond* with their Intentions, and to procure his Promise to the Marriage; which admited of no difficulty, since it was accomplishing his own wishes. In this time Bishop *Morton* (not without asking the Duke's leave, tho' without obtaining it) escapes in a disguise into the Isle of *Ely*, and having done the Earl some friendly Offices there, he crossed the Sea into *Brittain* to him, from whence he made no return, till the Earl was King, and sent for him Home, and made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Buckingham's *Pacifick Scheme.*

In these Transactions, tho' all things were carried on with the greatest secrecy, yet the design was made known to King *Richard*, who notwithstanding dissembles his Knowledge of it, and, in a smooth Dialect, requests the Duke to come immediately to Court, for he stood in need of so wise and prudent a Counsellour as he was; but the Duke mistrusting his fawning pretences, excuses himself, as being indisposed in his health, and not able to undertake so great a Journey. These delays rather aggravating than abating King *Richard*'s displeasure, he sends him a peremptory command to come upon his Allegiance: To which the Duke of *Buckingham* sends as resolute an Answer: *That he owed no Allegiance to such a perjured inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood* and from that time preparations for War were set on foot on both sides.

Forces raised against K.

A. D. 1484. Then *Thomas*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, coming out of Sanctuary, was labouring to raiſe Forces in *Yorkſhire*. The Duke had got together a good force of *Welſh* Men. Sir *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother, the Biſhop of *Exeter*, had raiſed an Army in *Devonſhire*, Sir *Richard Guilford* and *Rame* had a Party in *Kent*. The King ſeting forward with his Forces, the Duke of *Buckingham* does the like, intending at *Glouceſter* to have croſs'd the *Severn*, and joyned with the two *Courtneys*; but ſuch abundance of Rain had fallen, that the *Severn* had over flow'd its Banks, and it was impoſſible to get over into *Glouceſterſhire*; which the *Welſh* Men taking as an evil Omen, ſlunk all away, and left the Duke to ſhift for himſelf; and therefore he, without either Page or Footman, went to the Houſe of *Humphry Baniſter* near *Shrewsbury*, who (and his Father) having been raiſed by him, he had reaſon to think himſelf ſecure. But *Baniſter* upon the King's Proclamation, promiſing 1000 *l.* reward to him that ſhould apprehend the Duke, like an ungrateful and perfidious Wretch betray'd his Maſter, to *John Mitton*, High Sheriff of *Shropſhire*, who, with a ſtrong Guard ſent him to *Shrewsbury*, and from thence to *Salisbury*, where the King was, and there in the Market-place was beheaded. A ſad fate certainly attended this Noble Family; for his Grand-father *Humphry*, Duke of *Buckingham* was kill'd at *St. Albans*, his Father *Humphry*, Duke of *Buckingham* was kill'd at *Northampton*, both in aſſiſting the Houſe of *Lancaſter* againſt the Houſe of *York*; and now this Duke loſt his Life for endeavouring to unite them. This *Henry*, Duke of *Buckingham*, at his Death, was alſo Earl of *Stafford*, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, Lord of *Brecknock*, *Kimbolton*, *Tunbridge*, and High Conſtable of *England*. 'Tis ſaid, that *Baniſter* loſt his Reward from the King, but he did not from the hand of Divine Vengeance, for he was afterwards hang'd for Manſlaughter, his Eldeſt Son fell mad, and died in a Hogſtye, his ſecond Son was deformed, his third was drowned in a ſmall puddle of Water, and his Eldeſt Daughter was debauch'd by one of his Carters, and ſtruck with a Leproſy, whereof ſhe dy'd.

Baniſter's Treachery, and the Duke's Death.

Upon this diſaſter, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Accomplices ſhifted for themſelves, ſome take Sanctuary, others hide, but thoſe ſped beſt that went into *Britany*. *October* the 1ſt, 1484. the Earl of *Richmond*, with forty Ships and 5000 Men, put to Sea; but that Evening, by tempeſtuous Weather, his whole Fleet was diſ-

Earl of Richmond's diſappointment.

diſperſed, and the Ship wherein the Earl ſailed, was driven upon the Coaſts of *Cornwal*, where, diſcovering an Army on the ſhore ready to oppoſe his Landing, he hoiſted Sail and returned into *Normandy*, where he heard of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s defeat, but was ſoon comforted, when he ſaw the Marquis of *Dorſet*, and many other Lords and Captains come to him, who receiving his Oath before the High Altar at *Rheims*, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* as ſoon as he ſhould be quietly ſettled in the Government of *England*, they paid Homage to him, and mutually ſwore not to give over the War againſt King *Richard*, till he ſhould be depoſed or deſtroy'd. King *Richard* being inform'd of theſe Proceedings makes havock of the Lives and Eſtates of all that were ſuſpected to aſſociate in the Earl of *Richmond*'s Confederacies, who, in a Parliament then holden, were attainted of Treaſon, and among the reſt Mr *Collingborn* was put to Death, and quarter'd, for reflecting upon the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Robert Ratcliff*, and Sir *William Cateby*, three of his pernicious Counſellors, in the following Couplet, A. D. 1484.

The Cat, *the* Rat, *and* Lovel *the Dog*,
Rule all England *under the Hog*.

Now rumours of this Confederacy ſpreading, he grew ſo jealous of his ill gotten Greatneſs, that he ſtored the Sea Coaſts with Armies, furniſh'd the Ports with Proviſions and Ammunition, and made all things in a readineſs to prevent Earl *Henry*'s Landing, and as the greateſt ſtretch of his Politicks, ſends his Agents loaden with Gold, and many large promiſes to the Duke of *Brittany*, to perſuade him either to ſend Earl *Henry* into *England*, or to confine him there in Priſon, but the Duke himſelf being then ſo extreamly ſick, that his Ambaſſadors could have no Audience, they addreſs'd themſelves to *Peter Landois*, the Duke's chief Treaſurer, who, taken with this Golden Bait, had betray'd the Earl into *Richard*'s hands, if Biſhop *Morton*, then ſojourner in *Flanders*, and having advice of the deſign from his Friends, had not given the Earl timely notice of it, and cauſed him to retire to the *French* Court to eſcape the danger; where *Richard Fox*, then a Student in *Paris*, was highly ſerviceable to him. When the Duke of *Brittany* recovered, and heard of *Landois*'s Treachery, he was much diſpleaſed, and continued a Favourer of the Earl, and his Cauſe, ever after. All theſe things had an ill aſpect upon

A Plot upon Earl Richmond.

A. D 1484. upon King *Richard*'s Affairs, which he foreſaw, tho' he knew not how to remedy them; and therefore the Earl having diſappointed him in *Brittany*, he has a Project in his Head to diſappoint the Earl in *England*, by marrying the Daughter of Queen *Elizabeth* himſelf, which would add a conſiderable ſtrength to his Title. To effect his deſign, he ſends Meſſengers to the Queen, who is ſtill in Sanctuary, to excuſe and purge himſelf of what formerly had been done againſt her, and gave them power to promiſe innumerable Promotions, not only to herſelf, but alſo to her Son, Lord *Thomas*, Marquis of *Dorſet*: By force of which promiſes the Meſſengers ſo prevailed with her, that ſhe was content to ſubmit to the King's pleaſure. And thereupon, burying in oblivion the Murders of her Innocent Children, the butchering of her own Brother and Son, the Infamy of her Royal Husband, the Aſperſion of Adultery caſt upon herſelf, the imputation of Baſtardy laid to her Daughters, forgeting alſo her Oath made to Earl *Richmond*'s Mother, ſeduced by flattering Words, ſhe firſt delivers her Daughters into King *Richard*'s Hands, and after writes to the Marquis, her Son, to deſert Earl *Richmond*, and come over to *England*, where great Wealth and Honours waited for him, upon a Reconciliation made between herſelf and King *Richard*. A change that nothing but her Hopes, or rather her Fears, could qualify.

Another Plot.

But yet there remain'd an impediment to be remov'd, which obſtructed the conſummation of his intended Marriage, and that was, he had a Wife living, and therefore he made ſure work, and put her out of the way, but whether by Poyſon, or otherwiſe, is not certain, but ſhe dy'd in a few Days after, and with all befitting ſolemnity, and not without ſome formal Tears from King *Richard*, was inter'd in St. *Peter*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*.

Queen Anne dieth.

King *Richard*, now qualify'd to take another Wife, uſes all imaginable Courtſhip to win the Affections of the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Niece; but yet reſolving to accompliſh his deſires by a Rape, if he could not prevail otherwiſe, and had, peradventure, done it, if the ſtorms ariſing thick from beyond Sea had not prevented him: For about this time one *Morgan Kidwelly*, Student in the Inns of Court, with great hazard of his Life, went over to the Earl, and acquainted him how far the Match was proceeded between King *Richard* and the Lady *Elizabeth*; which the Earl hearing, thought it was no time to

to linger, and therefore not having above 2000 Mercenaries, and but an indifferent Fleet to transport them, about the middle of *Auguſt* the Earl put to Sea and by the advice of *Kidwelly*, ſteer'd his Coaſt for *Wales*, and on the 17th day after his departure from *Harfleur*, arriv'd at *Milford Haven*, where he landed his Men without moleſtation. A. D. 1484.

After refreſhing his Men a while, he marched from thence to *Hereford*, where he was joyfully receiv'd, and there had notice that the Earl of *Pembrook*, with all his Retinue, was coming to join him. Not long after came *Richard Griffin*, and *John Morgan*, with a Company of brave *Welſh* Men, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with all the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Tenants, being about 2000 Men well appointed. At this time the Lord *Stanley*, with 5000 Men, had taken up his Quarters at *Leiceſter*; but hearing of the Earl's march went to *Adderton* not daring to ſhew himſelf openly for the Earl, leſt the King ſhould put his Son, the Lord *Strange*, to Death, whom he was compelled to leave a Hoſtage with him. At firſt King *Richard* ſlighted the Earl and his Army, as too weak to cope with his Troops, but when he heard that part of his own Army had deſerted him, and turn'd to the Earl, he bgan to look about him, and ſummoned his principal Officers to join him, with whom he took the advantage of a large Plain near *Boſworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, joyning to a Hill call'd *Ann Beam*, where he encamp'd: And obſerving, by the manner of the Enemy's approach that they deſign'd to give him Battle, he put his Forces in order. *The Earl of* Richmond *landed.*

The King's Vanguard was led by *John*, Duke of *Norfolk*, conſiſting of 1200 Bow men, flanked with 200 Cuiraſſiers, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*; the Battle, King *Richard* led himſelf, conſiſting of 1000 Bill-men, empaled with 2000 Pikes. The Rear was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, conſiſting of 2000 Mingled Weapons, with two Wings of Horſemen, in number 1500, caſt into ſquare Squadrons, expecting the Lord *Stanley*'s coming in with 2000 Horſe. When the King had thus ranged his Army for the Encounter, he encourag'd his Men to behave themſelves valiantly, with promiſe of great Rewards to the Courageous; and deſpiſing their Enemies as a Company of Vagabonds, Thieves, Outlaws, Traytors, Beggarly *Britons*, Henhearted *French* Men; and their Leader, he ſaid, was but a half coddled Soldier, a Lindſey Woolſey *Welſh* Man, whoſe 1485. *King* Richard's *Speech to his Soldiers.*

A. D. 1485

whoſe Ambition was leading him to a reproachful End. The Earl of *Richmond*'s Front was Commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Right Wing by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the Left by Sir *John Savage*, and the main Battle by the Earl himſelf, and his Unkle *Jaſper*. When the Earl had ordered his ſmall Army, ſcarce half ſo many as King *Richard*'s, he rode from Rank to Rank, and from Wing to Wing, encouraging his Soldiers to fight like Men that had a good Cauſe, which God would bleſs, and to free the Country from a Monſter, a Tyrant, and a Murderer; aſſuring them, that he would ſtand by them to Death, rather than be a Priſoner, and kept alive for Reproach: *Advance then*, ſays he, *Fellow Soldiers, like true* Engliſh Men *in Defence of your Country, and God, and Saint* George *give us a happy ſucceſs.*

Then began a deſperate Engagement, which was bravely fought on both ſides; and while the two Vanguards were contending for Death or Victory, the King being inform'd that the Earl of *Richmond*, with a ſmall Party, was near, he preſently makes towards him, and with great Courage, whereof he was now to give the laſt Proof, made a furious Attack, and with his own Hand ſlew Sir *William Brandon*, the Earl's Standard-bearer, unhors'd and overthrew Sir *John Cheney*, a ſtrong and ſtout Gentleman, and then aſſaulted the Earl of *Richmond* himſelf: Who, notwithſtanding the King's fury, kept him off at his Launce's Point, till Sir *William Stanley*, by the Lord *Stanley*'s order, came in with Three thouſand freſh Men, and then the King, oppreſs'd with numbers, was kill'd. 'Tis ſaid, that when the Battle was almoſt loſt, a fleet Horſe being offer'd him to make his eſcape, he refuſed it, ſaying, *he would that day put an end to all Battles, or loſe his Life.* In this Fight the Earl of *Northumberland*, who commanded King *Richard*'s Rear, never fought a ſtroke, nor many others, who followed King *Richard* more for Fear than Love, who deceiving many, at laſt was deceived himſelf; which was not unforeſeen by ſome, who cauſed a courſe Rhime to be put upon the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Gate, the Night before the Engagement, in the following words,

King Richard *killed.*

Jack *of* Norfolk, *be not too Bold,*
For Dickon, *thy Maſter, is bought and ſold.*

Yet

Yet notwithſtanding this timely notice, the Noble *John Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, continued firm to King *Richard*, and conſidering more the obligations he had laid upon him, than wherein he had injured others, followed him to the laſt, and in his Quarrel loſt his Life. In this Battle were ſlain on King *Richard*'s ſide about a 1000, and ſcarce 100 on the Earl of *Richmond*'s. The Battle was fought at *Radnor*, near *Boſworth*, the 22d of *Auguſt* 1485. After publick and ſolemn thanks to God, and care taken of the Sick and Wounded, the Body of King *Richard* being found, the whole Army gave a general ſhout, and with loud Acclamations ecchoed out, *Long Live King* Henry: And *Richard*'s Crown being found among the ſpoils, and delivered to the Lord *Stanley*, he plac'd it on Earl *Henry*'s Head, and the Soldiers reiterated their Acclamations, and again made the Fields reſound, *Long Live King* Henry *the Seventh.* And thus was put an end to the Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which began upon the Intruſion of King *Henry* the Fourth, and continued till the Death of *Richard* the Third: In which were fought 12 pitch'd Battles, and two Kings, one Prince, ten Dukes, two Marquiſſes, 21 Earls, 27 Lords, two Viſcounts, one Lord Prior, one Judge, 139 Knights, 441 Eſquires, and 84998 private Soldiers were ſlain; which being added to the number of the 638 of ſuperior Quality, there appears to have been kill'd in the Quarrel between the two Roſes 85628 Men.

A. D. 1485.

Duke of Norfolk *killed.*

The number and quantity of the ſlain in theſe Wars.

This King *Richard* was born at *Fotheringay* Caſtle in *Northamptonſhire*, the third Son of *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and younger Brother to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, whom he murder'd in the *Tower*. There was never in any Man a greater uniformity of Body and Mind, than in him; for in both he was equally deform'd. He was low of Stature, crook back'd, hook ſhoulder'd, ſplay-footed, goggle-ey'd, his Face little and round, his Complexion ſwarthy, his left Arm withered from his Birth. Born, ſays *Truſſel*, a Monſter in Nature, with all his Teeth, Hair on his Head, and Nails on his Fingers and Toes. Thoſe Vices which in other Men are Paſſions, in him were Habits: Cruelty in him was not caſual, but natural, and the Truth of his Mind was only Lying and Falſhood. He was ambitious of a Crown only that he might have power to kill and deſtroy at his pleaſure, and was a greater Harpy than the Poets ever feign'd.

He

A. D. 1485. He Married *Ann*, the ſecond Daughter of *Richard Nevil*, the Great Earl of *Warwick*; by whom he had only one Son, who, at four Years of Age, was created Earl of *Salisbury*, by his Unkle King *Edward* the Fourth, and at ten was created by his Father Prince of *Wales*, but dy'd ſoon after; ſo that he left no Iſſue behind him, and it had been pity he ſhould, at leaſt, in his own Image; one ſuch Monſter was enough for many Ages.

King Richard's *Corpſe diſhonourably treated*

Being kill'd at *Boſworth* Fight, his Body was found among the Dead, ſtark naked, all mangled and beſmear'd with Duſt and Blood, without ſo much as a Rag to cover his Privy Parts; being taken up, he was truſſed up behind one of his own Purſivants at Arms, named *Blanc Sanglier*, or *White Bore*; His Head and Arms hanging on one ſide of the Horſe, his Legs on the other, and, in that indecent manner, was brought to the *Grey Fryars* Church in *Leiceſter*, and there, for ſome time lay a miſerable Spectacle, till the Fryars, out of Charity, gave him Burial. Afterwards King *Henry* ſet a Tomb over the place where he was inter'd, with a Picture in Alablaſter upon it, repreſenting his Perſon; which, at the Diſſolution of the Manaſtery, was utterly defac'd; ſince when, his Grave, overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone Coffin wherein his Corpſe was laid, is now made a drinking Trough for Horſes at the *White Horſe* Inn in *Leiceſter*, and is the only Monument there of this Monarch's Greatneſs.

The Life and Reign of HENRY *the Seventh.*

A. D. 1485. HENRY, Earl of *Richmond*, born in *Pembroke* Caſtle, was Son to *Edmund*, Earl of *Richmond*, by his Wife *Margaret*, ſole Daughter of *John*, Duke of *Somerſet*; which *John* was Son of *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, by his third Wife *Catherine Swinford*, and by this deſcent Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; who having won the Battle of *Boſworth* againſt King *Richard*, was, by pub-

lick



HENRY VII

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lick Acclamations ſaluted King of *England* on the 22d of *Auguſt* 1485, and this was his firſt Title. Now to take away the root of growing danger, before he removed from *Leiceſter*, he ſent Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Caſtle of *Sherifhaton*, in the County of *York*, for *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, being then about fifteen Years of Age, whom King *Richard* had kept a Priſoner all his time, and ſent him to the *Tower* of *London*, to be kept in ſafe Cuſtody. In the ſame Caſtle King *Richard* had alſo left the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, whom now King *Henry* commands to be honourably attended, brought up to *London*, and delivered to the Queen her Mother. Having given theſe Orders he began his Journey to *London*, and at his approach to the City, was met at *Shoreditch* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and in great ſtate brought to St. *Paul*'s Church, where he offered three Standards, and after Prayers went to the Biſhop's Palace, where he reſided ſome time, and there adviſing with his Council, appointed a Day for ſolemnizing his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*: Before which time notwithſtanding, he went by Water to *Weſtminſter*, and there was ſolemnly Anointed, and Crowned King of *England*, by the name of *Henry* the Seventh, on the 30th of *October* 1485, and this was his ſecond Title. A. D. 1485. *King Henry's Coronation*

On the 17th of *November* following, he called a Parliament, where two Objections were ſtarted, one concerning the Burgeſſes and Knights of Shires, who, by a Parliament in King *Richard*'s time, ſtood attainted ſtill; to remedy which, an Act was paſſed for their Reſtauration, and then they were admited into the Houſe. The other concerning the King himſelf, who had been likewiſe attainted by King *Richard*, and tho' all the Judges reſolved it, That the Poſſeſſion of the Crown takes away all Defects, yet for Honour ſake, all the Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. Theſe Preliminaries being adjuſted, the Parliament proceeded to the Attainder of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who afterwards were pardoned by King *Henry*, and reſtored to their Eſtates; and then he put out a Proclamation, that whoſoever would ſubmit, and take the Oath of Allegiance, ſhould have Indemnity, upon which many came out of Sanctuary, and were received to Mercy. After puniſhing his Enemies, he begins to reward his Friends, and firſt created his Uncle *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembrook*, Duke of *Bedford*:

A. D. 1485. *ford: Thomas*, Lord *Stanley*, he created Earl of *Derby*. The Lord *Chandow* of *Brittany*, his ſpecial Friend, he made Earl of *Bath*. Sir *Giles Dawbeny* was made Lord *Dawbeny*, Sir *Robert Willoughby* was made Lord *Brook*, and *Edward Stafford*, eldeſt Son to *Henry*, late Duke of *Buckingham*, he reſtored to his Honours and Eſtate. Beſides, in this Parliament an Act paſſed for ſettling the Crown upon the Perſon of King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his Body, ſucceſſively for ever. The next thing he did was to redeem the Marquis of *Dorſet* and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he left Hoſtages in *France*, for the payment of Money, and called Home *Morton*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox*, making *Morton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Biſhop of *Exeter*. Now in performance of his Oath, to pleaſe his Subjects, and make the Crown ſit eaſy upon his Head, on the 18th of *January* he married the Lady *Elizabeth*, which gave him a third Title; and indeed this conjunction made the Title ſo indiſſolvable, that it has never been queſtioned ſince.

King Henry *marries the Lady* Elizabeth

Now whether King *Henry* doubted any ſudden attempt upon his Perſon, or whether he was minded to follow the mode of *France*, he appointed a Band of tall perſonable Men to attend him, which were called the *Yeomen of the King's Guard*; which no King before, and all the Kings and Queens ſince, have kept under that denomination. Much about the ſame time happen'd a ſtrange Diſeaſe in *England*, called the *Sweating Sickneſs*, which raged ſo vehemently, that in a ſhort time it took away many Thouſands of People; particularly in *London*, two Mayors and ſix Aldermen dyed in eight Days; but tho' it was violent it laſted not long; for begining about the Twenty firſt of *September*, it ceaſed before the end of *October* following. Now all things being reduc'd to a good order in the South, the King took a Progreſs into the North, to ſhew himſelf where he had not been; and coming to *York*, was acquainted that the Lord *Lovel*, with an Army, was coming to ſurprize that City. This put the King into great perplexity, for he had neither an Army ready, nor, if he could raiſe one, had he any Arms or Ammunition for them: However, in this ſtreight he made the beſt ſhift he could, and ſent out the Duke of *Bedford* with 3000 raw Men, againſt him, but very ill Arm'd, and worſe Diſciplin'd: Who being advanc'd near the Rebel's Camp, made Proclamation, that all who would lay down their Arms

Lord Lovel's *Rebellion.*

Arms, and ſubmit, ſhould be pardoned; which prevail'd ſo far, that the Lord *Lovel* ſtole away by Night, fled into *Lancaſter*, and lurk'd at Sir *Thomas Broughton's*, a Man of Name in thoſe Parts. *Humphry Stafford* took Sanctuary in a Village call'd *Culnham*, two Miles from *Abington*; but the Juſtices of the *King's Bench*, judging the Sanctuary to be no Protection for Traytors, he was taken from thence by force, convey'd to the *Tower*, and afterwards hang'd at *Tyborn*; but his Brother *Thomas* was pardoned, becauſe 'twas thought he was drawn in by his Brother *Humphry*, and ſo this Storm was utterly diſpers'd. A. D. 1486.

At this time a great Work, no leſs than the Overthrow of the Government, was attempted by a very inconſiderable Tool, one *Richard Simond*, a Prieſt of mean Birth, but who had a ſhare of Learning. He had a Scholar of baſer Birth, the Son of a Shoe-maker, ſome ſay, a Baker, call'd *Lambert Simnel*, but of a pregnant Wit, and a comely Perſon: Him he gives out to be *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, lately eſcap'd out of Priſon, both of them being of like Years and Stature: With this Scholar of his the Prieſt ſails into *Ireland*, and gives ſuch a fair colour and gloſs to his pretences, that not only the Lord *Thomas Fitz Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*, but many others of the Nobility, credited his Story; and thoſe eſpecially that had a kindneſs for the Houſe of *York*, were ready to ſide with him, and already ſaluted the young *Simnel* as King; and to give ſome kind of reputation to the Impoſture, they ſent into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret*, Siſter to the late King *Edward*, requiring aid and aſſiſtance from her: Who, as a *Yorkiſt*, and an Enemy to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, tho' ſhe knew it to be a Cheat, promiſed them her Aſſiſtance. King *Henry* adviſing with his Council how to check this Idle Rumour, it was concluded a Proclamation of Pardon ſhould be iſſued out to all that would ſubmit, and that the true Earl of *Warwick* ſhould be ſhew'd thro' the Streets of *London*; which being done, tho' it ſatisfy'd all that were peaceably inclin'd, yet others ſaid it was not the true Earl of *Warwick*, but a Trick in the King to delude the People. *The Impoſtor* Simnel.

While this Affair *Pro* and *Con* took up the whole diſcourſe, Queen *Elizabeth*, Widow of King *Edward* the Fourth, and Mother to the preſent Queen, was adjudg'd to have forfeited all her Lands, Goods and Poſſeſſions, and was confin'd for Life to the Abbey of *Bermondſey* in *Queen* Elizabeth *confin'd.*

A. D. 1486.

Southwark, where, in great Sorrow, Trouble and Affliction, in a few Years afterward she dy'd. Various conjectures have been made, what cause should make her be treated with so much Severity. Some said it was for delivering up her self, and all her Children, into the hands of King *Richard*; but that had been manifest injustice, to punish her for doing that out of Fear, which otherwise she must have been compelled to have done by Force. Others said it was for assisting *Simnel* underhand; but that is so unlikely, that she should assist a Counterfeit against her own Son-in-law, that it was but wasting Words to confute so plain a contradiction. In short, the cause was a secret of State, and so it is like to continue.

Simnel, with great Applause, acted the Impostor in *Ireland*, and it was resolv'd by the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Widow to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he, and the Lord *Lovel*, with Two thousand *Germans*, that by her help he had raised there, under the Command of one *Martin Swart*, should sail into *Ireland*, and there attend the Counterfeit *Warwick*, and bring him into *England*; but withal, it was concluded, if the Enterprize took effect, *Simnel* should be deposed, and the true *Warwick* delivered out of Prison and Crown'd King. With these Forces the Earl of *Lincoln* sailed into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin* caused young *Lambert* to be proclaim'd and crown'd King of *England*, and then with a Company of beggarly unarm'd *Irish* they sail'd into *England*, under the Conduct of *Thomas Gerardine*, Earl of *Kildare*, and landed at a Place called the *Pile of Fowdray* in *Lancashire*, in hopes of Sir *Thomas Broughton*'s assistance. King *Henry* having notice of their landing, and marching forward with a stout Army, met them at a Village call'd *Stoke*, near *Newark upon Trent*. The next Day they join'd Battle, when after a Fight of three Hours, tho' the *Germans*, and their Captain *Swart*, behav'd themselves valiantly, yet their *Irish*, being, in a manner, but naked Men, were at last overthrown, 4000 slain, and the rest put to flight, but not one of their Captains; for the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord *Gerardine*, were all found dead in the places they stood when living, and tho' they lost the Day, won the Reputation of stout and brave Men. This Battle was fought upon a *Saturday*, (commonly observ'd to be fortunate to King *Henry*)

Simnel *Proclaim'd King.*

Henry) being the 16th day of *June*, in the 2d Year of his Reign. Young *Lambert*, and his Maſter *Simond*, the Prieſt, were both taken Priſoners, and had their lives given them; *Lambert*, becauſe he was but a Child, and therefore might eaſily be impoſed upon, *Simond*, becauſe he was a Prieſt. *Lambert* was taken into the King's Kitchin to turn the Spit, and was afterwards made one of the King's Falconers. The Prieſt was commited to Priſon, and never after heard of. A. D. 1486.

In the begining of his Reign, King *Henry* having been in *Yorkſhire*, went to *Newcaſtle upon Tine*, and from thence ſent Ambaſſadors into *Scotland*, to conclude a Peace with *James*, King of *Scots*. A Peace could not be obtained, the People being unwilling to it; but a Truce was concluded for ſeven Years, with a promiſe from the King, that it ſhould be renewed before the expiration of the Term prefix'd.

At this time Ambaſſadors came from *France*, acquainting the King, that their Maſter was engag'd in a War with the Duke of *Brittany*; and therefore deſired, that from the ancient Friendſhip that had been between them, he would either aſſiſt him, or ſtand Neuter. King *Henry* anſwer'd, That he reſpected them both as Friends to the Crown of *England*, and therefore would do his utmoſt to procure a Peace between them, and to that end, as ſoon as the *French* Ambaſſadors were return'd, he ſent *Chriſtopher Urſwick*, one of his Chaplains, over into *France*, ordering him firſt to go to the *French* Court, and afterward to the Duke of *Brittany*, to mediate a Peace between them: In which time King *Henry* cauſed his Wife, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to be crown'd Queen, with the uſual ſolemnities, deliver'd the Lord *Thomas*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, out of the *Tower*, and received him into favour. *Urſwick* travell'd between the two Princes to procure a Peace, both which ſeem'd to be inclin'd to it, but notwithſtanding made preparations for War, for Terms of Accommodation were accepted by neither of the Antagoniſts. The Lord *Woodvile* deſired the King's leave to go over with Forces to aſſiſt the Duke of *Brittany*, which, tho' the King denied, yet he went over with 400, and join'd with the *Britons* againſt the *French*, which the *French* King took very ill from King *Henry*; but upon better information, that it was againſt the King's conſent, he ſeem'd to be ſatisfy'd, and a Peace was concluded between *England* and *France*, to continue for the ſpace of a Year; but in concluſion, 1487. *Wars between* France *and* Brittany.

A. D. 1487. King *Henry* finding that the *French* King did not deal uprightly with him, he call'd a Parliament, and advising with them, it was agreed, That the Duke of *Brittany* ſhould be aſſiſted by the *Engliſh*, and accordingly gave great Sums of Money towards it. With this Reſolution of the Parliament King *Henry* acquaints the *French* King, in hopes it would incline him to a Peace; but the King of *France* little regarding it, proceeds in open Hoſtilities againſt the *Britons*; and coming to a Battle near the Town of St. *Albin*, the Victory fell to the *French*, wherein all the *Engliſh* were ſlain, with the Lord *Woodvile* himſelf, and 6000 *Britons*. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange*, who ſided with the *Britons*, were taken Priſoners; and the *French* loſt 1200 Men, with that valiant Commander, Captain *James Galeot*.

The Britons *defeated.*

The News of this Defeat arriving in *England*, King *Henry* ſends over an Army under the conduct of the Lord *Brook*, Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *Ralph Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, and Sir *Edmund Cornwal*, conſiſting of 8000 Men, to aid the Duke of *Brittany* againſt the *French*; but while they were preparing to attack the *French*, the Duke of *Brittany* dyeth, leaving, in effect, one only Daughter; ſo that the *Britons* falling into civil diſcords, the *Engliſh* returned home, and the *French* geting the advantage of the *Britons*, and the *French* King marrying the Lady *Anne*, ſole Daughter to the King of *Brittain*, he annexed that Dutchy to the Crown of *France*.

In the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, a Subſidy was granted for equiping an Army in *Brittany*, which Tax the greateſt part of *Yorkſhire*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, refuſed to pay, of which the Collectors complaining to *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, Preſident of the North, he ſignifies their denial to the King, who commands him to levy it by diſtreſs, or otherwiſe, without ſparing any. The Multitude hearing of this Order, at the inſtance of an inconſiderable Fellow, call'd *John a Chambers*, violently ſet upon the Earl as principal Author of the Tax, and cruelly murder'd him, and many of his Servants. To juſtify one ill act with another, they alſo aſſembled a great number of the Seditious Mobile, under the leading of Sir *John Egremond*, a Factious Knight, and an Enemy to the Government, who declared they would make War upon the King in defence

The Rabble Rebel.

fence of their Liberties. In this insolent manner they continued while no opposition was made; but when *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey*, appear'd against them with an Army, tho' they made a kind of Runing Fight for some time, they were soon routed. *John a Chambers* was taken and executed in great state at *York*, being hang'd upon a high Gibbet, set in the midst of a square Gallows much lower, whereon the chiefest of his Accomplices were hang'd about him; but the Innocent People, that were meerly deluded into Rebellion by the Artifices of their Leaders were generally pardoned. Sir *John Egremond* fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret*, Dutchess of *Burgundy*, which was then the place of Sanctuary for all King *Henry*'s Enemies. The Broil being ended, the King appointed the Earl of *Surrey* his Lieutenant in the North, and ordered Sir *Richard Tunstal* to collect the Subsidy, whereof not one Penny was abated. A. D. 1487.

About the same time that the King lost so good a Servant as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he also lost a faithful Friend and Ally of *James* the Third, King of the *Scots*, by a miserable disaster. This unfortunate Prince being engag'd in a War against a Discontented Faction among his Nobility and People, who had surpriz'd the Person of the Prince, his Son, and threatned to deliver up the Kingdom to the King of *England*; he finding himself too weak to cope with them, solliciting the Pope, and several Kings, to compound the Differences between him and his Subjects, alledging, That it was the common cause of all Princes, for if Subjects were allow'd to give Laws to their Soveraigns, no Kings were safe in their own Dominions. But his Subjects that had thrown off all obligations of Obedience, and the lesser Tyes of Honour, answer'd, That they would hearken to no Terms of Peace, till the King had resign'd his Crown. Whereupon all Proposals of Accommodation proving ineffectual, it came to a Battle at *Bannocke Bourn* near *Strivelling*, in which the King precipitating the Onset before the whole number of his Troops were come up to him, his Forces were routed, and himself kill'd in the pursuit. *A Civil War in Scotland.*

This Year King *Henry*, besides the Tax, borrowed of every Alderman of *London* Two hundred Pounds, and of the Chamber 9080 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* which was thankfully paid again at the time appointed. He had no occasion for Money when he borrow'd these Sums, and therefore 1489.

A. D. 1489.

it might be reasonably thought 'twas only a Politick design to try the Affections of his People against a time when he might stand in need of their Assistance.

Wars in Flanders.

Now a War broke out between the Emperor *Frederick*, and some of the Towns in *Flanders*, especially *Gaunt* and *Bruges*. In this War, the Lord *Rerenstain*, corrupted, and 'twas thought, by the *French*, forsook the Emperor, and his Son *Maximilian* his Lord, and made himself Head of a Popular Faction, seizing upon *Ipres* and *Sluce*, and sent to the Lord *de Cordes*, Governour for the *French* King in *Picardy*, to aid him against some Towns in *Flanders*; which the Lord *de Cordes*, glad of any opportunity to get footing into *Flanders*, was easily invited to: But King *Henry*, thinking it unsafe to have the *French* so near his *English* Pale, sent over the Lord *Morley* with 1000 Men to join with the Lord *Dawbeny*, then Deputy of *Calais*, to oppose them; and amongst other services perform'd by them this was the chief, that the Lord *Dawbeny*, with the Lord *Morley*, Sir *James Tyrrel*, Commander of *Guisnes*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humphry Talbot*, Marshal of *Calais*, and others, to the number of 2000, issued secretly in the Night out of *Calais*, and came to *Newport*, and from thence to *Dixmude*, where the Lord *Dawbeny* commanded all the Troopers to send back their Horses; which the Lord *Morley* only refusing to do, was the cause that he only of all the Captains was kill'd with a Gun; for the rest after discharging their Arrows, fell upon the ground, by which means the Enemy's Guns over shot them, killing only the Lord *Morley*. Here they kill'd of the Enemy about 8000, but of the *English* scarce 100 fell; which Victory so enrich'd the *English*, that they who went out in Cloth, came home in Silk, and they that march'd out a Foot, return'd on Horseback. The Lord *de Cordes* lying at *Ipres* with 20000 Men, and meditating revenge, besieg'd the Town of *Newport*, and assaulted it with so much fury, that one day his Men enter'd, and set up his Colours in a Tower in the Town; when suddenly a Vessel arriving, with only 80 fresh *English* Archers, so terrify'd them, thinking their numbers had been far greater, that the *French* were glad to retire, and leave their Colours behind them. The Night following, the Lord *de Cordes*, who was very ambitious of taking *Calais*, and us'd to say, *He would be content to lye seven years in Hell, if he could put the* French *into possession of* Calais, broke up his Siege, and return'd to *Helden* with as much shame, as the *English* return'd to *Calais* with Honour.

Not

A. D. 1490.

Not long before this time *Francis*, Duke of *Brittany*, dyed, and left only one Daughter the Lady *Anne*, who had been contracted to *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, in so solemn a manner, that she taking upon her to be Bride, and being laid in her Bed, was contented to let *Maximilian*'s Ambassador put his naked Leg within the Bed, accounting that Ceremony to amount to a Consummation of the Marriage. The *French* King had been also contracted to the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to *Maximilian*, and to that end had received her; yet, notwithstanding all these solemn Formalities, out of earnest desire to unite the Dutchy of *Brittany* to the Crown of *France*, he disannull'd both the Contracts, and to the end he might do it without incuring the displeasure of the King of *England*, he sent Ambassadors to King *Henry*, partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King *Henry*'s Consent to make void the Contract: To which, though *Henry* had an aversion, yet he consented to a Treaty of Peace, and sent Ambassadors to him for that purpose. But before the Terms of Peace could be agreed on, the *French* King had got into his Possession the Lady *Anne* of *Brittany*, and solemnly married her: Which indirect Proceedings so irritated King *Henry*, that he immediately call'd a Parliament, and shewed them what just occasions were given him of making War upon *France*, desiring their assistance to defray the charges of that Expedition, which was as chearfully granted as desired, and great Sums of Money were soon collected for it. In the Year 1491. and in the 6th Year of this King's Reign, the King of *Spain* had taken the City and Country of *Granada*, from the *Moors*, which they had been possess'd of above Seven hundred Years, for which Service he gain'd the Title of the Most Catholick King.

Two mock Marriages

Now *Maximilian*'s Daughter being return'd Home from *France*, he was so enrag'd at the Affront, that he sent Ambassadors to King *Henry*, desiring his assistance in making War upon the *French* King: Toward which he promis'd to pay 10000 Soldiers for two Years, which King *Henry* consented to, and having rais'd a powerful Army, sailed to *Calais* upon the 6th Day of *October*; but sending his Almoner *Christopher Urswick* and Sir *John Resby*, to *Maximilian*, to demand the Forces he had promised, they found him wholly unprovided both of Men and Money, which put King *Henry* into

King Henry's expedition into France. 1491.

A. D. 1491. great Perplexities; for, unwilling to return without doing any thing, leſt his Subjects ſhould think this War was but a pretence to get Money from them, he at length laid Siege to *Bologne*, where he was ſecretly dealt withal by the Lord *de Cordes* on behalf of the King of *France*, to accept theſe Conditions of Peace, or rather, Bargain or Sale, *viz.* That King *Henry*, without quiting his Claim to *France*, ſhould, in conſideration of a Peace to continue for both the Kings Lives, receive in hand of *Charles*, the *French* King, for Expences in that War, 745000 Ducats, which in *Engliſh* Money amounts to 186250 *l.* and 25000 Crowns a Year, towards the Charges he had been at in aiding the *Britons*, which was duly paid all the King's Reign, and afterwards to King *Henry*, his Son and Succeſſor, longer than it could have continu'd by Right upon any computation of Charges. There was alſo aſſign'd by the *French* King upon all King *Henry*'s Principal Officers, great Penſions, and rich Preſents, which, whether the King permited, to ſave his own Purſe from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of an Affair, that was diſpleaſing to his People, was variouſly interpreted; for certainly the King had no great fancy to be thought the Author of this Peace, and therefore he ſo contrived it, that a little before the Peace was concluded, his Officers, under their hands ſhould petition him, as if it were only their Act, and he might produce it upon occaſion in his own Juſtification, to allay the diſcontents of his Subjects, who had ſold and mortgaged their Eſtates upon the hopes of the War; tho' ſome could not forbear to ſay that the King ſpared not to diſplume his Nobility and People, to feather his own Wings. And ſome made themſelves merry with what the King ſaid in Parliament, That after the War was begun, he did not queſtion but to make it pay it ſelf; ſaying, In this Tranſaction, he had been punctual to his word. After the concluſion of the Peace, he went to *Calais*, where he ſtay'd ſome time, and on the 17th of *December* following came to *Weſtminſter*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*. Soon after his return, he ſent the Order of the Garter to *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*, Eldeſt Son to *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*. *Chriſtopher Urſwick*, the King's Almoner, was employ'd in this Ceremony, which, as ſoon as *Alphonſo* had received, he put on his Robes, before a great Aſſembly, to ſhew what Favour he was in with the King of *England*, and rewarded *Urſwick*, as was intended, to make up his loſſes in other

His Kingcraft.

lean

lean Employments. In this Year was born *Henry*, Duke of *York*, after King of *England*, by the name of *Henry* the VIIIth. A. D. 1492.

There had been already ſome diſturbance in the Kingdom by a Conterfeit *Warwick*, which being detected, another was ſet on foot by the Arts of the Lady *Margaret*, who pretended to be *Richard*, the youngeſt Son of King *Edward* the Fourth. The Dutcheſs had formerly cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that *Richard*, the younger Son of King *Henry*, was not murdered, but ſpared out of Compaſſion, and ſent away ſecretly to ſeek his Fortune; and having after a long enquiry procured a fit Boy to perſonate a Prince, the Dutcheſs keeps him ſecretly a great while with her, and truly inſtructed him in all things relating to his Birth, and Eſcape from the Murderers, that even thoſe that had ſeen and known the young Prince when he was alive, could hardly preceive but it was the ſame. 'Tis true, tho' he was not King *Edward*'s Son, yet he was his Godſon, and might peradventure have in him ſome of the baſe Blood of the Houſe of *York*. This was *Perkin Warbeck*, who, when he had ſo perfectly learned his Leſſon, that he was thought fit to come upon the Stage, the Dutcheſs ſent him into *Portugal*, that coming from a ſtrange Country, it might be thought he had been driven to wander from one Place to another for the Preſervation of his Life; at leaſt, that ſhe, of all others, might not be ſuſpected to have a hand in this Contrivance. From *Portugal* ſhe directed his courſe into *Ireland*, where they had great eſteem for all the Branches of the Houſe of *York*, and where *Perkin* under that denomination had an honourable Entertainment. He had not been long in *Ireland*, before the *French* King ſent thither for him; for being then at variance with King *Henry*, he thought *Perkin* might ſerve his purpoſe, as a Pretender to the Crown againſt King *Henry*. *Perkin* arriving at *Paris*, was entertained in a Princely manner, and to do him great Honour, had a Guard appointed to attend his Perſon, over which the Lord *Congreſhall* commanded. He had not been long at *Paris*, but Sir *George Nevil*, Sir *John Taylor*, *Richard Robinſon*, and about a hundred other *Engliſh*, among the reſt one *Stephen Fryon*, that had been King *Henry*'s Secretary for the *French* Tongue, but upon ſome diſcontent, fled, and became a principal Engine in all *Perkin*'s Proceedings. This Magnificence of *Perkin* laſted a while in the *French* Court, and he was treated by the King

Another Counterfeit called Perkin Warbeck.

He is ſent for to Paris

and

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Conſpiracy. Amongſt whom he accus'd Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold. A. D. 1493.

At the naming of this Lord, the King was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, and ſtood in admiration to hear that a Man that had done him ſuch great Service, as to interpoſe his Perſon againſt King *Richard*'s fury at *Boſworth* to ſave his Life, and that had ſet the Crown upon his Head, ſhould now deſert him: A Man, that by the King's Favour, enjoy'd ſo fair a Fortune, and as Chamberlain, had the Cuſtody of the King's Perſon. That this Man, no way diſobliged or ſlighted, ſhould be in the Confederacy, was almoſt impoſſible to believe; but *Clifford* juſtifying his Charge, the King cauſed him to be diſplaced, and confined him to his own Chamber in the *Square Tower*, where he lay before. The next day he was examined by the Lords of the Council, and thinking to leſſen his fault by Confeſſion, made it great enough for his Condemnation; for being brought to Tryal about ſix weeks after, he was condemned to dye, and was beheaded upon *Tower Hill* the 16th of *February* following. The cauſe of this Gentleman's defection from the King was ſaid to be thus, that in diſcourſes between him and Sir *Robert Clifford*, he ſaid, That if he was ſure that that Young Man was King *Edward*'s Son, he would not draw his Sword againſt him; which words ſeem conditional, but the Judges ſaid *If*'s and *And*'s might not be allowed to qualify Treaſonable words; for by that Rule every man might ſhew his Malice, and yet cover himſelf from the danger that attended them; for if *Stanley* was of Opinion, that a Son of King *Edward* had ſtill a better Right to the Crown than the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, it was to teach all *England* to ſay the like, which was too tender a point to be vulgarly debated, and touched King *Henry* to the Quick; beſides, his deſiring to be made Earl of *Cheſter*, an Honour that belonged peculiarly to the Royal Family, gave diſtaſte, and put the King in mind, tho' *Stanley* came in at *Boſworth* Field time enough to ſave his life, yet he ſtaid long enough to put his Life in danger, which weighed with his Merit, made the Ballance equal.

Sir William Stanley *accuſed and convicted.* 1494.

1495.

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Giles, Lord *Dawbeny*, a Man of great Abilities, ſucceeded *Stanley* in the Office of Lord Chamberlain, and upon this great Man's death, ſwarms of Libels and bitter Invectives againſt the King were publiſhed, and diſpers'd through the whole Kingdom; for which five mean Perſons were taken up and executed. However, theſe

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Troubles

A. D. 1495. Troubles did not make the King neglect the Affairs of *Ireland*, the Soil where these Mushrooms and Upstart Weeds had growth and nourishment, and therefore he sent the Prior of *Lanthony* to be Chancellor of that Kingdom, and Sir *Edward Poynings* with a Martial Commission, and a Civil Authority as his Lieutenant; but the *Wild* Irish flying to the Woods and Bogs, made it impossible to do any considerable Service against them: And therefore to make amends for this default, he called a Parliament, wherein was made that memorable Act, which to this day is called *Poynings Law*, by which all the Statutes of *England* were made to be of force in *Ireland*. Now began to be discovered that Covetous humour in the King, that will be a stain upon his Government to Perpetuity; for he employ'd all indirect courses, by Forfeitures upon Penal Laws, and other little Artifices, to squeeze Money out of his Subjects Pockets; and besides the Benevolence in Parliament, the Peace-money from *France*, and the Confiscation of the Lord Chamberlain's Estate, he extorted from Sir *William Capel*, Alderman of *London*, upon several Penal Statutes 1600 Pounds.

Penal Laws executed.

In this time *Perkin* having raked together a power of Idle Extravagants, the very scum and dregs of the People, took to Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where, tho' he found no encouragement, yet some of his Soldiers would go ashoar, of whom a Hundred and sixty being taken Prisoners, were carried to *London*, rail'd in Ropes like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon their Arraignment confessing their Offences, were executed, some in *London*, and others in Sea-port Towns. *Perkin* finding no better entertainment in *Kent*, he sailed from thence into *Ireland*; but finding them to be a naked unarmed People, that could contribute nothing to his Assistance, he sail'd into *Scotland*, where he so effectually prevail'd with the King of *Scots*, that he received him in great state, caused him to be called the Duke of *York*; and to perswade the World that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in Marriage the Lady *Catherine Gourdon*, Daughter to *Alexander*, Earl of *Huntley*, his near Kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkin*'s Quarrel, with a great Army invaded *England*, making Proclamation, that *whosoever would come in and assist the True Duke of* York *should be spar'd*; but none obeying his Summons, and the whole Country of *Northumberland* being, in a manner, wasted, *Perkin* seem'd to be concern'd, saying,

Perkin *sails from* Ireland *into* Scotland. 1496.

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It griev'd him to the Heart, to see such havock made of his People: to which The King answered, *Alas, you take care for them, which by any thing that yet appears are none of yours.* King *Henry*, greatly incensed at this bold Attempt of the King of *Scots*, called a Parliament, acquainting them, That he was under a necessity of making War upon the *Scots*, and requiring a supply, had a Subsidy of 120000 Pounds readily granted for this Service; and then in haste an Army is provided, and sent into *Scotland* under the Conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny*; but before he arriv'd there, he was call'd back to appease a Commotion began in *Cornwal* about Payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which, tho' it was not great, they grudg'd to pay it. The Ring-leaders in this Insurrection were *Thomas Flammock*, a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joseph*, a Smith, who laying the blame of this Taxation upon *John Morton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynald Bray*, as being chief of the King's Council, perswaded the People to take up Arms, and having mustered together an Army they went to *Taunton*, where they kill'd the Provost *Perkin*, one of the Commissioners of the Subsidy, and thence they marched to *Wells*, where the Lord *Audley*, with whom their Leader had a former Correspondence, a Noble man of an Ancient Family, but given to Popularity and Aspiring, to his own Ruin, came in to them, and with great Acclamations was made General of the Rabble, being not a little puff'd up with Pride that they were commanded by a Peer of *England*. From *Wells* he conducted them to *Salisbury*, from thence to *Winchester*, and thence the Head strong foolish People, who in these Enterprizes generally lead their Leaders, desiring to march into *Kent*, fancying that there they should encrease their Numbers, tho' contrary to all reason, considering how great a proof the *Kentish* Men had given of their Loyalty to the King against *Perkin*; but the ungovernable Mob had heard *Flammock* say, That they were an unconquer'd and free People, and upon these vain Suggestions they expected great Matters from them, in a Cause, which they conceited, was the Liberty of the Subject: But when they arrived in *Kent*, they found that Country so well settled by the Lord *Abergavenny*, Earl of *Kent*, and the Lord *Cobham*, that neither one Gentleman or Yeoman would joyn with them, which so dismay'd and terrify'd many of the foolish Mob, that, in great Numbers, they deserted their Confederates,

A. D. 1496.

1497.

An Insurrection in Cornwal.

A. D. 1497. federates, and returned to their own Habitations; only the hardier ſort, and thoſe that thought themſelves too far engaged to expect Indemnity, marched to *Black Heath*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*, threatning either to fight the King, for now their Pride look'd beyond *Morton* and *Bray*, or to take *London* in his ſight, and plunder it.

They come to Black Heath.

When firſt the King heard of this *Corniſh* Commotion, and that the cauſe of it was the Subſidy, it gave him much diſquiet, not for it ſelf, but in reſpect of other concuring dangers, which threaten'd him at the ſame inſtant: For he was under apprehenſions that a War from *Scotland*, a Rebellion from *Cornwal*, and the Conſpiracies of *Perkin* and his Accomplices, would come upon him all together, and he knowing how dangerous it was to cope with the Arms of a Foreigner, the Diſcontents of his Subjects, and the Title of a Pretender in conjunction, made the beſt Proviſion he could againſt them, and as ſoon as the Parliament were riſen, ſent an Army againſt the King of *Scots*; and knowing the Inſurrections of ſeditious People are commonly more furious in their beginings, he ſuffered them to tire and harraſs themſelves with long marches: but hearing they were advanced and encamped on *Black Heath*, he thought himſelf obliged to ſhew, that his hitherto protracting the Time, was not an effect of his Coldneſs but his Wiſdom, in chuſing a fit time to aſſault them. In the mean time the *Londoners* were under dreadful Apprehenſions of Ruin, and like diſtracted People run to and fro, ſome to the Walls, others to the Water-ſide, to hear News, and continually alarm'd themſelves with dangers grounded upon uncertain Rumours; but when they underſtood that the King had ſo contrived the matter, that the Rebels muſt win three Battles before they could approach the City, and that he had put his own Perſon between the Rebels and the Citizens, and that the King's great care was ſo to encloſe them, that they might not eſcape, rather than making any doubt to overcome them, they grew quiet, and out of fear, eſpecially upon the confidence they repoſed in the King's three chief Commanders, *Oxford*, *Eſſex* and *Dawbeny*, who were all Perſons of honourable Characters, highly eſteemed, and well beloved among the People: For *Jaſper*, Duke of *Bedford*, whom the King chiefly truſted in military Affairs was ſick, and dyed ſoon after. On *Saturday* the 20th of *June*, the Earl of *Dawbeny*, ſet upon the Rebels early

The King's Policy.

early in the morning, and first won the Bridge at *Deptford Strand*, tho' galiantly defended by the Enemy's Archers, whose Arrows were said to be a yard long; yet notwithstanding the Earl's coming in on the other side, they were soon overcome, in which Engagement above 2000 of the *Cornish* Men were killed, and many taken Prisoners; which were all pardoned except their three Leaders; for the Lord *Audley* was drawn to *Tower Hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms painted upon Paper, revers'd and torn, and there on the 24th of *June* was beheaded. *Thomas Flammock* and *Michael Joseph*, the Smith, were Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, and their Heads and Quarters set up in *London*, and other places. Of the King's Army were not kill'd above 300. It is very remarkable how *Joseph*, the Blacksmith, cheer'd up himself at his Execution, saying, He hop'd by this Exploit to make his Memory immortal; so dear it is even to vulgar Minds to perpetuate their Names, tho' by infamous Actions; and what satisfacton will it then be to those, that in the service of God and their Country dye a glorious death?

A. D. 1496. *The* Cornish *Men defeated.*

While the *Cornish* Men were marching to *London*, the King of *Scots* with an Army invaded the Frontiers of *England* in the North, and in Person besieged the Castle of *Norham*, belonging to *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*, who, suspecting his Intentions, had fortify'd it strongly, furnished it with Provisions, put a great number of Soldiers in it, expecting rather a brisk Assault than a long Siege, and having caused the Country People to withdraw their Effects, sent Post to the Earl of *Surrey*, who was then in *Yorkshire*, to come and relieve the Castle; but as soon as the *Scotch* King heard of his approach with an Army, he returned into *Scotland*. The Earl finding the Castle freed, and the Enemy retired, he pursued them into *Scotland*, in hopes to have given them Battle; but not being able to overtake them, he sat down before the Castle of *Aton*, one of the strongest places between *Berwick* and *Edinborough*, and took it in a short time. Soon after the *Scotch* King retiring further into his own Country, and the Weather proving unseasonable, the Earl returned into *England*: So that this Expedition on both sides, was, in effect, but one Castle taken, and another besieged, and nothing else performed answerable to the number of their Forces, the heat of the Quarrel, or the Greatness of the Expectation.

An Expedition into Scotland.

During

A. D. 1497.

During theſe Foreign and Domeſtick Troubles, *Peter Hialas*, a Man of great Wiſdom, and, at the rate as Learning went in thoſe Days, not unlearned, was ſent from *Ferdinando*, and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, to King *Henry*, to treat of a Marriage between *Catherine*, their ſecond Daughter, and Prince *Arthur*, and to procure a Peace between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*: Who, upon a Journey into *Scotland*, finding that King inclinable to his Propoſitions, found at his return into *England*, the King, who was never averſe to Peace upon Honourable Terms, no leſs willing to it; and ſo a Truce was concluded for certain years, upon condition that *Perkin Warbeck* ſhould be put out of the *Scotch* Dominions. In the eleventh Year of this Reign, *Cicely*, Dutcheſs of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, dyed at her Caſtle of *Berkamſted*, being very old, who had lived to ſee three Princes born of her Body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at *Fotheringay*, by her Husband.

The Peace being concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to leave the *Scotiſh* Territories, who, with his Wife and Family, ſailed into *Ireland*, where, underſtanding that the *Corniſh* Men were ready to begin new Commotions, he laid hold on that occaſion, and with four Ships, and about Sixſcore Men ſailed into *Cornwal*, landed there in *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*, where, with fair words, and large promiſes, he ſo far prevailed with the People, that he got together about Three thouſand Men that eſpouſed his Quarrel, then made Proclamation in the name of King *Richard* the Fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, and by the advice of his three Counſellors, *John Heron*, a Bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Shelton*, a Taylor, and *John Aſtly*, a Scrivener, reſolv'd firſt to attempt the gaining of *Exeter*, which, with great violence, he aſſaulted, and the Townſmen with as much Bravery defended; whereof when the King had notice, he ſent the Lord *Dawbeny* to their relief; but before his coming the Lord *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the valiant Lord *William*, his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Hulford*, Sir *John Halewell*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgcomb*, *William St-Maur*, with others, came to their aſſiſtance, upon whoſe approach *Perkin* left the Siege, and retir'd to *Taunton*, where he muſtered his Men, as tho' he meant to prepare to fight;

Perkin *beſieges* Exeter.

but

but finding his Number to be much diminiſhed, for of 6000 which he had at *Exeter*, many had deſerted him when they ſaw no Men of Quality or Conſideration join with him: He, begining to ſuſpect the ſtability of his Fortune, and hearing withal that the King, with an Army, was drawing near him, at midnight, with about Threeſcore Horſemen in his Company, departed in Poſt to *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beauly* near *Southampton*. King *Henry*, hearing that *Perkin* was fled, ſent after him to the Sea ſide, to ſtop his paſſage, and apprehend him: But the Meſſengers that were ſent, when they came to St. *Michael's Mount*, tho' they found not *Perkin*, yet they found his Wife, the Lady *Catherine Gourdon*, whom they immediately brought to the King; a beautiful young Lady, to whom, in honour of her Birth, and Commiſeration of her Beauty, the King allowed her a competent Maintenance, which ſhe enjoyed during the King's life, and many years after. King *Henry* being come to *Exeter*, ſtaid there a few days, about the Examination of the Rebellion, and Execution of the chief Offenders; of whom there being a great number, and all of them craving Pardons, the King cauſed them all to be aſſembled in St. *Peter's* Church-yard, where they all appeared bare headed in their Shirts, and Halters about their Necks. The King viewing them out of a Window made for that purpoſe, after he had pauſed a while, exhorted them to obedience; and afterwards, in hopes they would prove dutiful Subjects, pardoned them all: Whereupon they made a great ſhout, crying out, *God ſave King Henry*; tho' ſome of them afterwards, like ungrateful Wretches, fell into new Rebellions. A. D. 1497.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary, and the King having reaſon to believe himſelf in danger, as long as *Perkin* was in ſafety, he ſet a Watch about the Sanctuary to hinder him from eſcaping, by which *Perkin* was ſo reſtrained, that at laſt he ſubmited himſelf to the King's mercy. This done, King *Henry* appointed Sir *Amydas Pawlet*, and *Robert Sherborne* Dean of St. *Paul's*, to be Commiſſioners for making enquiry of the Offenders, and aſſeſſing their Fines, which they did with great Severity to ſome, with much Lenity to others, and with Juſtice and Equity to all; tho' ſome were pleas'd to ſay, they obſcur'd the King's mercy in ſparing the Blood of his Subjects, in being too ſevere upon their Eſtates by cruel Amerce- *He ſubmits to the King's mercy.* 1498.

A. D. 1498.

ments. *Perkin* was now brought to the King's Court, but not into his Preſence, tho' the King, to ſatisfy his Curioſity, ſaw him ſometimes out of a Window, or in a Paſſage. In the Court he appeared as one at liberty, but was watch'd with ſo much diligence, that it was impoſſible for him to make his eſcape. Not long after he was commanded to follow the King to *London*, where he might ſee himſelf fallen from the Perſon of a Prince, and expoſed to the Deriſion not only of the Courtiers, but alſo of the common People, who flock'd about him as he went along, ſome mocking him, ſome wondring, ſome curſing him, as the cauſe of ſo much Bloodſhed; others picking Matter out of his Countenance and Carriage to flout him, and ſcorn him, repaying the Honour he had aſſumed, with Contempt equal to his Ambition. When the King had given the Citizens this Diverſion, *Perkin* was leiſurely conveyed through the City to the *Tower* on Horſeback, and from thence back again to *Weſtminſter*, with the noiſe of a Thouſand bitter Taunts and Reproaches; and to mend the Shew, there followed him at a little diſtance, one that had been Sergeant Farrier to the King, and lately a Privy Counſellor to *Perkin* in all his Affairs. This Fellow when *Perkin* took Sanctuary wandred about in the Habit of a Hermit till he was taken. He was bound Hand and Foot upon a Horſe, and came not back with *Perkin*, but was left a Priſoner in the *Tower*, and executed a few days after. Now *Perkin* being at leiſure to give an Account of himſelf, he was ſtrictly examined, and after his Confeſſion, an Extract was made out of it, of ſuch things as were thought fit to be divulged, and then it was Printed and Publiſhed; but in this the King did himſelf but little Right, for there was only a laboured Account of *Perkin*'s Father, Mother, Grandfather, Grandmother, Unkles and Couſins, by their Names and Sirnames, but nothing to the purpoſe of any thing concerning his Deſigns, or the Practices of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* ſo much as named, whom all the World knew was the Perſon that put life and motion to the whole Affair; ſo that Men miſſing what they principally look'd for, were in more doubt than before; but the King choſe rather not to give them Satisfaction than to embroyl his Circumſtances, by kindling Coals which would not eaſily be extinguiſhed. About this time a great Fire happen'd in the Night near the King's Lodgings in

He is expoſed in London.

his

his Palace at *Sheene*, which consumed a great part of the House, and much costly Furniture; and gave the King occasion of raising from the Ground that Pile of Building which is now standing at *Richmond*. A. D. 1498.

Sebastian Gabato, a *Venetian*, living at *Bristol*, an expert and skilful Navigator, seeing the Success, and emulating the Enterprize of *Christopher Columbus*, in his Discovery of the South West Parts of the World, which he had discovered about Six Years before; being of opinion, that a discovery might be made of the North West Parts, he proposed it to King *Henry*, as a profitable Voyage, who gave him leave to Man and Victual a Ship at *Bristol* for that Expedition; with whom also were join'd three small Ships, set out by some *London* Merchants. He sail'd very far Westwards, to Sixty seven and a half Degrees of Latitude, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Saylors had not forc'd him to return. Which Voyage gave such satisfaction to the King of the reality and advantage that might be made of this design, that he granted new Commissions for a further Discovery. *The North West parts discover'd.*

In this King's 14th Year, there fell out an inconsiderable Accident, that produc'd great and happy Effects. During the Truce with *Scotland*, some young *Scotch* Gentlemen came to *Norham* to divert themselves with the People of the Town, and having little else to do, went sometimes to view the Castle, and the Garrison thinking they did it too often, suspected and quarrell'd with them as Spies, and from words falling to blows, some of the *Scotch* Men were kill'd, and the rest return'd Home. This so incens'd the King of the *Scots*, that he threatned to break the Truce, and revenge the injury done to his Subjects; which Bishop *Fox* understanding, and being troubled that the Cause of this Breach arose from his Soldiers, wrote several submissive Letters to the *Scotch* King, to beg his pardon for that Offence. The King something molify'd by his elegant Epistles, wrote to the Bishop to come to him, to put a final end to that Affair, and to treat of some other matters relating to the welfare of both Kingdoms. The Bishop having leave from King *Henry*, meets the King of *Scots* at *Melcross*, an Abbey of the *Cistercians*, where the King then made his Abode. The King first sharply reprimanded the Bishop for the Offence of his Soldiers at *Norham Castle*, to which the Bishop made such a smooth and pacifick answer, and deliver'd in such an humble manner, that both the King and his Council accepted his Apology.

A. D. 1498

A Marriage proposed.

gy. Afterward the King confers with him in private, and shewing the Bishop how much he desired a perpetual Friendship with *England*, discover'd his whole mind to him; *That if King* Henry *would give him the Lady* Margaret, *his eldest Daughter, in Marriage, he thought it would make an indissolvable Union and Friendship between the two Crowns. And since he knew what credit the Bishop had with his Master, he left the management of it to his Prudence and Fidelity.* The Bishop answer'd, *That he thought himself rather happy, than worthy, to be employ'd in an Affair of that consequence; but would use his best endeavours to give him satisfaction.* At the Bishop's return to the Court, he opens this matter to the King, and finding him ready to close with the Propositions, gave the King advice, first to conclude the Peace, then proceed to the Marriage by degrees, and hereupon a Peace was concluded before *Christmas*, in the fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, to continue for both their Lives.

Perkin, being of a mercurial Temper, which is hard to be kept under Confinement, found means to escape out of the *Tower*, and with all speed hastens to the Seaside, but the Ports being stop'd, and the King's Messengers in strict pursuit of him, he was forced to return back, and shelter himself in the Priory of *Sheene*, which had the Privilege of a Sanctuary, and beg'd the Prior of that Monastery, who was esteem'd a very holy Man, to intercede with the King for his Life, leaving him otherwise to be disposed of at the King's discretion. The Prior obtain'd his request, tho' many about the King press'd for his being taken out of the Sanctuary, and hang'd immediately; but the King having a great Soul, could never hate those he despised, and so bid them take him forth, and set the Knave in the Stocks; and accordingly he was fetter'd, and set in the Stocks, upon a Scaffold in the Palace-yard in *Westminster*, for the space of a whole Day. The next day after, he did the like Pennance at the Cross in *Cheapside*, in both places read his Confession aforemention'd, and from thence was commited Prisoner to the *Tower*; but notwithstanding all the care that was taken to keep him safe, *Perkin* once more attempted to make his escape, and drawing the young Earl of *Warwick* into Confederacy with him, by fair words, and large promises, he so corrupted the Keepers, *Strangwaies*, *Blewet*, *Astwood* and *Long Roger*, Servants to Sir *John Digby*, Lieutenant of the

the *Tower*, that they agreed to kill their Maſter, and ſet *Perkin* and the young Earl of *Warwick* at Liberty; but this Conſpiracy was ſoon diſcover'd, ſo that *Perkin*, and *John Water*, ſometime Mayor of *Cork* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkin*'s chief Adviſers, were arraign'd and condemn'd at *Weſtminſter*, and both on the Two and twentieh day were drawn and hang'd at *Tyburn*: Where *Perkin* took it upon his death, that the Confeſſion he had formerly made was true. Soon after *Blewet* and *Aſtwood*, two of the Lieutenant's Servants, were alſo executed at the ſame place. On the Twenty firſt Day of the ſame Month, *Edward Plantagenet* was arraign'd at *Weſtminſter* before the Earl of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for conſenting to break Priſon, but for conſpiring with *Perkin* to raiſe Sedition, and deſtroy the King, and upon his Confeſſion receiving Judgment, upon the 28th Day of the ſame Month, was beheaded upon *Tower Hill*. This Earl of *Warwick* was the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, the laſt Heir Male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been Priſoner in the *Tower* from his very Infancy, out of the Society of Men, and ſight of Beaſts, ſo that he ſcarcely knew a Hen from a Gooſe, nor one Beaſt from another, and therefore could not contrive his eſcape of himſelf, but by the ſubtilty of *Perkin*; for which reaſon he was not buried in the *Tower*, but at *Beſam* among his Anceſtors. Thus ended the deſigns of *Perkin Warbeck*, who had troubled the King ſeven or eight Years. However, theſe deaths paſſed not without ſevere reflections upon the King, firſt that he ſuffered *Perkin* to eſcape, that he might have a pretence to be rid of him, and the ſecond was, that *Perkin* was kept in the *Tower* as a bait to enſnare the Earl of *Warwick*, that at one ſtroke he might deſtroy both his Enemy and Competitor.

A. D. 1499.

Perkin hang'd at Tyburn.

The Earl of Warwick beheaded.

While *Perkin* was in the *Tower*, another pretence was ſet on foot. An *Auſtin* Fryar, call'd *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholar call'd *Ralph Wilford*, a Shoe maker's Son, cauſed him to perſonate the Earl of *Warwick*, lately, by great Fortune, eſcap'd out of the *Tower*; and they going together into *Kent*, and the Fryar perceiving a little credit to be given to his ſuggeſtions, he then had the confidence to declare it openly in the Pulpit, deſiring all good Subjects to aſſiſt him; but this Cheat was ſoon diſcovered, and the Maſter and Scholar were apprehended and attainted. The Scholar was hang'd on *Shrove Tueſday*, at St. *Thomas Water-*

Another Counterfeit.

A D. 1499. *VVaterings*, and the Fryar was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment; for at that time ſo much reſpect was paid to Holy Orders, that a Prieſt, tho' he had commited Treaſon againſt the King, yet his Life was ſpared. Theſe repeated Counterfeits exaſperated the King againſt the Earl of *VVarwick*, who, tho' Innocent in himſelf, was render'd guilty by Pretenders. Beſides, King *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, with whom, at this time, there was a Treaty of Marriage between his Daughter and Prince *Arthur*, who very well underſtood one another, had writ to King *Henry*, that he ſaw no aſſurance of his Son's Succeſſion to the Crown, as long as the Earl of *VVarwick* liv'd; ſo that all things conſpired to bring the Innocent Prince to an unhappy end; tho' neither pretence of Guilt, or reaſon of State, which only prevail on this ſide Heaven, could ever allay the envy and cenſures that remain'd upon the King for this Execution.

1500. *King Henry's Voyage to France.* In the fifteenth Year of his Reign, partly to avoid the danger of the Plague, which then raged in *England*, but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgundy*, about important Affairs, the King and Queen went to *Calais*, where, at an Interview between him and the Duke of *Burgundy*, at St. *Peter's* Church, without the Gate, the Duke offered to hold the King's Stirrup while he alighted, which the King, by no Means, would permit; but deſcending from his Horſe, they embrac'd each other with great Affection; and after many Conferences between them, about the latter end of *June*, the King and Queen return'd into *England*. This Year dy'd *John Morton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. A wiſe Man, and an excellent Orator, but ſomething moroſe and haughty in his Nature, admired and applauded by the King, and it may be for that reaſon only was envied by the Nobility, and hated by the People, who ſeldom or never love a Favourite.

1501. *Prince Arthur's Marriage.* In his 17th Year, two great Marriages were ſolemnized. The Lady *Catherine* of *Spain* was ſent by her Father, King *Ferdinando*, with a great Armada of Ships into *England*, arrived at *Plymouth* the 2d of *October*, and on the 14th of *November* following, was eſpouſed openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being apparell'd in white. He, at the Age of Fifteen Years, and ſhe, at Eighteen. At Night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that Night. When Morning

ing appear'd, as the Servants about him reported, he call'd for Drink, which he was not accuſtom'd to do formerly; and one of his Privy Chamber asking him the reaſon of it, the Prince anſwer'd merrily, ſaying, *I have been in the midſt of* Spain *to Night, which is a hot Country, and that makes me thirſty:* Tho' ſome write that a grave Matron was laid between them to hinder actual Conſummation. The Lady's Fortune was 200000 Ducats, her Jointure the Thirds of the Principality of *Wales*, the Dukedom of *Cornwal*, and the Earldom of *Cheſter*. At this Marriage were ſolemn Sports and Juſtings, and all other Recreations, that might ſpeak Joy and Magnificence. A. D. 1502.

During that time there came into *England* an Earl, a Biſhop, and ſeveral of the Nobility of *Scotland*, to conclude a Marriage formerly treated of between the King of *Scots*, and *Margaret*, the King's Eldeſt Daughter; where the Earl, by *Proxy* from his Maſter, contracted the Marriage between them, which was publiſh'd at *Paul's* Croſs on St. *Paul's*-day following; for Joy whereof *Te Deum* was ſung, and Bonfires made through the City of *London*, and other great Rejoycings, in expectation of the happineſs that this Match would produce to both Kingdoms. The Lady's Fortune was Twenty thouſand Pounds, her Joynture Two thouſand Pounds a Year after King *James's* Death, and One thouſand at preſent. When this Match was propounded at the Council Table, ſome Lords oppos'd it, objecting, *That by this means the Crown might fall to the Blood Royal of* Scotland; to which King *Henry* anſwer'd, *What if it ſhould? It would not be an Acceſſion from* England *to* Scotland, *but from* Scotland *to* England: Which anſwer of the King's paſſed for an Oracle; ſo the Match proceeded, and in *Auguſt* following was conſummated at *Edinborough* in *Scotland*, to which place ſhe had been conducted in great State by the Earl of *Northumberland*. *Lady* Margaret *married.*

Prince *Arthur*, after his Marriage, was ſent again into *Wales*, to keep that Country in order, to whom were appointed of Council, Sir *Richard Pool* his Kinſman, and Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Philips*, Sir *William Udal*, Sir *Thomas Engleſield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Woliſton*, *Henry Morton*, and Dr. *William Smith*, Preſident of his Council; but in five Months after his Marriage he dy'd at *Ludlow* Caſtle, and with great ſolemnity was buried at the Cathedral *Prince* Arthur's *Death.*

A. D. 1502. dral Church at *Worceſter*. His Brother *Henry* was not inſtalled in the Principality of *Wales* for half a Year after, till it might appear whether the Lady *Catherine*, Relict of Prince *Arthur*, was with Child, or not. The Aptitude and Igenuity of Prince *Arthur* in his Studies was very remarkable; who dying before he was 16 Years of Age, was ſaid to have read over all the *Latin* Claſſick Authors, and others. Prince *Arthur* being dead,

1503. and the Lady *Catherine* of *Spain* leit a young Widow, King *Henry* unwilling to part with her Dowry, but chiefly deſirous to continue his Alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with his other Son, Prince *Henry*, tho' not without reluctance above his Years, for he was ſcarce 12, to be contracted to the Princeſs *Catherine*, his Brother *Arthur*'s Widow, for which Marriage, by the Advice of the moſt learned Men at that time in *Chriſtendom*, was granted a Diſpenſation by Pope *Julius* the Second, and on the 25th day of *June* the Marriage was ſolemnized at the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s in *Fleet ſtreet*.

Empſon *and* Dudley's *extortion.* 1505.

King *Henry* being now arriv'd to great Honour, and Eſteem among the Neighbouring Princes, gives himſelf up wholly to geting of Money, having found two Men fit for his purpoſe, nam'd *Empſon* and *Dudley*, both Lawyers and Barons of the Exchequer, whom the People call'd his Fleecers and Horſe-leeches, and being ſharers with their Maſter, he employ'd them for that purpoſe. *Dudley* was well deſcended, but *Empſon* was but the Son of a Sieve-maker. Theſe two Perſons being put into Authority, converted Law and Juſtice into Rapine, Extortion and Cruelty; their Cuſtom was to cauſe the King's Subjects to be indicted for Crimes, and as ſoon as the Bill was found to commit them; never calling them to anſwer, but continuing them in Cuſtody, ſuffer'd them to languiſh in great Miſery, and then forc'd them to ſubmit to exceſſive Fines, which they call'd Compoſitions and Mitigations. Nor did they ſometimes uſe any Formality of Law in their Proceedings, but ſent out their Attachments at pleaſure, convening Men before themſelves, and others, at their own Houſes, and there ſhuffling up a ſummary proceeding by Examination, without empanelling a Jury, or hearing Evidence, pronounc'd Judgment, and fined Offenders by their own abſolute and arbitrary Authority. Then they alſo charg'd the Subjects Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, and by returns from falſe Officers, brought them under Ward-ſhips, Liveries, Primier Seſin and Alienations, the con-

conſequence of thoſe Tenures, refuſing, upon divers pretences and delays, to permit Men to traverſe thoſe falſe Informations according to Law. Nay, the King's Wards, after they had accompliſh'd their full Age, could not be ſuffered to have livery of their Lands, without paying exceſſive demands. They alſo vex'd and diſturbed Men with Informations of Intruſions, upon ſcarce colourable Titles, and no Method was unattempted by them, to oppreſs the Subject beyond example. Theſe, and many other illegal courſes, they had of preying upon the People, both for the advantage of their Maſter, and themſelves; inſomuch, that from ſlender Fortunes they arriv'd to great Eſtates. But their principal Engine to torment the Subjects, was by Indictments upon Penal Statutes, wherein they ſpared no degrees of Men, without conſidering whether the Laws were in uſe, or grown obſolete; but raked over all the Laws, tho' they knew many of them were made rather for Terror, than to be put in execution, having always a Rabble of Informers, Affidavit-men, and *talis* Jury-men, at their Command, ſo that they could always have any thing found, either in fact or value, according to their own pleaſure. A. D. 1504. 1505.

An ill requital of a kindneſs.

There remains a report to this Day, that the King being ſumptuouſly entertained by the Earl of *Oxford*, one of his principal Miniſters in Peace, and General in War, at his Caſtle, at *Henningham*, at the King's taking leave, the Earl's Servants in orderly manner ſtanding in their Livery Coats and Badges, ranged on both ſides, and making the King a Lane, the King called the Earl to him, ſaying, *My Lord I have heard much of your Hoſpitality, the good order and grandeur of your Family; but now I ſee it far exceeds the Report. All theſe handſom Gentlemen and Yeomen which are rang'd on both ſides, are certainly your Menial Servants.* The Earl ſmiling, ſaid, *May it pleaſe your Grace, that would redound to my diſadvantage; they are moſt of them my* Tenants and Retainers, *that come on this extraordinary occaſion to do me ſervice, but chiefly to have the Honour of ſeeing you, their Sovereign.* Upon this Anſwer the King ſeem'd to ſtart a little back, ſaying, *By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for my kind entertainment, but I muſt not ſuffer my Laws to be thus broken in my ſight: My Attorney muſt ſpeak with your Lordſhip about it*: And 'tis further ſaid, it coſt this Noble Earl 15000 Marks for his Compoſition. And further to ſhew the King's great diligence in ſqueezing Money from his Subjects by theſe mean Arts, I remember, ſays the Lord *Verulam*,

A. D. 1505. *Verulam*, (that has written his Life) to have seen a Book of *Empſom*'s Accounts, that had the King's Hand almoſt to every Page, allowing his Extortion, where, among other things, was this Memorandum in the King's Hand alſo:

A mean thing in ſo wealthy a Monarch.

Item, *Received of ſuch a man five Marks to procure a Pardon, but if the Pardon does not paſs, the Money is to be repayed, unleſs the Party be ſatisfied ſome other way.* And over againſt this in the Margin was this Memoir, written with the King's own Hand, *Otherwiſe ſatisfied.* This, ſays my Author, I the rather mention, becauſe it is an Example of the King's Juſtice, as well as his Covetouſneſs.

1506. *Philip*, King of *Caſtile*, deſigning to ſurprize the King of *Arragon*, went out with a great Armada; but being himſelf ſurpriz'd with a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed his Fleet upon the Coaſt of *England*, he put into *Weymouth*, and came on ſhoar to refreſh himſelf: Which King *Henry* hearing, he ſent the Earl of *Arundel* to viſit him, and to compliment him upon his ſafe Arrival. King *Philip*, that he might the ſooner return, went with ſpeed to *Windſor*, leaving his Queen to follow him by eaſy Journies. At the meeting of the two Kings, they ſtrove who ſhould expreſs themſelves with the greateſt demonſtration of Reſpect and Honour. After two or three Days refreſhment, and diſcourſing the confirmation of the Allyance between them, King *Henry* took the King of *Caſtile* into a private Apartment, and laying his Hand upon his Shoulder, ſaid, *Sir, You have been ſaved from Danger upon my Coaſt, and I hope you will not ſuffer me to be Shipwrack'd upon yours.* The King of *Caſtile* deſired *Henry* to explain himſelf, for he knew not his meaning. *I mean*, ſaid the King, *by that Hair-brain'd, wild Fellow, the Earl of* Suffolk, *who is my Subject, and being protected in your Country, begins to play the fool, when all others are weary of doing it.* The King of *Caſtile* anſwered, *Sir, I thought your preſent ſtate had been above ſuch low thoughts, but if you think he can be able to give you any diſturbance, I will baniſh him out of my Dominions.* The King reply'd, *Such Hornets were ſafeſt in their own Neſts, and dangerous when they flew abroad, and therefore he deſired that* Suffolk *might be delivered to him.* The King of *Caſtile* being a little confuſed at this Demand, ſaid, *That I cannot do with my own Honour, and much leſs with yours, who will be thought to treat me like a Priſoner.* The King reply'd, *Then that Affair is at an end:*

A private Conference.

end: I will take the Diſhonour upon my ſelf, and by that means yours is ſafe and unconcerned. The King of *Caſtile*, having a great eſteem for King *Henry*, and remembring where he was, ſaid, *Sir, Here you give Laws to me, and by your Permiſſion I will do the like by you.* You ſhall have him, *but upon the VVord of King you ſhall not touch his Life*: To which King *Henry* conſenting, they both agreed to ſend for the Earl, and he being aſſured of his Life, and in hopes of his Liberty, landed at *Dover*, was received by a ſtrong Guard, and deliver'd to the King in the *Tower*: And then after admiting the King of *Caſtile* into the Order of the Garter, and as a reciprocal kindneſs, had his Son, the Prince, admited into the Order of the Golden Fleece, the Kings take their leaves of each other. A. D. 1506. *The King of* Caſtile *returns.*

In his 23d year, the King proſecuted ſeveral Perſons that had been Mayors and Sheriffs of *London*, for commiting Miſdemeanors in their Offices, took great Sums of Money from them upon Compoſition, and by ſuch Courſes accumulated ſuch ſtore of Treaſure, that at his Death he left in ſecret Places at *Richmond* under his own Key, and Keeping, the Sum of 1800000 *l.* Sterling. 1507.

Now it ſeems King *Henry*, after the death of his Queen, the Lady *Elizabeth*, had an inclination to another Wife, and hearing of the extraordinary Beauty and Vertue of the young Queen of *Naples*, Widow of *Ferdinando* the younger, he ſent thither three Perſons, that wanted neither Wit nor Confidence; *Francis Marſin*, *James Braybrook* and *John Styles*, to make enquiry of her Perſon and Fortune; who returning anſwer, That her Beauty and Vertue agreed with the Report that was given of it, but that her Dowry was only an Exhibition, but not the Kingdom of *Naples*, as the King expected; he wholly gave it over. After this another Marriage was propounded between him and the Lady *Margaret*, Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, only Daughter to *Maximilian*, and Siſter to the King of *Caſtile*, a Lady of an excellent Character: In which Amour he employed his Chaplain, who was afterwards a great Prelate, *Thomas VVoolſey*. He gain'd his point with ample Conditions on the King's part, but the Marriage was protracted from time to time, in reſpect of the King's being ſeized with an Infirmity, which continued upon him by Fits till he dyed. His Executors were *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, *Richard* 1508. *King Henry dyeth.*

A. D. 1509.

chard Fitz-James, Biſhop of *London*, *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *John*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*, *Edward*, Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord Chamberlain, the Chief Juſtices, of the King's Bench and Common Pleas. A little before his Death, he concluded a Marriage between his younger Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, then ten Years old, and *Charles*, King of *Caſtile*, not much older; but being not ſolemnized, it had no effect, and ſhe was afterwards married to *Lewis*, the *French* King. As he drew near his end, he addicted himſelf to works of Mercy and Charity, granted a general Pardon to all his Subjects, and declared, in his Will, That Reſtitution ſhould be made of all the Money that had been unjuſtly taken by his Officers.

His Character.

King *Henry* was of a lean and ſpare body, yet very ſtrong, and of Stature taller than uſual; his Eyes were grey, his Hair brown and thin, of a fair Complexion, and a pleaſant Countenance. He had the vertue of a Prince and a private Perſon, affable but reſerv'd. He had a great ſhare of ſolid Wiſdom, and tho' he was ſometimes blinded by humane Policy, he was generally ſwayed by a moral Circumſpection. He was a great lover of Peace upon Honourable Terms, and yet in War was courageous, and ſucceſsful, and wou'd not give it o'er when began, till he had better'd the Conditions of Peace. Many good Laws were made in his Reign, and he had ſuch a good Opinion of Parliaments, that he advis'd with them in all emergent Affairs, and would ſuffer no claſhing between Prerogative and Property, to put them out of humour. His great Overſight was addicting his mind to Covetouſneſs, which render'd him poor, when he almoſt ſurfeited in Plenty; to which he was encourag'd by *Empſon* and *Dudley*, who forc'd him upon theſe extremities, which touched him with Remorſe at his Death and were remedied by his Succeſſor. Had he been a private Man, he would have been accounted proud, which in a wiſe Prince is but keeping diſtance, which indeed he did to all; not admiting any near approach to his Perſon or his Secrets. He had nothing in him of Vain-glory, yet kept up his Grandeur to the heighth; being ſenſible that Majeſty makes the People bow, but Vain-glory ſtoops to them. He was no great Admirer of Women, tho' all his great Fortune was handed to him by the Female Sex, which firſt gain'd, and then tranſmited his Crown, to Poſterity.

He

He married *Elizabeth*, Eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, who lived 18 years with his Wife, and dyed in Child-bed in the *Tower* of *London*, the 11th of *February*, the very Day on which ſhe was born; and was buried at *Weſtminſter* in his magnificent Chappel, in a Rich Monument of Gilded Copper, which her Husband had erected. He had iſſue by her, three Sons and four Daughters: Prince *Arthur*, born at *Wincheſter* in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and dyed at Fifteen years and half old, at *Ludlow*. *Henry*, his ſecond Son, born at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son *Edmund*, dyed at five years of Age at *Biſhop's Hatfield*, and lies buried at St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*. His eldeſt Daughter *Margaret*, at fourrteen Years of Age, was married to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*. His ſecond Daughter *Elizabeth*, died at three years of Age, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*. His third Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, was married to *Lewis* the *French* King, and he dying three Months after, ſhe was re-married to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Catharine*, died an Infant. A. D. 1490. *His Iſſue.*

In the 22d year of his Reign he began to be afflicted with the Gout, and a defluction of Rheum falling upon his Lungs, threw him into a violent Ptyſick, which brought him to his end at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the 22d of *April* 1509. when he had lived 52 Years, and reigned 23 and 8 Months, and was buried in his own Chappel at *Weſtminſter*. In his Reign was founded at *Macclesfield* in *Cheſhire* a Colledge of Secular Canons,

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The

The Life and Reign of HENRY *the Eighth.*

A. D. 1509. KING *Henry* the Seventh being dead, his only Son Prince *Henry*, Heir by his Father of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and by his Mother of the Houſe of *York*, by unqueſtionable Right, ſucceeded to the Crown at 18 years of Age, on the 22d of *April*, 1509. who having been educated in the ſtudy of good Letters all his Father's Reign, he governed at firſt as a Man newly come from Contemplation to Action, in ſo regular a manner that as in *Nero*'s Government there was ſaid to be *Quinquennium Neronis*, ſo there might as juſtly be ſaid of this King, there was *Decennium Henrici*, and perhaps double ſo long a time, comparable with any King's Reign that preceded him. How he came to alter, and to ſuch a degree, will be fit to be diſcourſed in its proper time and place. King *Henry* having learned, by diligent ſtudy, that the weight of a Kingdom is too great a burden for one Man's Shoulders, he made it his firſt buſineſs to chuſe able Counſellors, to which he called *William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*, *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, and Treaſurer of *England*, *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Steward of his Houſhold, *Charles Somerſet*, Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Henry Whaite*, Dr. *Thomas Ruthall*, and Sir *Edward Poinings*. By advice of theſe Counſellors, his firſt Act, after the Care of his Father's Funeral, was to perform his Father's Will, in marrying the Lady *Catherine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother, Prince *Arthur*, to whom perhaps, but out of duty to his Father, he had not the greateſt inclination; and for relinquiſhing whereof, he might, no doubt, have more eaſily obtained a Diſpenſation from the Pope, than his Father had done for procuring it to be allowed; but an obſequious deſire to obey his Father, and willing to follow the Advice of his Council, prevail'd ſo much upon him, that he adjourned his Coronation till he had performed it, that the ſame Charge and Trouble might ſerve them both: Accordingly on *June* the 3d following, he married the Lady *Catherine* at the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s Houſe in

Fleet-



HENRY VIII

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Fleet-ſtreet, where, tho' the Bride was a Widow, to ſhew ſhe was notwithſtanding a Virgin Widow, ſhe was cloath'd all in White, with her Hair hanging down behind: And two days after the Solemnization of the Marriage they were both crown'd at *VVeſtminſter*, by *VVilliam VVarham*, Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*. A. D. 1509.

The ſame, or next day after his Father died, he ordered *Dudley* and *Empſon* to be commited to the *Tower*, and cauſed divers other inferior Agents, called Promoters, as *Canby*, *Page*, *Smith*, *Docby*, *Simpſon*, *VVhite*, and *Stockton*, to be ſet in the Pillory in *Cornhil*, with Papers on their Heads, and then to ride thro' the City with their Faces to the Horſes Tails; with ſhame whereof, within ſeven days they all died in *Newgate*. Shortly after a Parliament was called, by whom *Empſon* and *Dudley* were attainted of Treaſon by Act of Parliament, and not long after both beheaded upon *Tower Hill*; and that the new King might not be ſuſpected to be covetous like his Father, he was the moſt magnificent in his Expences, of any Prince in *Chriſtendom*, and very bountiful to all about him; for as one Extream commonly produces another, ſo his Father's Covetouſneſs led him to be prodigal, and the vaſt Sum of 1800000 *l.* which was left him, was in 3 years diſſipated, as if the Son in his Expence had uſed equal Induſtry with his Father in all his Thrift; but this in the begining of his Reign did much endear him both to the Court and Nation, there being a freer circulation of Money, by which Trade was encouraged; and the Courtiers taſted ſo liberally of the King's Bounty, that he was every where magnified, tho' his Expence proved afterwards heavier to the Subject than his Father's Avarice. Now Ambaſſadors arrive at his Court from *France*, *Denmark*, and *Scotland*, who were all magnificently entertain'd. The Buſineſs of the *French* King *Lewis* the Twelfeth, was to keep a good Correſpondence between theſe two Crowns, while he went on with his Wars in *Italy*. That of *Scotland* was only Congratulation, in the name of King of *James* the Fourth, his Brother in Law, and the Queen his own Siſter, and to confirm the late Treaty of Peace. That from *Denmark* for the Eſtabliſhment of Commerce between the two Kingdoms. *Jan.* 1ſt, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son, which lived not a month, and put an end to the

1510.

A. D. 1510. the joy of his Birth, by the ſhortneſs of his Life; but the youthful Parents were ſoon comforted in hopes of more, tho' it fell out ſo unhappily that no Heirs Male remained betwixt them. In the mean time *Fendinando*, King of *Arragon*, hearing of his Daughter's Delivery, ſent Ambaſſadors to pay his Compliment upon that occaſion, and to ſollicit the King's aſſiſtance againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*. In the like manner *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low Countries*, obtained of the King 1500 Archers, to aſſiſt her againſt the Duke of *Guelders*. Sir *Edward Poynings*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, performed this Expedition with great ſervice to the Lady, and Honour to his own Nation: And on a Review of his Troops at his return, not one hundred of his Men were wanting. The King's Authority in the narrow Sea, ſo ſtudiouſly preſerved by his Anceſters, was about this time invaded and leſſened by the continued Pyracies of *Andrew Breton*, a *Scotch* Man, who ſeized many of our leſſer Veſſels, and rifled them. For remedy of which, the King ſends out two Ships againſt him, who killed *Breton*, took both his Ships, and brought his Men Priſoners to *London*, whom the King pardoned, upon condition, That they left this Kingdom in 20 days. *James*, King of *Scotland* having notice of it, ſent to require ſatisfaction, as being contrary to the Treaty of Peace between them; but was anſwered, That it was not the part of a King to impute the Breach of Articles to his Allies, for doing Juſtice on a Pyrate. The Meſſenger, rather ſilenc'd than ſatisfied with this anſwer, returns to his Maſter, who upon the next occaſion offer'd, fail'd not to ſhew how ill he reſented the death of *Breton*.

1511.

The Pope ſollicits the King's aſſiſtance.

The Pope being freed from the Siege at *Bononia*, proceeds in his Wars againſt the *French*, goes in Perſon againſt *Mirandola*, and takes it by compoſition; but not long after loſes *Bononia* to the *French*, and his whole Army was routed. Upon this loſs, and other diſappointments, the Pope ſends to King *Henry* to take Arms and aſſiſt him. This affair being brought to the Council Table, ſome were of opinion, that now was the time for our King, if he deſired it, to aſſert the Pope's Authority, or to recover his own Right in *France*; for that poſſibly *Maximilian*, the Emperor, might join with him, tho' he and *Lewis* had of late concur'd in their deſigns. As for the difficulties he might encounter, they were not at all conſiderable; *Lewis* being not only deeply engaged in a War in *Italy*, but had loſt the greateſt part of his beſt Soldiers there,

there, so that before he could give orders for his Affairs at Home, he might be overthrown; or if he should desert his Affairs in *Italy*, to look to his own Country, that would free the Pope from the danger he was in, and give his Majesty the Honour of doing him that service, which was so agreeable to his own Intentions; but others were of Opinion, that tho' the King's Title to *France*, especially to the Hereditary Provinces, was unquestionable, yet all those Arguments were not sufficient to push the King upon a War against so potent a Neighbour. For if when all *Guienne*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and, for a long time, all *Normandy*, was ours, yet we could not advance our designs upon that Country, there was small hope to do it now, and it would better become the Wisdom of this Nation, to leave off our attempts upon the Continent; and if we would enlarge our selves, to do it by that way that Providence, and the Scituation of our Island, seems to direct, which is by Sea. But our young King, willing to oblige the Pope, and recover his Patrimony, declined this sober Advice, and adhering to the other, first sent a monitory Message, to dissuade the *French* King from waring against the Pope; but he not regarding those Admonitions, the King sent to demand his Patrimonial Inheritance of *Anjou*, *Guienne*, *&c.* and upon refusal proclaimed War against *France*, and Money was granted by the Parliament to carry it on with Vigour.

A. D. 1511.

Sober Advice to the Islanders.

At this time, *Ferdinando*, King of *Spain*, having War with the *French* King, wrote to his Son-in-Law, King *Henry*, that if he would send over an Army into *Biscay*, and invade *France* on that side, he would assist them with great Guns, Horses, and all other Necessaries to carry on the War. Whereupon *Thomas Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*, was appointed General for that Expedition, and with him the Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brooke*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lords *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard Grey*, all Brothers to the Marquis, Sir *Griffith Ap Rice*, Sir *Morice Berkley*, Sir *William Sands*, the Baron of *Burford*, and Sir *Richard Cornwal*, his Brother, *William Hussey*, *John Milton*, *William Kingston*, Esquires, and Sir *Henry Willoughby*, with divers others, to the number of 10000, who taking Ship at *Southampton* on the 16th of *May*, they landed on the Coast of *Biscay* on the 3d of *June*, where, within three Days after, a Marquis and an Earl came from the King, to compliment their arrival, but

1512.

An Expedition into Spain.

A. D. 1512. but of ſuch Neceſſaries as were promiſed there came none; ſo that the *Engliſh* being in want of Proviſions, the King of *Navarre* offered to ſupply their wants, which they accepted, and promiſed not to moleſt his Territories. After the Army had lain 30 Days looking for Aid and Proviſions from the King of *Spain*, at laſt a Biſhop came from the King, deſiring them to exerciſe their patience a while, and they ſhould receive ſatisfaction. In the mean time the *Engliſh* Soldiers being forc'd to feed upon Garlick, and drink hot Wines, fell into Diſeaſes, of which many of 'em, at leaſt 1500 Perſons, dy'd, which the Marquis being griev'd at, ſent to the King to know his pleaſure, who ſent him word, that e'er long the Duke *d' Alva* ſhould join him; but being come within a Days march, he ſuddenly turn'd towards the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and entering, drove out the King, and ſubdued the Kingdom to the uſe of the King of *Spain*. This piece of *Spaniſh* Policy was ungrateful to the *Engliſh*, who, finding nothing but empty inſignificant words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary for want of employment, they fell upon ſome ſmall Towns on the Borders of *Guienne*, but wanting Horſes for War, as well as for their Carriages, they were not in a Condition to do any great Exploits. *October* coming on, the Marquis of *Dorſet* falling ſick, and his place of General being ſupplied by the Lord *Howard*, the King of *Spain* ſent once more to excuſe his preſent coming, deſiring him to put his Men into Winter Quarters, and next Spring he would perform what he had promiſed. In the mean time, King *Henry* underſtanding the King of *Spain*'s Intentions, ſent his Herald *Windſor*, with Letters to the Army, commanding them to abide in their Winter Quarters, for he would ſend them a freſh Supply under the Conduct of the Lord *Herbert*, his Chamberlain; which Meſſage ſo exaſperated the Soldiers, that, in the heat of their Fury, they had killed the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded to return home; which forc'd his Lordſhip to hire Ships to tranſport them, and in the begining of *December* they landed in *England*; and by this Experiment, learn'd what Truſt was to be repos'd in *Spaniſh* Promiſes.

The Engliſh *Soldiers mutiny and return.*

About the ſame time that the Marquis went into *Spain*, Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, ſailed towards *Brittany* with a Fleet of Twenty Ships, and landing his Men, burnt ſeveral Towns and Villages; and being threaten'd by the Lords of *Brittain* to be encounter'd, to encourage the Gentlemen that accompa-

nied

nied him, he made ſeveral of them Knights. When the Armies came in view, the *Britons* appear'd to be 10000, and the *Engliſh* but 2500; yet the *Britons*, not contented with this advantage of number, would exerciſe their politick Stratagems alſo; for by the advice of an old experienc'd Commander, their General order'd the Army, as ſoon as the Battle was join'd, that they ſhould retire a ſmall diſtance, intending, by this Stratagem, to draw the *Engliſh* into ſome diſadvantage; but the private Soldiers not knowing their General's Intentions, but ſuppoſing he had ſeen ſome imminent Danger, run away in good earneſt, and by their *Brittiſh* Policy gave the *Engliſh* a Victory, or at leaſt, an opportunity to return in ſafety to their Ships: After which the *Britons* ſought a Truce, but could not obtain it; for the *Engliſh* Admiral continued harraſſing their Country, till the ſafety of his Fleet obliged him to return to the Iſle of *Wight*.

A. D. 1512.

French *Policy.*

King *Henry* having provided a Fleet of 25 Sail, gave the Command of it to Sir *Anthony Oughtred*, who put to Sea, and near *Breſt* encounter'd a *French* Fleet of 30 Sail, where much harm was done on both ſides, and the Victory undecided. King *Henry* now call'd another Parliament, wherein it was agreed, that he ſhould, in Perſon, invade *France* with a Royal Army, towards the Charge whereof a great Subſidy was granted; and to prevent Quarrels about the Succeſſion, if he ſhould miſcarry, *Edmund de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, was beheaded on *Tower Hill*. This was that Earl of *Suffolk*, whom King *Philip*, Duke of *Auſtria*, had deliver'd up to King *Henry* the Seventh, upon promiſe he ſhould not be put to Death, who kept his Word; but his Son *Henry* the Eighth, not thinking himſelf obliged, by his Father's promiſe, put him to Death: And ſhortly after Sir *Charles Brandon* was created Viſcount *Liſle*. He was the chief Favourite in the King's Pleaſures, a gallant graceful Perſon, one of the ſtrongeſt Men of the Age, and ſo a fit match for the King at his Juſts and Tiltings, which were the Manly Diverſions of that time, the King taking much pleaſure in it, being of a robuſt Body, and ſingularly expert in thoſe Exerciſes; ſo that he who was ſo able to ſecond him in theſe Courſes, grew mightily in his Favour, and he afterwards made him Duke of *Suffolk*. Nor was he leſs in the Lady's Favours than the Kings', for his Siſter, the Lady *Mary*, lik'd him, and being but ſo long married to King *Lewis*, as to make her Queen

Sir Charles Brandon, *a Favonrite.*

A. D. 1512. Dowager of *France*, she resolved to chuse her second Husband her self, and cast her Eye upon the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was then sent over to the Court of *France*. Her Brother had design'd the Marriage between them, yet would not openly give his Consent to it; but she, by a strange kind of wooing, prefix'd him the Term of four Days to gain her Consent, in which she told him, If he did not prevail, he should, for ever, lose all his hopes of having her; tho' after such a Declaration, he was like to meet with no great Difficulty from her. So they were married, and the King was easily pacify'd, and received them into Favour; neither did his Favour dye with her, for it continued all his Life: But he never meddled much in Business, and by all that appears, he was a better Courtier than a Statesman.

He marries the King's Sister.

Notwithstanding all the Preparations for War against *France*, the King gave himself the liberty of his Pleasures, and kept a magnificent *Christmas*, with Sports and Pastimes at *Greenwich*. In *March* following the 1513. King's Navy Royal, consisting of 42 Ships, put to Sea, under the Conduct of Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord High Admiral, and sail'd to *Bertram Bay*, riding at Anchor in sight of the *French* Fleet, commanded by Prior *John* as Admiral, who refusing to come out of *Brest* Harbour, the *English* Admiral endeavouring to attack them there in Person with Boats, was, by a Pike, thrown over-board and drowned; upon which lamented Accident, the Lord *Ferrers* returned with the Fleet into *England*. After his departure, Prior *John* came out of the Harbour with his Gallies, and Coasting the Borders of *Sussex*, burnt some small Cottages; but the King suddenly making the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother to him that was drown'd, and Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, Admiral, he so scour'd the Seas, that the *French* were forced to retire into their own Harbours.

The King Invades France.

King *Henry* being now resolv'd to pursue the *French* War with vigour, and in his own Person, he sent *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward of his Houshold, to prepare the way for him, accompanied by *Thomas Stanley*, Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Dockeroy*, Prior of St. *John*'s, Sir *Robert Ratcliff*, Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice Ap Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Blount*, Sir *Thomas Cornwal*, and others, to the number of 8000, who arrived at *Calais* about the midst of *May*. In the begining of *June* there followed Sir *Charles Somerset*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain, with

with *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Grey*, Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Stafford*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, the Lord *Dudley*, the Lord *de la War*, Sir *Edward Hussy*, Sir *Edward Dimmock*, Sir *David Owen*, and 6000 Soldiers. King *Henry*, the last of *June*, having constituted Queen *Catherine* Regent in his absence, came himself to *Calais*, bringing with him the rest of the Army, and *Thomas Woolsey*, the new Favourite, whom he had made *Almoner*, and who having liv'd so long there with the Lord Treasurer, was perfectly acquainted with the Place, and what related to it. *August* the 11th, *Lyon* King at Arms in *Scotland*, in his Herald's Coat, comes to the King's Camp, and pretending Injuries done to his Master, denounceth War against *England*; upon which our King returns Answer by Letter to the *Scotch* King, *That his Expostulations were but picking Quarrels, to serve himself with a Pretence to assist the* French, *and invade his Dominions in his Absence; and therefore wish'd him to remember, that* John, *King of* Navarre, *for assisting the* French *in the same manner, had lost his Kingdom; and bid him to be assured what Injury he Commited in his Realm in his absence, should be amply rewarded at his return*; but before this Letter could be delivered by *Lyon*, the King, his Master, was kill'd. A. D. 1513.

While King *Henry* lay at the Siege of *Terouanne*, *Maximilian*, the Emperor, came to his Camp, and listed himself a Soldier under him, wore St. *George*'s Cross, receiv'd Pay at a hundred Crowns a Day, and was lodg'd in a Tent of Cloth of Gold. The King laying a streighter Siege to *Terouanne*, had advice that the *French* were in sight, and came on as if they intended to give him Battle; upon which King *Henry* advanc'd towards them, and after a few slight Skirmishes between the Horse only, wherein many of the bravest Men of their Nation were, they thought fit to fly in great disorder, and the *English* pursuing, they took *Lewis*, Duke of *Longueville*, Marquis of *Roteline*, *Bayard Fayette*, *Clermont*, *Bussy d' Amboise*, and brought them Prisoners, with Nine Cornets. This Battle happened on the 16th of *August*, and was called by the *French*, *la Journée des Esperons*, *the Battle of Spurs*, because they most employ'd them in their flight; and after this defeat, *le Seigneur de Pontdoring* despairing to keep *Terouanne* much longer, yielded up the Garrison and Ordnance to King *Henry*, upon Condition, they might march away with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, and Drums beating in Military Order. *The Battle of Spurs.*

A D. 1513.

This being granted King *Henry*, and the Emperor (who gave him Precedence) march'd into the Town: Which, becauſe it bordered upon *Maximilian*'s Territories, and continually annoy'd him by Incurſions, at the Emperor's Intreaty, it was totally demoliſh'd, except the Churches and Religious Houſes. From hence the King marches towards *Tournay*, and when he was within three Miles of the Town, ſent *Garter*, King at Arms, to ſummon it; but they, tho' their Forces were but weak, ſtood upon their Guard, and the King gave them ſuch a warm Aſſault, that tho' it was Engraven in Stone upon their Gates, *Jamais tu n'as perdu ton Pucelage, thou haſte never loſt thy Maidenhead*; yet now they were forced to yield it up, beg Mercy, and pay 10000 *l.* Sterling for the Redemption of their Liberties. The firſt uſe the King made of *Tournay*, was to feaſt the Princeſs *Margaret*, and her Nephew *Charles*, Prince of *Caſtile*, from thence, leaving Sir *Edward Poynings* Governor, with a ſtrong Garriſon, he march'd to *Liſle*, and from thence to *Calais*, and there beſtow'd Honours upon ſeveral deſerving Gentlemen, Sir *Thomas Cornwal*, Baron of *Burford*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Thomas Blount*, Sir *Henry Sacheverel*, being made Knight Bannerets, and others, created Knights; which being done, and the Wind proving fair, he was not long before he came to the Queen at *Richmond*, who had long expected him.

Having now related the King's Expedition into *France*, which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening Accident, I return to the *Scotch* King *James* the Fourth; who, tho' Brother-in-Law to King *Henry*, yet that near Alliance did not take away the ſtanding Animoſity between the two Nations, nor interrupt the Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*; for *James* the Fourth taking advantage of King *Henry*'s Abſence, firſt ſends the Lord *Humes*, his Chamberlain, with 7 or 8000 Men, to ravage the Borders, who being ſurpriz'd, his Plunder retaken, and his Army put to flight by Sir *Edward Bulmer*, with only a Thouſand Men, the King of *Scots*, with the whole Power of *Scotland*, ſome ſay 100000 Men, but all agree he had 60000, came into *England*, and laid Siege to *Norham* Caſtle, which, for want of Powder, was ſoon delivered to him. By this time the Earl of *Surrey*, Lieutenant of the North, had gathered an Army of 26000 Men, to whom his Son, the Lord Admiral, came with 1000 more, and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their

The Scots invade England.

ſeveral

several Stations; but being inform'd that the *Scotch* King was remov'd six Miles from *Norham*, and was encamp'd upon a great Mountain called *Floddon*, where it was impossible to attack him, without great disadvantage to the Assailants, unless he could be drawn from the Hill: The Earl of *Surrey* sends *Rouge Croix* to tell *James* the Fourth, *That in regard he had violated his Faith and League, in entring* England *in a Hostile manner, he therefore sent to bid them Battle on* Friday *next, if the King thought fit to stay so long in* England, *and accept it.* The Lord *Thomas Howard*, his Son, also desir'd *Rouge Croix* to acquaint the King, *That since he could meet no* Scotch *Ships at Sea, he was come on Shore to justify the killing of* Andrew Breton *the Pyrate; and as he look'd for no Mercy from his Enemies, so he would spare none but the King only, if he fell into his Hands, and to perform his promise, the King should find him in the Vanguard of the Battle.* The King of *Scots* makes answer, that he gladly received the Message, and sent the Earl word, he much desired to encounter him, and that if he had been at *Edinburgh*, he would have left all Business to attend the Battle; but notwithstanding the King made this flourish, he still kept the Hill, till the Earl surrounding him, had cut off his Provisions; and then King *James* perceiving their Meaning, dislodg'd, and went to another Hill, which being somewhat easier to ascend, the Earl resolved to attack him there, and marshall'd his Army accordingly. On the other side, King *James* reckoning upon the Advantage of the Hill, thought the *English* no less than mad to venture a Battle upon such unequal Terms, and therefore making a Speech to encourage his Soldiers, who were forward enough of themselves, he prepares for the Fight, in which, tho' he attempted all that Man could do, still pressing forwards, he was kill'd upon the spot. The Fight continuing three Hours, made the Event doubtful, and the Execution great; and to make his Death more honourable, there dy'd with him three Bishops, two Abbots, 12 Earls, 17 Lords, and of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about 8000, and as many taken Prisoners. Nor was this Battle without Blood to the *English*, for there were kill'd at least 1000; and which is strange, many also taken Prisoners; for in pursuing the *Scots* too rashly, they went so far, that they knew not which way to return, and so, by Companies of *Scots*, that had not fought, were set upon and taken. This Battle was fought upon the 9th of *September*

A. D. 1513.

The Battle of Flodon Field.

James, *King of Scots, kill'd.*

A. D. 1513. *ber* 1513. called by ſome *Branſton*, by others *Floddon Field*. King *James*, that was here ſlain, might have enjoy'd many happy Days, if he had kept firm to his Alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate Spleen between the two Nations, and Propenſion to *France*, he ended his Life, tho' honourably, yet miſerably, under many Wounds; his Body being known by the Lord *Dacres*, and others. Some ſay, he, being bowell'd, embalm'd, and wrap'd in Lead, was brought to the Monaſtery of *Sheene* in *Surrey*, and there inter'd; but *Buchanan* ſays, King *James* was ſeen alive the ſame Night at *Kelſy*, whence he travelled to *Jeruſalem*, and there ſpent the reſt of his Days in holy Contemplation; but however it fared with him, he was never after ſeen in *Scotland*.

1514. *The ill condition of the* French *King;* The *French* King now conſidering that two of his principal Frontier Towns were taken, the flower of his Nobility made Priſoners, his chief Confederate *James*, King of *Scots*, kill'd, and the Adminiſtration of the *Scotch* Affairs in the Hands of Queen *Margaret*, Siſter to King *Henry* the Eighth, a League ſworn againſt him by three of the moſt potent Princes in Chriſtendom, and the Pope managing all theſe Things againſt him under the ſcandalous Name of a *Schiſmatick*, and himſelf far grown in Years, he begins to think 'twas time to extricate himſelf out of theſe Labyrinths of Danger. To do this he had no more time than a ſhort Winter's ſpace, for the War was to re-commence with the Spring. He therefore begins with the Pope, and by ſubmiting to his demands procures his Pardon and Peace. *Maximilian* he takes off by repreſenting his danger from the growing Power of the *Turk*, now ready to enter his Frontiers; and for *Ferdinando*, King of *Spain*, he was contented to comply, ſo he might keep the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and preſerve his Intereſt in *Italy*. Laſtly, becauſe *Henry* the Eighth was able to find him work alone, he ſhews him that the Emperor did but delude him to gain his own ends, and therefore *Lewis* offers him his Friendſhip; and to ſtrengthen the Alliance, would marry his Siſter *Mary*, then accounted one of the faireſt Ladies of her time, who being but fourteen Years of Age was thought too young for him, as well as he too old for her. All theſe Offers were communicated to the King by private Confidents, under colour of treating for delivery of *Lewis*, Duke *de Longueville*, and others that were Priſoners of War. Our King hereupon diſdaining

daining to be twice deceived by his Father-in-Law *Ferdinand*, and abhoring the Ingratitude and Levity of *Maximilian*, made a League with *Lewis* the Twelfth, to continue for both their Lives, and a Year after. A. D. 1514.

King *Henry* now calling to mind the great Services that had been done him Abroad, and at Home, thought himself obliged to set a Mark of his Favour upon several of his Subjects, as a Reward of their extraordinary Merits, and therefore at *Lambeth*, upon the Day of the Purification of our Lady, created *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey*, Duke of *Norfolk* (a Dignity before confer'd on *John* his Father, by *Richard* the Third, and then again extinct) his Eldest Son *Thomas*, Lord *Howard*, he made Earl of *Surrey*, with an Augmentation to his Coat of Armour for his Atchievements in *Floddon Field*. Sir *Charles Somerset*, being in his Wife *Elizabeth*'s Right, (who was Daughter and Heir to *William Herbert*, Earl of *Huntingdon*) Lord *Herbert* of *Chestow*, *Gower* and *Ragland*, was created Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle*, was created Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Edward Stanley*, not long after was made Lord *Mount Eagle*, and *Thomas Woolsey*, Bishop of *Tournay*, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*. *Honours confered upon Desert.*

And here it will be necessary to say something of this great Man, who made so considerable a Figure in the World, that his future Story may not disturb the Reader's Progress. He was born at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, his Father by Trade was a Butcher, who for the Pregnancy of his Son's Wit and Aptness to Learning, sent him so early to the University of *Oxford*, that upon his taking his first degree, he was called the *Boy Batchellor*, and making a considerable advance in his Studies, was elected Fellow of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, and afterwards Master of the Grammar School there: Being grown into Reputation in the discharge of that Office, the Marquis of *Dorset* commited three of his Sons to his care, and a Living falling in his Gift, bestow'd it upon him. *Woolsey* going to take Possession of his Benefice, at his being there, for what Offence is not declar'd, he was set in the Stocks by Sir *Amias Paulet*, which afterward he kept in memory to the no small Prejudice of the Gentleman, and made him dance Attendance upon him five or six Years together, without any possibility of a Reconciliation. After this Disgrace *Woolsey* went over Sea, and falling into the Acquaintance of Sir *John Napham*, Treasurer of *Calais*, he prefer'd him to be one of King *Henry* the *Cardinal Woolsey's History.*

A. D. 1514. the Seventh's Chaplains: And by this means being under the King's Eye, he comported himself with so much diligence and obsequiousness, that he soon gain'd the good Opinion of the King, and whole Court. It some time happen'd, that the King had Occasion to send to the Emperor *Maximilian*, about some Business that requir'd a sudden Dispatch, which no Man was thought more fit to undertake than *Woolsey*; whereupon the King call'd him, gave him his Message, and bid him make all the speed he could. *Woolsey* departed from the King at *Richmond* about Noon, by next Morning got to *Dover*, from thence by Noon arrived at *Calais*, and by Night was with the Emperor: To whom delivering his Message, and having a present Dispatch, he rode that Night back to *Calais*, and the Night following came to the Court at *Richmond*. The next Morning he appeared in the King's Presence, who reprimanded him for not being gone, the Affair requiring haste; to whom *Woolsey* answered, That he had been with the Emperor, and perform'd the King's Commands, and therewith gave the King the Emperor's Letter. The King admiring at his speed, ask'd him if he met the Pursivant whom he sent after him, to advise him of a Matter he had forgotten: *Woolsey* answer'd, May it please your Grace, I met him yesterday upon the Road, but the Commands he brought I had dispatch'd before; for knowing it of such necessary Consequence to my other Instructions, I took the boldness to do it without Commission; for which I humbly beg your Grace's Pardon. The King seeing him so ripe and well qualify'd for Business, not only gave him his Pardon, but bestow'd the Deanery of *Lincoln* upon him, and soon after made him his Almoner.

Woolsey *made Dean of* Lincoln *and Almoner.*

In this Capacity King *Henry* the Eighth found him, with whom he also grew into such favour, that he made him of his Council, and having won *Tournay*, made him Bishop of that City; and returning into *England*, the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* falling void by the Death of Dr. *Smith*, the King made him Bishop of that Dioceses. Thus far the History has brought him; but soon after he was rais'd to a more eminent Station; for Dr. *Bambridge*, Archbishop of *York*, dying, he was translated to that See, and that he might not be inferior to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he procured the Pope to make him a Cardinal, *Legate a Latere*, and by the King was made Lord Chancellor of *England*. Being arriv'd to this extraordinary height, it will not be thought impertinent to shew,

A. D. 1514.

shew, by what Arts he insinuated himself into the King's favour, which is plainly set down by *Cavendish*, that knew him very well, in these words: *In him the King conceiv'd such a loving fancy, especially, for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the Council, to advance the King's only Will and Pleasure, having no respect to the Case; and whereas the ancient Counsellors would, according to the Office of good Counsellors, divers times perswade the King to be present in Council, to hear what was done in weighty Matters; the King was nothing at all pleased therewith, for he lov'd nothing worse, than to be constrain'd to do any thing contrary to his own Pleasure, and that this great Minister knew very well, having secret knowledge of the King's Intentions; and as fast as the other counsell'd the King to leave his Pleasures, and to attend Affairs of State,* Woolsey *perswaded him to the contrary, which much delighted the King, and caus'd him to have the greater Affection for this Minister.*

Woolsey's *Life MSS.* in Biblioth. Nob. D. G Perpoint.

Having got into such Power, he observ'd the King's Inclinations exactly; followed his Interests closely; and tho' he made other Princes retain him with great Presents and Pensions, yet he never engag'd the King into any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage. For Affairs at Home, after the King was established in his Grandeur, he affected to govern alone without a Parliament, there being from the seventh Year of his Reign, after which *Woolsey* got the Great Seal, but one Parliament in the 14th and 15th Years, and no more till the 21st, when Matters were turning about: In which time he rais'd great Sums of Money by Loans and Benevolences. If we look upon *Woolsey* as a Minister of State, he was a very extraordinary Person; but as a Churchman, he was the Disgrace of his Profession. He not only served the King in all his secret Pleasures, but was leud and vicious himself; so that his having the *French* Pox (which in those Days was a matter of no small Infamy) was so publick, that it was brought against him in Parliament when he fell into Disgrace. Besides, he was a Man of an extravagant Vanity, as appears by the great State he lived in; and to feed that, his Ambition and Covetousness were proportionable. His Retinue in Number, and all other Circumstances of State, exceeded all that ever went before, or will come after him. He had not only Bishops and Abbots to serve him, but even Dukes and Earls to give him Water and the Towel: And such was his extream Pride and Arro-

Woolsey *a great Statesman, but an ill Churchman.*

A. D. 1514. Arrogancy, that at length he grew intolerable. *Hadrian*, that was a Cardinal and Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, being deprived, that See was given to him, with the Abbey of St. *Albans* in *Commendam*: He next parted with *Bath* and *Wells*, and got the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, which he afterwards exchanged for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*: But beſides all that he had in his own Hands, the King granted him a full Power of diſpoſing of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in *England*, which brought him in as much Money as all the Places he held beſides; for having ſo vaſt a Power commited to him by the King and the Pope, as to Church Preferments, it may eaſily be gather'd what Advantages a Man of his Temper would draw from it. *Warham* was Lord Chancellor the firſt ſeven Years of the King's Reign, but retir'd to give Place to this aſpiring Favourite, who had a mind to the Great Seal, that there might be no interfering between the Legatine and Chancery Courts: And perhaps it alſo wrought ſomething upon his Vanity, that even after he was a Cardinal, *Warham*, as Lord Chancellor, took place of him, as appears from the Entries made in the Journals of the Houſe of Peers, in the Parliament held the ſeventh Year of the King's Reign, and afterwards gave him place upon divers Occaſions. We have nothing on Record to ſhew what Abilities he had in ſpeaking, for all the Journals of Parliament from the 7th to the 25th Year of this King are loſt; tho' 'tis like he ſpoke as his Predeceſſor *Warham* did, whoſe Speeches, as they are enter'd in the Journals, are Sermons begun with a Text of Scripture, which he expounded, and applied to the Buſineſs they were to go upon, ſtuffing them with the moſt fulſome Flattery of the King that was poſſible to be expreſſed.

His great Authority and Advantage.

On the 12th of *November*, in the ſeventh Year of this Reign, the Parliament ſat again, and towards the latter end of it, Archbiſhop *Warham* and Biſhop *Fox* withdrew themſelves from the Council, as taking Offence againſt the Cardinal, and made it their humble Requeſt to the King, *That he would not ſuffer the Servant to be greater than his Maſter.* To which the King anſwer'd, *That it ſhould be his care, that thoſe who were his Subjects ſhould Obey, and not Command.* Then *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Charles*, Duke of *Suffolk*, retir'd alſo, ſo that Cardinal *Woolſey* ſway'd all things at his Pleaſure, and inſtead of Reforming did nothing but innovate, which rais'd ſuch Clamours and Diſcontents among the People,

Popular Diſcontents.

ple, that none were thought good Subjects, but thoſe that traduc d the preſent Government, nor Wiſe Men but thoſe who amus'd the Nation with incredible Fears and improbable Dangers; tho' there was cauſe enough to be ſuſpicious of the Cardinal's Miniſtry, who had got ſuch an Aſcendant o'er the King's Inclinations, that he was ſeldom pleas'd but in his Company, which the Cardinal always improv'd to his own Advantage; which he had ſo twiſted with the King's Affairs, that they could ſcarce be perceiv'd or unravell'd. A. D. 1514.

This Year Pope *Julius* the Second ſent a Sword and Cap of Maintenance to King *Henry*, and being offended with the *French* King, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, transfer'd the Title of Moſt Chriſtian King from him to King *Henry*, which, with great Solemnity, was publiſh'd the *Sunday* following in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, and like all other Things that pleaſed the King, was accompanied with Revellings, Masks and Tiltings in the enſuing Week. King *Henry* the Seventh had concluded a Marriage between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles*, Prince of *Spain*, but ſhe being too young, and no Aſſurance of a Jointure to be had, it was defer'd during his Reign; but King *Henry* now thinking her fit for Marriage, began to re mind the *Spaniards* of their Obligations. The *Spaniſh* Council, whether they had other deſigns, or, according to their Cuſtom, procraſtinating the concluſion of it, ſent the King ſeveral excuſes, and at laſt told him plainly, They could not effect it. The *French* King reſolving to ſerve himſelf of the *Spaniſh* delays, got the new Pope, *Leo* the Tenth, to intercede for him to King *Henry*, that he might marry the Lady *Mary* his Siſter, and be admited to a Peace with *England*, which King *Henry* was not unwilling to hearken to; but while theſe things were in agitation, Prior *John*, who was a Stranger to them, coming with his Gallies to the Coaſts of *Suſſex*, burnt and plundered *Brighthemſted*, and in requital the Lord High Admiral ſent out Sir *John Wallop* with a Squadron of Ships, which ſailed to the *French* Coaſt, who, for one Village that Prior *John* conſumed in *England*, burnt 21 Villages and Towns in *France*, to the great Honour of himſelf and Country.

The Contract with Spain *broken.* 1515.

Now King *Henry*, by the Advice of his Council, concluded a Peace with *France*, and the Marriage alſo, and with his Queen brought the Lady *Mary* to *Dover*, from whence ſhe was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the

Marquis

A. D. 1515. Marquis of *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *De la War*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Mount Eagle*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *John Pechy*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Sir *John Garr*, and many other Knights and Ladies, through very tempeſtuous Weather to *Boulogne*, where the Duke of *Vandoſme*, with a Cardinal, and many other Perſons of the beſt Quality in *France*, receiv'd her, and brought her to *Abbeville*, where ſhe was receiv'd by the Dauphin, and the next Day attended by him to St. *Dennis*, where the Marriage between her and the *French* King were ſolemniz'd. *November* the 5th ſhe was crowned Queen of *France*, and the Day following in a moſt ſolemn and magnificent Manner made her Entry into *Paris*. The Dauphin, to add his ſhare of Honour to the Nuptials, proclaimed a ſolemn Juſt to be held at *Paris* in *November* following; which the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorſet* and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Giles Capel*, *Thomas Cheney*, and others, obtain'd leave of the King to be at the Challenge, where they behaved themſelves with great Courage, but eſpecially the Duke of *Suffolk*, whoſe Glory the Dauphin ſo much envyed, that he ſecretly hired a *Dutch* Man, the talleſt and ſtrongeſt Man in the *French* Court, to encounter his Lordſhip, but with no better ſucceſs; for the Duke ſo batter'd him, that they yielded the Duke a more honourable Conqueſt, by ſlurring a Stranger upon him. King *Henry* was not long behind the Dauphin in ſolemnizing it in *England*; for at *Greenwich* in *Chriſtmas* following he held a Juſting, wherein he broke Three and Twenty Spears, and overthrew both a Man and his Horſe that encounter'd him.

King Henry's Siſter married.

Now King *Henry* made Preparations for going in Perſon, to meet the *French* King and Queen at *Calais*, but Death prevented the Interview; for the *French* King dyed at *Paris* 82 Days after his Marriage: Which King *Henry* being acquainted with, he ſent the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Richard Winckfield* and Dr. *Weſt* to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenant of Marriage; who was afterward married to the Duke of *Suffolk*, as has been before related. The ſame Year the King being at his Mannor of *Oking*, *Woolſey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, ſhew'd him Letters that he was elected Cardinal, but would not act without the King's Licence, which the King gave him, and always after called him Lord Cardinal. About the ſame time Cardinal

Woolſey made Cardinal.

Cam-

Campejus was sent by Pope *Leo* to King *Henry*, to solicit him to War against the *Turks*, with whom Cardinal *Woolsey* was joyned in Commission, who hearing his Brother Cardinal's Retinue was but ill accoutred, sent store of red Cloth to *Calais* to suit them more agreeably to the Attendants of a Cardinal, and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, *Woolsey* caused the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Black Heath*; where he was met by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates, and there in a Tent of Cloth of Gold shifted himself into his Cardinal's Habits. He had 8 Mules laden with Necessaries, but *Woolsey* not thinking them enough for so great a Prelate, sent him 12 more. In *Cheapside*, by some Mischance, his Mules overthrew their Carriages, and the Lids of the Coffers flying open, shew'd the Treasure they contained, *Old Breeches*, *Boots*, *and broken Shoes*, *broken Meat*, *Marrow bones*, *and Crusts of Bread*; which caused great Laughter amongst the Spectators. However, the Cardinal went jogging on before with his *Crosses*, *Gilt Ax*, *and Mace* to St. *Paul's* Church, and from thence to his Lodgings in *Bath* Place. He got well by his Journey, for the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, but the Affair he came about, which was to have Aid by Money to carry on a War against the *Turk*, he had no success in, being suspected to be only a Device to get Money, without any Intentions of what was pretended. A. D. 1515.

In the eighth Year of this King, *Martin Luther* of *Wirtenberg* in *Germany*, a Fryar of the Order of the *Hermits*, taking occasion from the Pope's publishing Indulgences in *Germany*, in so gross a manner, that for a little Money any Man might both preserve himself and deliver his Friends out of Purgatory, *Luther* wrote against these kind of Merchandizes; but it concerning the Pope, and the See of *Rome*, in so main a part of his Prerogative, and which would have cut off a great Branch of their Revenue, he was proceeded against with extream Severity. So small a spark as that Collision made, could never have made so great a Fire, if the World at that time had not been strongly disposed to it, by the just Prejudices they had conceived against the Popish Clergy, whose Ignorance, and leud Lives, had laid them so open to Contempt and Hatred, that any one that would set himself against them, could not but be kindly look'd upon by the People; for the Corruptions of their Worship and Doctrines were such, that a very small 1516. *How the Reformation began in* England.

A. D. 1516.

small proportion of Common Sense, with but a small Insight into the New Testament, discover'd them. These things being spread in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and the *Netherlands*, came also into *England*, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought upon, not only by the Prejudices they had conceiv'd against the corrupt Clergy, but by the Opinions of the *Lollards*, which had been now in *England*, since the Days of *Wickliff*, for about 150 Years. Between which Opinions, and the Doctrines of the Reformers, there was great Affinity; and therefore to give the better Vent to the Books that came out of *Germany*, many of them were translated into the *English* Tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quicken'd the Proceedings against the *Lollards*, and the Enquiry became so severe, that great numbers were brought into the Toils of the Bishops, and their Commissaries. If a Man had spoken but a light word against any of the Constitutions of the Church, he was seiz'd on by the Bishops Officers; and if any taught their Children the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles Creed in the Vulgar Tongue, that was Crime enough to bring them to the Stake: As it did six Men and a Woman in the Passion Week at *Coventry* 1519 Burning was the death appointed by these Popish Bishops, because Witches, Wizards and *Sodomites* were used to be executed in that manner; which made what they called Heresy appear a terrible Thing, that merited so severe a Punishment. But all this did not produce what they design'd by it. The Clergy did not correct their own Faults, and their Cruelty was look'd upon as an Evidence of their Guilt, and the Weakness of their Cause; so that the Method they took work'd only on People's Fears, and made them more cautious and reserv'd, but did not at all remove the Cause, nor operate on their Reasons and Affections.

Sharp proceedings against the Lollards.

In the eighth Year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the League between him and the *French* King had been proclaim'd in *London*, his Sister *Margaret*, Queen of *Scots*, who was married to *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, by reason of a Dissention among the Lords of *Scotland*, was forced with her Husband to fly into *England*, to her Brother for Protection, who assigned her the Castle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* for her Residence, where she was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come

The Queen of Scots comes into England.

come to Court, which the Queen did, but her Husband ſlunk away privately into *Scotland*, which the King being inform'd of, ſaid, *It was done like a Scot.* Now in honour of his Siſter's Coming, a Juſting was proclaim'd, where the King, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Nicholas Carew*, Eſq; took up all Comers. Among others, the King and Sir *William Kingſton* encountring, tho' he was reputed a Knight of great Courage and Strength, yet the King threw him upon the ground; and all the reſt was performed with no leſs Valour than Magnificence. This year dyed *Ferdinando*, the King of *Arragon*, Queen *Catherine*'s Father, and put an end to many Troubles, which he was the ſole Procurer of in *Europe*, leaving to his Succeſſors the Stile of *Moſt Catholick*. He was an active and politick Prince, one that took no reſt himſelf, nor would ſuffer any quietneſs to others, if they were within his reach to give them diſturbance; which, it ſeems, coſt him dear; for having vaſt Poſſeſſions, immenſe Treaſure, tranſported from the *Indies*, and being of a frugal Diſpoſition, yet at his Death there was ſcarce enough in his Treaſury to defray the charge of his Funeral. In this Year happened an Inſurrection in *London*, occaſioned, as the People ſaid, by the Inſolency of Strangers, in exerciſing their Trades and Arts in *London*, to the prejudice of the Natives, and importing foreign Goods and Merchandize, to the ruin of *Engliſh* Manufactories. Which one *John Lincoln* drew into a form of Complaint, and prevailed with Dr. *Beal*, who was to preach on *Eaſter Tueſday* at the *Spittle*, to read it openly in the Pulpit; which ſo enraged the *Mobile*, that Strangers durſt hardly be ſeen in the Streets, but their Lives were in danger. At length many of the turbulent Rabble gather'd together one Evening, rifling Stranger's Houſe, and commiting great Violences and Diſorders; but being ſuppreſſed by the care of the Mayor and Aldermen, many of them were ſent to Priſon. *Lincoln* and 12 more of the principal Offenders were hang'd, 400 of the reſt, in their Shirts, bound in Ropes and Halters about their Necks, were brought to *Weſtminſter*, where the King himſelf ſat that Day in Court; and the Cardinal having charged them with their Offences, they all cryed out, *Mercy, Mercy:* And then the King, by the Cardinal's Mouth, gave them all his Gracious Pardon, which Act of Clemency mightily endeared him to the People.

A. D. 1516.

1517. *The King of* Spain's *Death.*

An Inſurrection in London, *by the Mob called the Black Cart*

A. D. 1518. It was now the Tenth Year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the *French* King, earneſtly coveting to have *Tournay* reſtored to his Poſſeſſion, by great Gifts and large Promiſes won Cardinal *Woolſey* to move the King in it, who, upon his Perſwaſion, was contented to be treated with about it. The *French* Ambaſſadors being come for that purpoſe, attended the King at *Greenwich*, where after a long Audience, it was concluded, that under a Pretence of a Marriage to be had between the Dauphin of *France*, and the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *England*, and in the name of her *Marriage Money*, Tournay *ſhould be deliver'd to the* French *King*, *he paying to the King of* England *for the Caſtle he had made in that City, Six hundred thouſand Crowns in twelve Years, and Fifty thouſand Crowns yearly; but if the Marriage ſhould not take effect, that* Tournay *ſhould be again reſtored to the Crown of* England; and for performance of theſe Covenants, Hoſtages ſhould be deliver'd, *viz.* Monſieur *de Montmorency*, Monſieur *de Monpeſac*, Monſieur *de Moy* and Monſieur *de Morret*; and moreover, that the *French* King ſhould pay to Cardinal *Woolſey* 1000 Marks yearly, in recompence of the Revenues receiv'd from his Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. All things thus concluded, *Tournay* was deliver'd up to the *French*; and the ſame Year dy'd the Emperor *Maximilian*, for whom the King caus'd a ſolemn Obſequy to be kept in St. *Paul*'s Church. *Charles*, King of *Caſtile*, was elected to ſucceed him, for joy whereof a ſolemn Maſs was ſung at the ſame place, and the King kept St. *George*'s Feaſt with great Solemnity at *Windſor*.

Tournay *deliver'd to the* French.

1519.

1520. At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in *France*, after the manner of that Country, carried themſelves ſo familiarly with the King, that the Lords of his Council thought it a Diſparagement to his Majeſty, and therefore, his leave firſt obtain'd, they were baniſh'd the Court; and in their places were put graver Men; namely, Sir *Richard Winkfield*, Sir *Richard Jeningham*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*. This Summer, the Queen keeping her Reſidence at *Havering* in *Eſſex*, ſhe there treated the four *French* Hoſtages, and the King treated both them and the Queen at his Manor of *New Hall*, otherwiſe called *Beaulieu* in *Eſſex*; where, after a ſumptuous Banquet, he preſented them with an extraordinary Mask, perform'd by the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorſet*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, Sir *Richard Weſton* and Sir *William Kin ſton*

Kingſton, the youngeſt of whom was at leaſt fifty years of Age, that the Ladies might ſee, what Power Beauty had to make old Men young again. A. D. 1520.

An Interview deſired.

The *French* King being deſirous of an Interview with the King of *England*, he made an intereſt in Cardinal *Woolſey* to procure it. He, as well to ſhew his own Grandeur in *France*, as to oblige that Monarch, embraces the opportunity, and perſwades the King to it; who delighting much in Shews and Pageantry, ſent 1100 Maſons, 600 Carpenters, 200 Painters, Glaſiers, and other Artificers, to build a place for his Reception near the City of *Guiſnes*, where both the Kings agreed to meet in *June* following. *May* the 25th, in order to this Interview the King and Queen came to *Canterbury*, and the Emperor *Charles* returning out of *Spain* landed at *Dover*, whom the Cardinal, in great State, went to wait upon; afterwards the King went to bid him welcome, and on *Whit-Sunday* morning brought him to *Canterbury*. The Emperor's deſign in landing, was to diſſwade the King from the intended Interview; but when he ſaw him in ſuch a Readineſs for his Voyage, he only deſir'd him, that he would give no credit to any of the King of *France*'s Pretences, and with great Gifts and large Promiſes, prevail'd with the Cardinal to remind the King of it upon all occaſions. The laſt of *May* the Emperor took his leave, and the ſame day the King made ſail from *Dover* and landed at *Calais*, together with the Queen, and many Lords and Ladies of the firſt Quality. The fourth of *June* the King and Queen removed from *Calais*, to his Princely Lodgings near *Guiſnes*, the fineſt Structure that ever any Age produc'd. The *French* King's Lodgings were built near *Ardes*, in a ſtrange but moſt magnificent faſhion. On *June* the 7th, both the Kings met in the Vale of *Ardes*, ſo magnificently equip'd, that from thence it was call'd *the Camp of Cloth of Gold*. After the uſual Compliment at the firſt Interview, the reſt of the time till the 24th of *June*, was ſpent in Juſts and Masks, and then the Kings and Queens took their Leaves of each other. From thence King *Henry* making his Progreſs towards *Graveling*, was met by the Emperor, and by him conducted thither, and Royally entertained; which much diſpleaſed the *French* King, who thought to love him and the Emperor both, was inconſiſtent. On *Wedneſday* the 11th of *July* the Emperor, with his Aunt, the Lady *Margaret*, came with the King of *England* to *Calais*, and 1521.

A. D. 1521. and there continued Feasting and Sporting till the 14th of *July*, at which time the triple League between the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *France* was renewed. On *Saturday* the Emperor took his leave and went to *Graveling*, and the King and Queen return'd into *England*.

The Duke of Buckingham's Prologue to his Death.

About this time *Edward Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, great in Blood and Estate, fell into many Troubles; which tho' fomented by the Cardinal, could never have overthrown him, without the concurrence of some Indiscretion in himself. The Cardinal had long ow'd him a mischief, and now studies to pay it with a revenge proportionable to his malice, for speaking words to his disparagement. It is confidently reported, that the Duke once holding the Bason to the King, the Cardinal, when the King had done washing, dip'd his hands into the same Water, which the Duke taking as an Affront to his Quality, threw the Water into his Shoes, which so incensed the Cardinal, that he threatens to sit upon his Skirts for it. The Duke, that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court richly Cloath'd, but without Skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding what he meant by that strange fashion, the Duke answer'd, *That he did it by way of Prevention, for now the Cardinal could not sit on his Skirts.*

But this Witticism was little advantage to the Duke; for the Cardinal resolving to take him off, first sent the Earl of *Surrey*, who had married his Daughter, to be Deputy in *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Duke's special Friend, he had caus'd to be imprison'd upon feign'd Crimes; and now the Duke lying open to the Cardinal's malice, and the Treachery of Servants being fatal to that Family, the Duke having put away his Steward, one *Charles Knevit*, who had been in his Confidence, the Cardinal practis'd upon this Man's Envy, who coming to him, told, *That the Duke intended to make away the King, that he might be King himself, and then swore he would severely punish the Cardinal for all his Misdemeanours.* Now had the malicious Cardinal matter enough to work upon, to form an Accusation against the Duke, and so aggravated his Offences to the King, that the King bid him proceed against him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke was apprehended by Sir *Henry Mourney*, Captain of the Guards, brought to the *Tower*, and shortly after indicted for Treason at *Guild-Hall*. The Substance of the Indictment was, *That in*

The fate of that noble Family.

the

the ſecond Year of the King's Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had conſpired the King's death at London, *and at* Thornbury *in* Glouceſterſhire; *and that in the ſixth Year of the King, he went in Perſon to the Priory of* Henton, *and there had Conference with one* Nicholas Hopkins, *who told him he ſhould be King, and that he had often told the Lord* Abergavenny, *who had married his Daughter, that if King* Henry *dy'd without Iſſue, he would be King himſelf.* Upon theſe Heads he was arraign'd at *Weſtminſter*, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſitting then High Steward of *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorſet*, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Devonſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Derby*; the Lords, *S. John de la Warr*, *Fitzwater*, *Willoughby*, *Brook*, *Cobham*, *Herbert* and *Morley*. When the Witneſſes had depoſed againſt him, the Duke pleaded his own Cauſe with great Judgment and Elegancy, ſhewing the Falſity of the Indictment, and the Incompetency of the Witneſſes, but all to no purpoſe, for he was found guilty by his Peers, and Sentence was pronounc'd againſt him, (but not without Tears) by the Duke of *Norfolk*: To which the Duke anſwered, A. D. 1521.

His Speech after Condemnation

My Lord of Norfolk, *you have delivered Judgment in Words proper to be ſpoken to a Traytor, which I never was; and therefore freely forgive you all my Death, and heartily pray the Eternal God to forgive you alſo. The King is a Gracious Prince; however, I ſhall never ask my Life of him, and ſo deſire you, my Lord, and all the reſt of my Peers and Friends, to pray for me.* After Sentence he was remanded to the *Tower*, where all the favour he receiv'd, was, a Meſſage from the King, that the Sentence was mitigated to beheading, which accordingly was done on the Scaffold on *Tower* Hill; and with him dy'd the Office of High Conſtable of *England*, the greateſt Place in the Kingdom, whoſe Authority extended to reſtrain ſome Actions in the King himſelf. Thus ended the great Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the People, who, for want of greater Power to be reveng'd on the Cardinal, wrote bitter Libels againſt him, calling him (*Carnificis Filium*) the Son of a Hangman, and a Blood-ſucker,

King Henry's Book againſt Luther.

Upon all this, the King, to get himſelf a Name, and to have a laſting Intereſt with the Clergy, thought it not enough to aſſiſt them with his Authority, but would needs turn their Champion, and write againſt *Luther*, in defence of the ſeven Sacraments. This Book, which

A. D. 1521. the Lord *Herbert* says he saw richly bound in the *Vatican* Library at *Rome*, was magnified by the Clergy, as the most learned Piece that ever the Sun saw; he was compared to King *Solomon*, and to all the Christian Emperors that had ever been: And the Book was the chief subject of Flattery for many Years, besides the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith*, which the Pope bestow'd on him for writing it: Tho' it must be acknowledg'd, that considering the Age, and that it was the work of a King, it did deserve some Commendation. *Luther* was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himself upon it, that so great a King had entered the Lists with him, and answer'd his Book, not without too large a mixture of *Acrimony*; for which he was generally blam'd, as forgeting that great respect which is due to the Persons of Soveraign Princes. But all would not do, for these Opinions still gain'd stronger Footing, to which *William Tendal*'s Translation of the New Testament into *English* did not a little contribute.

This year Pope *Leo* the Tenth dy'd, suspected to be poisoned by *Barnaby Malespina* his Cup-bearer. After his death, Doctor *Pace* was sent to *Rome* to make Friends in the behalf of the Cardinal of *York*, who was seduced into an Opinion, that by the King's favour he might be elected Pope; but these blooming hopes were knipt in the bud; for before Dr. *Pace* could get to *Rome*, *Adrian* the Sixth was chosen Pope. This *Pace* was a very learned and religious man, but thro' Crosses in his Employment fell Mad and Dy'd, and Dr. *Stephen Gardiner* succeeded in his Employment. The same Year dy'd the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peechy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all valiant Commanders, suspected to be poyson'd at a Banquet at *Ardes*, when the two Kings were there. *Owen Douglas*, Bishop of *Dunkel*, fled out of *Scotland* into *England*, because the Duke of *Albany* being come thither, had taken upon him the sole Government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon *Clarencieux* was sent into *Scotland*, to command the Duke of *Albany* to quit that Kingdom, which he refusing to do, the Herald deonunc'd War against him, whereupon the *French* King seiz'd on all the *English* Merchant's Effects in *Bourdeaux*, and imprison'd their Persons, and not only detain'd the Money due for the restoration of *Tournay*, but also withheld the Payment of the *French* Queen's Dowry. King *Henry* being inform'd of these Proceedings, call'd the *French* Ambassador to

Woolsey *endeavours to be Pope.*

1522.

to give an account of them; who, tho' he gave the best reasons he could, to palliate his Master's breach of Alliance, yet he was commanded to keep his House; the *French* Hostages remaining here were restrained of their Liberty, and commited to the Custody of the Lord *St. John*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Andrew Windsor*, and Sir *Thomas Nevil*, each of them to keep one. All *French* Men in *London* were commited to Prison and put to Fines, and much more the *Scotch* Men. The King hearing that the Emperor would come to *Calais*, and so to *England*, in his Voyage into *Spain*, he appointed the Marquis of *Dorset* to receive him at *Calais*, and the Cardinal at *Dover*. The Cardinal taking his Journey thither, rode through *London*, accompanied by two Earls, Six and thirty Knights, and an Hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Sattin and Velvet, and Seven hundred Yeomen, and meeting the Emperor at *Dover*, conducted him into the Castle appointed to entertain him. On *Wednesday* the King came to *Dover*, and with great respect congratulating each other's happy meeting, from thence, by easy Stages, went to *Greenwich*, where the Queen received her Nephew with great Joy and Satisfaction. On *Friday*, *June* the first, the Emperor and the King went to *London*, where the City receiv'd them with Pageants, and other curious Shews, as at a Coronation. The Emperor was lodg'd at *Black-fryars*, and his Retinue at the New Palace of *Bridewell*. On *Whit-Sunday*, the King and the Emperor rode to St. *Paul*'s Church, where the Cardinal of *York* sung Mass, and had his Traverse and his Cupboard. Before Mass, two Barons gave him Water, after the Gospel two Earls, and at last lavatory two Dukes held the Bason, which unaccountable piece of Pride raised a strong Abhorrence against him among the *Spaniards*. After several Feastings in other Places, at last they rode to *Windsor*, where they continued a whole Week, and on *Corpus Christi* Day the Emperor wore the Robe of the Garter, and sat in his own Stall in the Coire. On the same Day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and mutually took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them.

A. D. 1522.

Woolsey's *extream Pride.*

The Emperor install'd at Windsor.

About this time the Lord *Dacres* of the North being commission'd to keep the Borders against *Scotland*, burnt the Town of *Kelsey*, Eighty Villages, and demolish'd Eighteen Towns; while the Earl of *Surrey*, with Seven thou-

A. D. 1522. thouſand Men had equal Succeſs in *France*. But King *Henry* now reſolving to carry on his War againſt *France* with the utmoſt vigour, ſent over the Earl of *Surrey* again with a well appointed Army, who burnt and ſack'd all the Towns and Villages they attempted, except *Hedrin*, which he laid Siege to, but for want of Battering Guns, which the foulneſs of the Weather would not permit him to bring along with him, was forced to raiſe it. The Duke of *Albany* being eſtabliſh'd Governor of *Scotland*, rais'd an Army of 80000 Men, with which he approach'd the Borders, but made no Invaſion, as thinking, perhaps, that only the report of his great Army would fright the *Engliſh*; but it fell out to the contrary, for the Lord Marquis of *Dorſet* enter'd into *Tividale*, and ſo forward ten Miles in *Galloway*, burning all the Towns and Villages by which he paſs'd. All that Night he continued in *Scotland*, and the next Day drew back into *England* with Four thouſand Head of Cattle, having burnt *Grimley*, *Mow houſe*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Arkforth*, *Crowling*, and many other Towns and Villages. In the King's fourteenth Year, a Parliament was call'd, which ſat in the *Black-fryars*, to which the King went and ſat in his Throne; at the Feet on the right ſide ſat the Cardinal of *York*, and at the rail behind ſtood Dr. *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, who told the Houſes that the cauſes of Aſſembling this Parliament, were for redreſſing Grievances, and remedying the Miſchiefs ariſing from the Common Law, by Recoveries, Foreign Vouchers, Corrupt Proceedings, *&c.* and to make new Laws beneficial to the Subjects, but notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible Pretences, there was not one Word more ſpoken of that matter during the whole Seſſions of Parliament, nor any thing elſe done but granting a Subſidy. Sir *Thomas More* was choſen Speaker of this Parliament.

A Parliament call'd.

Chriſtian, King of *Denmark*, with his Queen, being driven out of their own Country, came into *England*, and were lodged at *Black fryars*, who, after he had been feaſted by the King, and the City of *London*, and received great Gifts from both, returned into *Flanders*, where he liv'd an Exile. Some Years after King *Henry* ſent Doctor *Standiſh*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, and Sir *John Baker*, into *Denmark*, to mediate his Reſtoration; but could not prevail for any thing in his behalf, he was ſo much hated for his Cruelty.

1523.

The

The Earl of *Kildare* having recovered the Cardinal's favour, was sent Deputy into *Ireland*, as he had been before, and reduced the *Wild Irish* to a tolerable Obedience. All this while *England* had War with the *French* and *Scots*. In *Scotland*, the Marquis of *Dorset* demolish'd the Castles of *Wederborn*, *Nesgate*, *Blackacre* and *Mackwalls*, burnt Thirty seven Villages; and yet never could draw the *Scots* to a Field Battle. In *France*, the Lord *Sands*, Treasurer of *Calais*, went before *Bulloign*, where he skirmish'd with the Enemy, and after taking several Churches and Castles in the Enemy's Country, returned back to *Calais*, with the loss only of a dozen Men. King *Henry* being informed that the Duke of *Albany* was raising Forces in *France* for the Service of *Scotland*, sent out his Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with a Fleet of stout Ships to intercept him; but failing in that design, he landed at *Treport*, where, with 700 Men he beat 6000 *French* that attempted to hinder his landing, took their Bulwark, and many great Guns, burnt all their Suburbs in Five Hours time, and then return'd into *England*. After this, the King sends a powerful Army into *France*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Suffolk*, with which Army the Duke took the Field. His Vanguard was led by the Lord *Sands*; the Captain of the right Wing was Sir *William Kingston*, of the left Sir *Edward Digby*, the Horse was commanded by Sir *Edward Guilford*, the Duke led the Battle, and Sir *Edward Winckfield* the Rear. This Army was assisted by the Duke of *Bourbon* with 10000 Men, and the Lord *Isselstein* and 3000 Men: with which Forces the Duke took the rich Town of *Anchar*, the Castle of *Bonguard*, the Town of *Bray*, tho' defended by 2000 Men, the Towns of *Cappe* and *Roy*, *Lihome* and *Davenker*, *Mont Didier* and *Bogan* Castle, and then return'd to *Calais*.

A. D. 1523.

English Victories.

In the mean time, the *Scots* knowing that the strength of *England* was gone into *France*, took the liberty of invading the *Marches*; but the Earl of *Surrey*, Treasurer and High Admiral of *England*, marching against them with 6000 Men, took divers of their Strong-holds and Castles, and skirmishing with a great Garrison of *Scots* at *Tedworth*, put them to the worst, and took and burn'd both the Town and Castle; and now the *French* King perceiving the *Scots* gave no great Diversion to the *English*, to keep them from molesting him in *France*, he sent over the Duke of *Albany* to their Assistance, with

A Scotch Invasion.

A. D. 1523. with some of his own Forces, who soon after his landing approached the *English* Borders with an Army; and hearing the Earl of *Surrey* was coming against him with an Army, sent a Herald to tell him, *That, upon his Honour, he would give him Battle, and if he took him Prisoner, would give him good Quarter.* To which the Earl answer'd, *That he would not fail to encounter him, and if he took him Prisoner, would cut off his Head, and send it as a present to his Master, the King of* England. At this time the Earl of *Surrey* being at *Alnwick*, there came to him the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle* and *Darky*, with many Knights, Gentlemen and Soldiers, to the number of 40000: And from the Court came the Master of the Horse, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Bainton*, and others. The last of *October*, the Duke of *Albany* sent 2 or 3000 Men over the Water, to besiege the Castle of *Wark*, who, by Battery, gain'd the Outmost Ward called the *Barnekins*, and afterwards another Part; upon which Sir *William Lisle*, Captain Governor of the Castle, sallied out with those few Men he had left, drove the *French* Men from the Place, and kill'd 300 of them. A memorable service, for which the Earl of *Surrey* gave him hearty Thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed the Enemy into their own Country, but his Commission was only to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after the Queen of *Scots*, Mother to the King, sent to her Brother, the King of *England*, for a Cessation of Arms, till a Treaty of Peace could be agreed on, and then the *English* Army broke up, and the Earl of *Surrey* return'd to Court.

The Scots *routed.*

1524. The first of *September*, 1524. being the 16th Year of *Henry*'s Reign, Doctor *Thomas Hannibal* was sent from the Pope with a Rose of Gold, as a Present to the King, and on the Nativity of our Lady, after a solemn Mass sung by the Cardinal of *York*, it was delivered to the King, being a Tree forged of fine Gold, with Branches, Leaves, and Flowers resembling Roses. This Present was followed by a Messenger from the Lady *Margaret*, with Letters signifying, that the *French* King having long sat down before *Pavia*, was forced to raise his Siege, and was taken Prisoner by the *Imperialists*; for Joy whereof Bonfires and Triumph were made in *London*. The *French* King was after some time convey'd into *Spain*, and at last brought to *Madrid*, where he fell so extreamly Sick, that all the Physicians de-

despaired of his life, unless the Emperor would be so kind as to visit him; which the Emperor did, and the King recover'd his Health, tho' not presently his Strength: In which time many Proposals were made for his Liberty; but the Emperor would hearken to none, without restitution was made of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. At last the *French* King, being weary of Confinement, was content to agree upon any Terms, and so was set at liberty; which King *Henry* hearing of, sent Sir *Thomas Cheney* to him to congratulate his Freedom, tho' before he had rejoyced at his Imprisonment: So sudden and unaccountable is Love and Hatred among great Princes. The *French* King being thus at liberty, the Emperor marry'd the Lady *Isabella*, Daughter of *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, and had with her 1100000 Ducats, tho' three years before at *Windsor*, he covenanted to marry the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Daughter. In *March*, King *Henry* sent *Cutbert Tunstal*, Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, into *Spain*, to confer about a War to be made on *France*, and yet these two Princes were in league at the same time. *But he that observes the Conduct of Princes to one another, how soon their Leagues of Friendship are converted into open Hostilities, and their Wars into Peace, would be tempted to think, that they did but sport with the Blood of their Subjects, that their Reasons of State were but gilded Weather-cocks, that always turned to their own advantage, and their Oaths made of such brittle Materials, that they snapt asunder at the first straining*; but leaving Foreign Matters a while, let us return to our own Domestick Affairs, whose mutations will entertain the Reader with such strange Catastrophes, as never any Age but this produced.

A. D. 1524.

Reflections upon the Conduct of these Princes.

England had for above 300 years been the tamest Part in *Christendom* of the Papal Authority, and was treated accordingly; for tho' the Parliaments and two or three high-spirited Kings had asserted their Rights, and given some Interruptions to the cruel Exactions and other illegal Proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, yet that Court always gained their Point in the end. But now the Ignorance and Lewdness of the Clergy was grown so intollerable, that they were the common scandal of the whole Nation, and the Cardinal perceiving that their Offences, if not remedy'd, would inevitably usher in the Ruin of the whole Establishment, he endeavour'd by all means possible, except his own good Example,

to

A. D. 1524. *A Reformation attempted.*

to reform the inferior Clergy, and therefore intended to visit all the Monasteries in *England*, that so discovering their Corruptions, he might the better justify the Design he had in hand, which was to suppress most of them, and convert them into Bishopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches and Colledges. Now the King naturally loving Learning, the Cardinal resolv'd to do a thing he knew would please him; therefore having procured a *Bull* from Pope *Clement*, which gave him Authority to suppress some of the lesser Monasteries, he gain'd the King's consent also; and with their Revenues built and endowed two Colledges, one at *Oxford* and another at *Ipswich*, the place of his Nativity; and this

1526. Precedent, in alienating the Church Lands to other uses than what they were given to, chalk'd out a way to the King, to make a total Suppression of all Religious Houses afterwards; tho' it must be acknowledged, there is a vast difference between converting Monasteries into Colledges, and the utter subversion of them.

The Queen was now supposed to have done bearing Children, and had contracted some Diseases, that made her Person unacceptable to the King, tho', as to her other Qualities, she was a grave and vertuous Princess, much esteemed and beloved both of the King and the whole Nation. The King being out of hopes of more Children, declared his Daughter Princess of *Wales*, sent her to *Ludlow* to hold her Court there, and projected divers Matches for her; the last of which was between her and the *French* King, *Francis*, or his second Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, and that alternative was to be determined by the two Kings at an Interview that was to be between them soon after at *Calais*, with Forfeitures on both sides if the Match went not on. But while this was in agitation, the Bishop of *Tarbe*, the *French* Ambassador, made a great Demur about the Princess *Mary*'s being illegitimate, as begotten in a Marriage that was contracted against a Divine Precept, with which no Human Authority could dispence. How far this was secretly concerted between the *French* Court and ours, or between the Cardinal and the Ambassador, is unknown. Tho it was surmised, that the King or the Cardinal set on the *French* to make this Exception publickly, that so the King might have a Colour to justify his Suit of Devorce, since other Princes were already questioning it. For if upon a Marriage proposed of such infinite Advantage to *France*, as that would be with

The Princess Mary's legitimacy questioned.

with the Heir of the Crown of *England*, they nevertheleſs made Exceptions, and proceed but coldly in it; it was very reaſonable to expect, that after the King's death, other Pretenders would have diſputed her Title in another manner. Many thought the King was out in his Politicks, in propoſing his Daughter to ſuch great Princes as the Emperor and the *French* King were; becauſe it would neceſſarily make *England* become a Province to the Crown ſhe ſhould marry to. Others thought the reaſon why the King would marry her to *France*, was, That he might the more effectually ſeclude her from the Succeſſion, conſidering the Averſion his Subjects had to a *French* Government, that ſo he might the more eaſily ſettle his Baſtard Son, the Duke of *Richmond*, which he had by the Lady *Mary Blunt*, in the Succeſſion of the Crown, which he had certainly attempted, if the death of that Duke had not prevented it. A. D. 1526.

While this Treaty went on, the King's ſcruples about his Marriage began to take vent. It's ſaid the Cardinal firſt infuſed them into him, and made *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, that was the King's Confeſſor, poſſeſs the King's mind with them in Confeſſion; and if this was true, the King had, according to the Religion of that time, very juſt cauſe of Scruple, when his Confeſſor judg'd his Marriage ſinful, and the Pope's Legate was of the ſame Opinion. It is alſo ſaid, that the Cardinal being alienated from the Emperor, for promiſing to make him Pope, and not performing it, that he might irreparably embroil the King and him, and unite the King to the *French* Intereſt, deſign'd this out of ſpite; and that he was alſo diſſatisfied towards the Queen, who hated him for his lewd and diſſolute Life, and often had admoniſh'd and check'd him for it; and therefore deſign'd to engage the King to marry the *French* King's Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Alenſon*, and to make way for that ſet this matter on foot; but as I ſee no good Authority for all this, except the Queen's ſuſpicions, who afterwards charged the Cardinal as the Original of all her Troubles, ſo I am inclin'd to think the King's Scruples were much ancienter, for the King declared to *Simon Grineus*, four years after this, that for ſeven years he had abſtain'd from the Queen upon theſe Scruples; ſo by that it ſeems they had been in the King's mind three years before this time. 1527. *The King's Marriage queſtioned*

What

A. D. 1527. What were the King's ſecret Motives, and the true Grounds of his Averſion to the Queen, is only known to God, and till the Diſcovery of all Secrets at the day of Judgment muſt lye hid; but the reaſon which he always own'd, was the diſſatisfaction of his Conſcience, upon the unlawfulneſs of the Marriage; in which he was confirm'd by a writing under the Hands and Seals of all the Biſhops in *England*, except *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. The others ſay it was only a deſire of change, that he might marry the Lady *Anne* of *Bullen*; and to make way for that Marriage, rais'd this Objection, that he might be divorced from Queen *Catherine*. But this is very unlikely, for he married not that Lady till about three Years after this Scruple was firſt raiſed, and three years was a long time to delay ſuch a zealous Affection, which is commonly impatient of the leaſt Procraſtination. To decide this important Controverſy, the King deſired the Queen to name her Council, who made choice of *William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Weſt*, Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctors of Law; *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Henry Standiſh*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, Doctors of Divinity, with many others; and then the King ſent to the Court of *Rome*, deſiring the Pope to ſend his Legate to hear the Cauſe, who ſent Cardinal *Campejus*, and join'd Cardinal *Woolſey* in Commiſſion with him. The place appointed for the Cardinals to hold their Court and hear the Cauſe was at the *Black-fryars*, where, in the great Hall, Preparations were made of Seats, and all things neceſſary for ſuch a Seſſion.

1529. *Reaſons aſſigned by himſelf.*

The firſt day they ſat was the 31ſt of *May*, where they read their Commiſſion, and ordered out a peremptory Citation for the King and Queen to appear the 18th of *June*, between 9 and 10 a clock, and ſo the Court adjourned. The next Seſſion was on the 18th of *June*, where the Citation being returned as duly executed, *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of the Chappel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appear'd as the King's Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Perſon, *and Proteſted againſt the Legates as Incompetent Judges*; alledging, *That the Cauſe was already advocated by the Pope, and deſired a competent time in which ſhe might prove it.* The Legates aſſign'd her the twenty firſt, and adjourn'd the Court till that time. In the mean time, ſeveral ſevere Complaints were exhibited againſt the Queen in Council, of which there is an account given in a Paper, that has ſome-

The King and Queen cited before the Pope's Legates.

what

what written at the Concluſion of it with the Cardinal's own hand. The ſubſtance of the Paper was this: *That they were inform'd ſome deſign'd to kill the King or the Cardinal, in which if ſhe had any hand ſhe muſt not expect to be ſpared. That ſhe had not ſhew'd ſo much love to the King either in Bed or at Board as ſhe ought; That ſhe rejoiced with Muſick while the King was full of Grief, which muſt be out of ſpite to him, ſince it was contrary to her Nature; from all which the King concluded that ſhe hated him,* which was to be told her, to induce her to enter into Religion. To which Paper the Cardinal added in *Latin, Quod ſtulto facit, ſi contendit cum Rege, quod male illi ſucceſſit in Fatibus; de Brevi ac ſuſpicione falſitas. That ſhe played the Fool, if ſhe contended with the King, that her Children had not been bleſſed, and ſomewhat of the evident ſuſpicions, but the Breve was Forged,* but the Queen had a conſtant mind, as was not to be threatened into any thing. A. D. 1529.

On the 21ſt of *June*, the Court ſat again, and the King and Queen were perſonally preſent. *Campegio* made a long Speech of the Errand they were ſent about, *That it was a new, unheard of, vile and intolerable thing, for the King and Queen to live in Adultery, or rather Inceſt; which they muſt now try, and proceed as the juſtice of the Cauſe required.* Both the Legates made deep Proteſtations of the ſincerity of their minds, and that they would proceed juſtly and fairly without any Favour or Partiality. When the King and Queen were called in Court, the King anſwer'd *Here*; but the Queen left her Seat, went and kneel'd down before him, and made a Speech that had all the inſinuations in it to raiſe Pity and Compaſſion in the Court. She ſaid, *She was a poor Woman, and a ſtranger in his Dominions, where ſhe could neither expect good Counſel, nor indifferent Judges; That ſhe had been his Wife 20 years and more, had born him ſeveral Children, and ever ſtudied to pleaſe him, That ſhe proteſted he found her a true Maid, about which ſhe appealed to his own Conſcience; That if ſhe had done any thing amiſs, ſhe was willing to be put away with ſhame; That their Parents were eſteemed very wiſe Princes, and no doubt but had good Counſellors, and learned Men about them when the Match was agreed upon, therefore ſhe would not ſubmit to the Court; nor durſt her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and aſſigned by him, ſpeak freely for her. So ſhe deſired to be excus'd till ſhe heard from* Spain. That ſaid, ſhe roſe up and made the King a low Reverence, and went out of the Court: And tho' they call'd after her, ſhe made no

Queen Catherine's *Speech.*

A. D. 1529.

no answer, but went away, and would never again appear in Court. She being gone, the King publickly declared in Court, *What a true and obedient Wife she had always been, and much commended her for her excellent Qualities.* The Court adjourned to the 25th, when she brought her Appeal to the Pope, the Original of which is yet extant. It was read, but the Queen not appearing, she was pronounced contumacious. Then the Legates were to proceed *ex officio* to the examination of Witnesses, in whose depositions appeared many violent presumptions, that Prince *Arthur* did know the Queen; and it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made 27 Years after their Marriage: Thus the Court went on several Days in examining Witnesses: But as the matter was going on to a conclusion, *Campegio* adjourn'd the Court till there came an Avocation from *Rome*, which stopt all further Proceedings in *England*.

The Legates use delays.

The King was in a Chamber very near, heard what pass'd, and was extreamly surprized at it. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were in Court, complaining much of this delay, and press'd the Legates to give Sentence, but *Campegio* refused it, and gave great hopes of a favourable Sentence in the begining of *October*, tho' he knew an Avocation would come from *Rome* before the time to which he had adjourned the Court was expired. The Lords spoke very high, and the Duke of *Suffolk* with great commotion swore by the Mass *That he saw it was true, which had been commonly said, that never Cardinal yet did Good in* England; and so all the Temporal Lords went away in a fury, leaving the Legates, *Woolsey* especially, in great perplexity. *Woolsey* knew it would be suspected that he understood this Intrigue beforehand, and therefore had much to fear from a fickle humour'd and enrage'd Prince, because he had much to lose; and the King having chid him for delaying the business, he was now to expect a heavy storm from him. *Campegio* had not much to lose in *England*, but his Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, and the reward he expected from the King, which he knew the Emperor (who procured the Avocation) and the Pope, would plentifully make up to him, and therefore thinking himself in no danger, made haste out of *England*; but the King govern'd himself on that occasion, with more Temper than could have been expected from a Man of his Humour, tho' he knew the Avocation was dispatched at *Rome*, and coming for *England*.

Anne

A. D. 1529.

Anne Boleyn was now brought to Court again, out of which she had been dismiss'd for some time, for silencing the noise that her being at Court during the Process would have occasion'd, whose former kindness to the Cardinal was turn'd to Enmity, so that she was not wanting in her endeavours to help to pull him down. Now while the King was revolving in his mind what expedient to make use of to procure a Divorce, a new Proposition was made him by Doctor *Cranmer*, that seemed very reasonable, which was to clear the matter well; for if the Marriage was unlawful in it self by vertue of any divine Precept, the Pope's Dispensation could be of no force to make that lawful, wich God had declared unlawful. And therefore he thought, that instead of a long fruitless Negotiation at *Rome*, it were better to consult all the learned Men, and the Universities of *Christendom*; for if they once declared it in the King's favour, then the Pope must needs give judgment, or otherwise the *Bull* being of it self null and void, the Marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the Pope's Dispensation. The King approving this Proposition, *Cranmer* was sent for to Court, who carried himself so well, that the King conceived a high Opinion of his Judgment and Candour, which he continued to his Death. *Cranmer* was now looked upon as a rising Churchman, and the rather, because the Cardinal was declining.

Dr. Cranmer's *Proposition.*

For in the following *Michaelmas* Term, the King sent for the Great Seal from him, which the Cardinal as first was unwilling to part withal; but the next Day the King writing to him, he presently delivered it to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. It was offer'd back again to *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but he being very old, and foreseeing great difficulties in keeping it, excused himself, and so it was given to Sir *Thomas More*. Soon after, *Hales*, Attorney General, put in an Information against the Cardinal in the *King's Bench*; bearing, *That notwithstanding the Statute of* Richard *the Second against the Procuring* Bulls *from* Rome, *under the Pains of Premunire, yet he had procured* Bulls *for his Legatine Power, which he had for many Years exercised; and some Particulars, for Form, were named out of a great many more.* To this he put in his Answer by his Attorney, and confess'd the Indictment, but pleaded his Ignorance of the Statute, and submited himself to the King's Mercy. Upon that it was declared that he was

Woolsey convicted of Premunire.

A. D. 1529. out of the King's Protection, that he had forfeited his Goods and Chattels to the King, and that his Perſon might be ſeized on. Then was his rich Palace of *York* Houſe, now *White Hall*, with all the vaſt Wealth and royal Furniture that he had heaped together, which was beyond any thing that had ever been ſeen in *England* before, ſeiz'd on for the King. But, it ſeems, the King had not a mind to deſtroy him all at once, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the Terror of that would have any influence on the Pope; therefore the King firſt granted him his Protection, then his Pardon, and then reſtored him to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and gave him back in Money, Goods and Plate to the value of 6374 *l.* and many kind Meſſages were ſent him both by the King and *Anne Boleyn*. But as he had carried his Greatneſs with moſt extravagant Pride and Haughtineſs, ſo was he no leſs baſely caſt down with his Misfortunes; and having no Ballaſt within himſelf, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up or caſt down as the Scales of Fortune turned. Yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to ſuffer a Man of his Parts or Temper to return to Favour: And therefore they ſo ordered it, that an high Charge of many Articles was brought againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, and it paſs'd there when he had but few Friends, and many and great Enemies; but when the Charge was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was ſo managed by the Induſtry of *Cromwel*, who had been his Servant, that it came to nothing. The heads thereof chiefly related to his Legatine Power contrary to Law, to his Inſolence and Ambition, his lewd Life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as deſtroy him.

Articles againſt him in the Houſe of Lords.

All theſe things did ſo ſink his Proud Mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his Spirit. The King ſent him frequent Aſſurances of his Favour, which he received with tranſports of Joy, falling down on his Knees in the Dirt before the Meſſenger that brought one of them; which ſhewed how mean a Soul he had, and that as himſelf afterward acknowledged, that he prefer'd the King's favour to God Almighty. But the King found they took little notice of him at *Rome*, the Emperor hated him, the Pope did not love him, and tho' they did not like the Precedent to have a Cardinal us'd ſo ill, yet they were not much troubled at *Rome* to ſee it fall on him. So in *Eaſter* Week he was ordered

ordered to go North, tho' he had a great mind to have ſtayed at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in exchange of *Hampton-Court*, which he had alſo built; but that place was too near the Court, and his Enemies had a mind to ſend him farther from it. Accordingly he went to *Cawood* in *Yorkſhire*, in which Journey it appears, that the ruins of his State were conſiderable, for he travelled thither with no leſs than 160 Horſe, his Train, and 72 Carts following him with his Houſhold-ſtuff. A. D. 1529.

Woolſey apprehended for High Treaſon and dyeth.

To conclude his Story all at once, in *November* next year, he was ſeized by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who attach'd him for High Treaſon, commiting him to the keeping of Sir *William Kingſton* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was order'd to bring him up to *London*. And even then he had gracious meſſages from the King; but theſe did not work much upon him, for whether he knew himſelf Guilty of ſome ſecret Practices with the Pope, or with the Emperor, which yet he denied to the laſt, or whether he could no longer ſtand under the King's Diſpleaſure, and his change of Condition, he was ſo caſt down, that on his way to *London*, he ſickned at *Sheffeild Park*, in the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Houſe from whence he went by ſlow journeys as far as *Leiceſter*, where, after ſome days languiſhing, he dyed; and to the laſt made great Proteſtations of his *having ſerved the King faithfully, and had little regarded the ſervice of God, to do him pleaſure; but if he had ſerved God as he had done him, he would not have given him over ſo, as he did in his grey hairs.* He deſired the King to reflect on all his paſt ſervices, and in particular in his Weighty Matter (for by that phraſe they uſually ſpake of the King's Divorce) and then he would find by his Conſcience whether he had offended him or not. He dy'd the 28th of *November*, 1530 and was the greateſt Inſtance that ſeveral Ages had ſhewn of the Variety and Inconſtancy of Humane Things, both in his Riſe and Fall; and by his Temper in both it appears he was unworthy of his Greatneſs, and deſerv'd what he ſuffer'd. But to conclude all that is to be ſaid of him, I ſhall add what the Writer of his Life ends with, *Here is the end and fall of Pride and Arrogancy; for I aſſure you in his time he was the Haughtieſt man in all Proceedings alive, having more reſpect to the Honour of his Perſon, than he had to his Spiritual Profeſſion, wherein ſhould be ſhewed all Meekneſs and Charity.* 1530.

His Character.

A. D. 1530.

With the change of this great Miniſter there followed a change of Councils. The King called a Parliament, having had none in ſeven years before. The Parliament paſs'd ſeveral Bills againſt the Exorbitant Abuſes and Exactions of the Clergy, and againſt Pluralities and Non Reſidence, with ſevere Reflections on their Vices and Corruptions; which were believed to flow from men that favour'd *Luther*'s Doctrine in their Hearts, and therefore were ſtifly oppos'd in the Houſe of Lords by the Prelates, and as vigorouſly defended by the Temporal Lords, which the King ſet forward, and in the end were agreed to, and had the Royal Aſſent. The King intended by this, to let the Pope ſee what he could do if he provok'd him further, and how willingly his Parliament would concur with him, if he went to Extremities. In this Parliament alſo paſs'd an Act, to diſcharge the King from all his Debts which he had contracted, by borrowing of his Subjects. There were two ends in paſſing this Bill. The Court Party did it to ruin all the Cardinal's Friends and Creatures, whom he had cauſed every where to advance great Sums, as an Example to others. The other Party, tho' they knew the Act was unjuſt, did it to diſcredit that way of raiſing Money by Loans, as judging it to be the publick Intereſt of the Kingdom, that no Sum of Money ſhould be raiſed but by Parliament, and it ſo paſſed. There was great Induſtry uſed for carrying on Elections for this Parliament, and they were ſo ſucceſsful, that the King was reſolv'd to continue it longer. This great buſineſs being over, the King's Thoughts turned next to his Affairs beyond Sea.

Chriſtendom now at Peace.

The whole World was now at Peace. The Pope and the Emperor had made an Alliance, on Terms ſo advantageous to the Pope, that as the Emperor did fully repair all paſt Injuries, ſo he laid new and great Obligations on him; for he engaged that he would aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Towns, and that he would reſtore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, and inveſt his Nephew in it, by the Title of Duke, to whoſe Son he would marry his own Natural Daughter, and he would hold the Kingdom of *Naples* of the Papacy. Theſe were the motives that ſo infallibly directed the Pope's Conſcience in the King's Buſineſs. Not long after that, another Peace was made at *Cambray* between the Emperor and the *French* King, Lady *Margaret*, the Emperor's Aunt, and the Regent of *Flanders*,

ders, where the King first found the Hollowness of the *French* Friendship and Alliance, for he was not so much considered in it as he expected, and clearly perceived that *France* would not embroil his own Affairs to carry on his Divorce. A. D. 1530.

The Emperor went into *Italy* and met the Pope at *Bononia*, where he was crowned with great magnificence. The Pope and he lodged in the same Palace, and there appeared such Signs of a Familiar Friendship between them, that the King's Ambassadors clearly perceiv'd they were now firmly united. The Emperor did also by a rare mixture of Generosity and Prudence, restore the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*; by which he settled the Peace of *Italy*, nothing holding out but *Florence*, which he knew would soon be reduced, when there was no hope of Succour from *France*; and accordingly after eleven months Siege it was taken, and within a year after *Alexander de Medicis* was made Duke of it. About the time the Emperor came to *Bononia*, News was brought that the *Turks* were forced to raise the Siege of *Vienna*, so that all things concur'd to raise his Glory. At *Bononia* he would needs receive the two Crowns of the *Roman* Empire, that of *Milan* and that of *Rome*, which was done with all the magnificence possible, the Pope himself saying Mass both in *Latin* and *Greek*. There is one Ceremony in the Coronation not to be omited in this work, *viz.* That the Emperor was first put into the Habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria de la Torre* in *Rome*, and after that in the Habit of a Deacon, to make him look like an Ecclesiastical Person. This custom had risen out of an extravagant vanity of the Church of *Rome*, who devis'd such Rites to raise their Reputation so high, that on the greatest Solemnity the Emperor should appear in the Habit of the lowest of the Sacred Orders, by which he must know that Priests and Bishops are above him. When the Pope and he first met, the Ceremony of kissing the Pope's Foot was much look'd for, and the Emperor very gently kneeled to pay that submission; but the Pope, whether it was that he thought it now unseasonable to expect such Compliment, or more signally to oblige the Emperor, he humbled himself so far, as to draw in his Foot and kiss his cheek,

Emperor and Pope claw one another.

Pride of the Roman Church.

Now the Divorce was to be manag'd by another method: *Cranmer* was commanded to write a Book for his Opinion, which he did, and publish'd it. *Richard Crook*

New Methods about the Divorce.

A. D. 1531.

Crook was sent into *Italy*, and others into *France* and *Germany* to consult Divines, Canonists, and other learned Men in the Universities, about the King's business. In *Oxford*, by an Order of Convocation, it was refer'd to 33 Doctors and Batchelors in Divinity, who determined the Question, and on the 8th of *April* under the Seal of the University, declared, *That the Marriage of the Brother's Wife was contrary to the Laws of God and Nature.* The like, after a long and strong opposition, was done by the University of *Cambridge*. *Crook*, who went into *Italy*, was hotly oppos'd by the Pope's and the Emperor's Faction, however (without Bribery) he obtained the Opinions of several learned Men there, tho' the Pope and the Emperor threatned and discouraged them. Next the Universities of *Bononia*, *Padua*, and *Ferrara*, subscribed in the King's favour. In *France* the same Opinion was subscribed by the University of *Orleans*. The faculty of the Canon Law at *Paris*, and the great and celebrated Faculty of the *Sorbon*, whose Conclusions, for some Ages, had been look'd upon as little inferior to the Decrees of Councils, made their Decision against the Marriage with all possible solemnity and decency, in these or the like words: *That the King of* England's *Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope had no Power to dispence in it.* To the same purpose did both the Faculties of the Civil and Canon Law determine it at *Angiers*. The Faculty of Divinity at *Bourges*, the whole University at *Tholouse*, and the generality of the *Lutheran*, and other Reformed Divines, were utterly against the Marriage, as appears by what was then written by *OEcolampadius*, *Paulus*, *Phrigion*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin* and *Melancthon*; but in *Germany*, *Spain* and *Flanders*, where the Emperor's Power was so great, there was little to be expected from them. From the Determination of Foreigners it was brought into both Houses of Parliament, and the Convocation, where it was maturely debated and concluded for the King.

1531. *Opposed by the Pope and the Emperor.*

But the Court of *Rome* still oppos'd it, which occasion'd a Revival of all former Law against the Pope's Authority in *England*, and a Bill passed, entitling the King, *Supreme head of the Church and Clergy of* England. The whole Clergy of *England* were also found guilty of Premunire, for assisting and submiting to Cardinal *Woolsey*'s Legatine Authority, and having forfeited all their Goods, and being out of the King's Protection, the Province of *Canterbury* petition his Majesty

jesty to accept of 10000 *l.* in lieu of all Punishments, which they had incur'd by going against the Statutes of Provisos; promising, for the future, neither to make nor execute any Constitution without the King's Licence: Upon which he granted them a general Pardon: And the Convocation of the Province of *York* offering 18840 *l.* with another Submission of the same nature afterwards, tho' they met with more opposition, they were also pardon'd. When the King's Pardon was brought into the House of Commons, they were much troubled not to find themselves included in it, many of them being lyable to the same Penalties, and therefore represented their Dissatisfaction to the King by their Speaker, praying him that they also might be comprehended in that Pardon; but the King made answer: *That they must neither Restrain or Force his Mercy; He was at Liberty to execute or mitigate the Severity of the Law; That he could grant a Pardon under his Broad Seal without their Consents; but he would be well advised, how he pardoned them, because he would not seem to be compelled to it*; but afterwards being unwilling to send his Parliament away discontented, when the thing was over, and they out of hopes of it, of his own accord, he issued out another Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, of their Transgressions of the Statutes of Provisos and Premunire, which they received with great Joy, and acknowledged there was a just Temperature of Majesty and Clemency in the King's Proceedings. A. D. 1531.

The King's answer to the Parliament.

When the Session of Parliament was over, the King ply'd the Queen with his repeated Requests to desert her Appeal, alledging, That he was much disquieted; but nothing could prevail with the Queen, and when they pressed her to it, she prayed God to send the King a quiet Conscience, but that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide by it, till the Court of *Rome* declared the contrary. Which so displeased the King, that he left her at *Windsor*, and never saw her more. She removed first to *Moor*, thence to *East Hamstead*, and at last to *Amphtill*, where she staid longest.

At this time Sir *Thomas More* seeing Things run to this extremity, after a long suit, obtain'd leave to lay down the Broad Seal He was reputed a very learned Man and Pious, and I wish I had no cause to add, that he was a cruel Persecutor, even to Fire and Faggot, of the *Lollards* and *Lutherans*. Now a Parliament met at *Black-fryars*, from thence was adjourned to *Westminster*, and 1532.

A. D. 1532. and being there diſſolv'd at nine a Clock at Night was called the Black Parliament. On the firſt of *September* this Year, the King being at *Windſor*, created *Anne Boleyn* Marchioneſs of *Pembrook*, giving her 1000 *l.* Lands a year; and then being deſirous to confer with the King of *France* in Perſon, took that Lady with him, and divers of the Nobility, and ſailed to *Calais*, and ſtaying there four Days with the *French* King, that Monarch, to do the King Honour, gave the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* the Order of St. *Michael*, and in requital King *Henry* honoured two *French* Lords with the Order of the Garter.

The King ſails into France.

Soon after this, King *Henry* married *Anne Boleyn* upon his Landing in *England*; *Rowland Lee*, who was made Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, officiating in the Ceremony; which was done ſecretly in the preſence only of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father and Brother, and Dr. *Cranmer*. The grounds on which the King did this, were that his former Marriage being of it ſelf null, there was no need of a declarative Sentence, after ſo many Univerſities and Doctors had given their Judgments againſt it. Soon after the Marriage ſhe was with Child, which was looked on as a ſignal Evidence of her Chaſtity, and that ſhe had till then kept the King at a due diſtance. *William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dyed about the ſame time, and the King having obſerv'd in Doctor *Cranmer* a Native Simplicity, join'd with much Courage, and temper'd with a great deal of Wiſdom, he gave him the Preferment, and much againſt the Pope's Inclination, who confirmed him in it, for fear of coming to a rupture with *England*. When the King perceived his new Wife to be with Child, he appointed her all neceſſary Servants and Accommodations agreeable to her Quality, and being delivered of Queen *Elizabeth* on the 7th of *September* 1533. the King thought not fit to conceal it much longer, ſo on *Eaſter-day* ſhe was declared Queen of *England*. It ſeems it was not thought needful at that time, to proceed to any further Sentence about the former Marriage, otherwiſe I cannot ſee what made it be ſo long delay'd, ſince the thing was in their Power now, as well as after. And it was certainly a prepoſterous Method, to judge the firſt Marriage null, after a ſecond was publiſhed. However, upon ſome Advertiſements from beyond Sea, they went on to a formal Proceſs. A Court was held at *Dunſtable*, the King and Queen were

Married to Anne Boleyn.

1533.

Queen Elizabeth *born.*

were cited to appear there before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, accompanied by the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *(Gardiner)* *Bath* and *Wells*, *Lincoln*, and many Divines and Canoniſts. That Place was choſen, becauſe the Queen then lay very near it at *Amphtill*, and ſo ſhe could not pretend Ignorance of what was done. The King appeared by *Proxy*, but the Queen appeared not: Upon which ſhe was declared *Contumacious*. Then was iſſued out a Second and Third Citation, but ſhe intended not to appear, and ſo ſhe was finally declared *Contumacious*. On the 23d of *May* the Court ſat again, and then Sentence was given with the Conſent of all that were preſent, declaring it only to have been a Marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, pronouncing it null from the begining: Of which Notice was given to the Queen, by the King's Direction, by the Lord *Mountjoy*, and that ſhe muſt no more be treated as Queen; but Princeſs Dowager of *Wales*. All Perſons excuſed Queen *Catherine* for ſtanding her ground; only her denying ſo confidently that Prince *Arthur* conſummated the Marriage, ſeems uncapable of any Excuſe. On the 28th of *May* at *Lambeth* by another Judgment, the Archbiſhop confirmed the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and the firſt of *June* ſhe was Crown'd Queen of *England*.

A. D. 1533.

Anne *Proclaim'd and Crown'd Queen.*

The Pope being diſguſted at theſe Proceedings, without conſulting his ordinary Prudence, brought the Buſineſs into the Conſiſtory, and by precipitating the courſe of Proceedings, the Marriage between the King and Queen *Catherine* was pronounced Good, and the King requir'd to take her as his Wife, otherwiſe Cenſures were to be pronounc'd againſt him, and the Emperor order'd to execute the Sentence. The King hearing theſe unfair Proceedings, after he was put in hopes of the Buſineſs ſucceeding according to his deſires, by the mediation of the *French* King, he reſolv'd to break totally with *Rome*, with which the Parliament concuring, which before this time had brought the Clergy to an abſolute dependance on the King, and condemn'd the Pope's Annates and Appeals to *Rome*; they now ſtruck at the Root and Foundation of the Papal Power, and by Law enabled the King to re aſſume his own Authority, and the Prerogatives of his Crown, from which the Kings of *England* had never formally departed, tho' they had for this laſt Hundred Years conniv'd at an Invaſion and Uſurpation upon them, which was no longer to be endur'd, and therefore had its final period

Papal Authority ſuppreſs'd.

A. D. 1533. period by an Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for taking away the Pope's Power in* England.

1534. *The* Kentish *Impostor.* While the Divorce was contesting, one *Elizabeth Barton*, called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, came to be discovered, whose Abettors were *Richard Master*, a Priest, Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Edward Bocking*, Doctor of Divinity, a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Deerham*, a Monk, *Edward Twais*, Gentleman, *Henry Gold*, Parson of *Aldermary* in *London*, *Hugh Rich*, a Fryar Observant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Gentlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances, in which she would deliver many strange things, and among others, said, That *by Revelation from God and his Saints, she was informed, that if King* Henry *proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of* England *a Month after, and in the Eye of God Almighty not an Hour.* This Imposture, spread by the Industry and Designs of the Priests, to lessen the King in the Esteem of his People, was said to gain credit from *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*; which indeed was nothing but making Grimaces, and Artificial Contortions of the Body, which the Maid herself confessing upon her being attainted in Parliament, she, and most of her Confederates, were drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hang'd and quartered.

A Bull from Rome. This was followed by a *Bull* from *Rome*, which laid a Curse upon the King and Kingdom: Which Instrument was set up at *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come any nearer, and because it was known that the Lady *Catherine* Dowager procur'd it, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to her, being then at *Bugden* near *Huntingdon*, to discharge a great part of her Menial Servants, yet leaving her a sufficient number to live like a Princess.

1535. Now the Oath of Supremacy and Succession were generally sworn in *England*, and Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More*, Knight, and Dr. *Wilson*, Parson of St. *Thomas Apostles*, *London*, refusing to take them, the two first were beheaded, and the other recanting, was pardon'd. Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, being reputed a Wise and Pious Man. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Calias*, but before it could come into *England* his Head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both Wise and Learned, but so given to a Vein of Jesting, that he could not forbear it at the very moment of his Death; for

Fisher *and* More *beheaded.*

for laying his Neck upon the Block, and having a long grey Beard, he said to the Headsman, '*Pray let me lay my Beard out of the way, lest you cut it off, for tho' you have a Warrant to cut off my Head, you have none to cut off my Beard*: An Expression too light upon such a serious occasion. He had many commendable Qualities, that procured him the Pity of some; but others thought his death was a retaliation from Heaven, in revenge of the many Reform'd Christians that he had sent thither in a fiery Chariot, whose Blood cry'd from behind the Altar against him. A. D. 1535.

In *January* this year 1536, *Catherine*, Princess Dowager fell into her last Sickness, to whom the King sent the Emperor's Legier Ambassador to comfort her; but she finding her death approaching, caus'd one of her Gentlemen to write in her Name, a Letter to the King, *Recommending her Daughter to his care, beseeching him to be a good Father to her, and then desiring him to have some consideration of her Servants*; she departed this Life on the 8th of *January* at *Kimbolton*, and was buried in *Peterborough* Minster. She was a Woman of a vertuous Conversation, and a dutiful and obedient Wife, and spent her days in Mortification and holy Exercises, wherein she excell'd the rest of her Sex, and left a meritorious Character behind her. 1536. *Queen Catherine's death.*

In *October* this Year the King sent Dr. *Leightan*, *Lee*, and others, to visit the Abbies, Priories and Nunneries in *England*, who set at liberty all the Religious Persons that would forsake their Habits, and all that were under the Age of Twenty four years. In *December* following a survey was taken of all Chauntries, after which, upon consideration of the Lewdness and Debauchery of the Monks, and their Industry in stiring up the People to Discontents, Commotions and Rebellions, on the fourth of *February* an Act was made which gave the King all Religious Houses, with all their Lands and Goods, that were of the value of Three hundred Marks a Year and under; the number of which Houses were 376. The yearly Value of their Lands were above 32000 Pounds: Their movable Goods amounted to One hundred thousand; and the Religious Persons put out of those Houses were above Ten thousand. This year *Willam Tindal* was burnt at a Town in *Flanders* between *Brussels* and *Mechlin* call'd *Villefort*, for translating the New Testament, and divers parts of the Old, into *English*; who having been long imprison'd, was, *Tyndal burnt, and for what*

A. D. 1536. was, upon the Lord *Cromwel*'s writing for his Deliverance, in all haſte brought to the Fire and burnt to Aſhes.

It was now the Eight and twentieth Year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when there was ſolemn Juſts held at *Greenwich*, from whence the King ſuddenly departed and came to *Weſtminſter*, which was a great Amazement to many, but eſpecially to the Queen, and not without cauſe; for the next day the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and *Henry Norris* were commited to the *Tower*, whither alſo, the ſame day, at five a clock in the Afternoon Queen *Anne* was brought herſelf, by Sir *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Cromwel* Secretary, and Sir *William Kingſton* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who at the *Tower* Gate fell on her Knees before the Lords, beſeeching God to help her, as ſhe was innocent of the Crimes objected againſt her. On the 15th of *May* ſhe was arraign'd in the *Tower* before the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſiting as High Steward of *England*. When her Indictment was read, ſhe made ſuch an excellent defence, that ſhe ſeem'd to clear herſelf from all ſuſpicion of guilt; but being try'd by the Peers, whereof the Duke of *Suffolk* was chief, ſhe was found guilty, and Judgment was pronounc'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Immediately after the Lord *Rochford*, her Brother, was try'd and condemned, and *Henry Norris*, *Mark Smeton*, *William Brereton*, and *Francis Weſton*, all of the King's Privy Chamber, about Matters relating to the Queen's unchaſtity, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, and Queen *Anne* herſelf on the 19th of *May* was beheaded in the *Tower*. All which Cruelty (in the common vogue) was occaſion'd, not by the Queen's deſert, but the King's Jealouſy, and his new Affection to the Lady *Jane Seymour*, who had all the charms both of Beauty and Youth in her Perſon, and to whom the King was Married the next day after Queen *Anne* was beheaded.

Queen Anne *commited and beheaded.*

Her deſcent.

This Queen *Anne* was the Daughter of *Thomas Boleyn*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and of the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*. The Earl's Father was the Son of *William Boleyn*, whoſe Wife was *Margaret*, the ſecond Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *William* was the Son of Sir *Godfrey Boleyn*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who lies buried in St. *Leonard*'s Church in the *Old-Jury*; His Wife was *Anne*, Eldeſt Daughter and Co-heir to *Thomas*, Lord

Hoo

Hoo and *Haſtings*, who deſcended from the Houſe of the *Boleyns* in *Norfolk*. Thus much for her Parentage, now as to her Religion: She was a zealous Profeſſor, and one of the firſt that countenanced the Reformed Religion, and ſo charitably inclin'd, that in nine months ſhe diſtributed among the poor Fifteen thouſand Pounds. The Crimes for which ſhe died were Adultery and Inceſt, but there are no Proofs of her Guilt upon Record, tho' many of her Innocency. Firſt, in her own unexceptionable defence at her Tryal: Then by *Cromwel*'s writing to the King, that after a full examination of the Cauſe, there were many things objected but not confeſſed, only ſome Circumſtances were acknowledg'd by *Mark Smeton*, and what was *Mark Smeton*? but a mean inconſiderable Fellow, one that being promiſed his own Life, would not boggle at taking away another's, and therefore, tho' he had Aſſurance of a Pardon, they afterwards thought fit to execute him, that he might not recant, nor tell Tales that were unfit to be publiſh'd. Laſtly, all that were accuſed with her, took it upon their deaths that ſhe was innocent; Even *Henry Norris*, who was the King's particular Favourite, and was promis'd a Pardon if he would but confeſs it, choſe rather to dye than to ſully her Innocency. It was a poor Evidence of her being guilty of Inceſt with her Brother, becauſe he lean'd upon her Bed to whiſper ſomething in her Ear, and yet this was laid hold of for a proof; and 'tis no wonder, if we conſider the multiplicity of her Enemies upon the account of her Religion, and perhaps, in that reſpect, not befriended by the King; for tho' he had excluded the Pope, he ſtill continued a Bigotted Papiſt; and then who can be unſenſible, that Nature is not more able of an Acorn to produce an Oak, that an uncontroulable Authority is to turn a Surmiſe into a Certainty. But however her death was contrived, it caſt upon King *Henry* many diſhonourable Reflections; inſomuch, that the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* having reſolv'd to chuſe him Head of their League, when they heard of the Queen's death in ſuch a manner, they utterly refus'd him as unworthy of that Honour. In ſhort, after his new Amour, the King was reſolv'd to be rid of her, and to illegitimate her Daughter, and in that Tranſport of his Fury did not conſider that the very method he took, diſcover'd the Injuſtice of his Proceedings againſt her.

A. D. 1536.

Her Religion and Innocency.

Mighty Enemies create guilt.

Memo-

A. D. 1563.

Her preparations for death.

Memorable were Queen *Anne*'s Preparations for Death, for the day before she suffer'd, examining her past Life, she call'd to mind that she had plaid the Stepmother too severely to the Lady *Mary*, and had done her many Injuries. Upon which she made the Lieutenant of the *Tower*'s Lady, the Lady *Kingston*, to sit down in the Chair of State, and falling on her Knees, with many Tears charg'd that Lady, as she would answer it in the last day to God Almighty, to go in her name, and do as she had done to the Lady *Mary*, and ask her Forgiveness for the Wrong she had done her. And she said, she should have no quiet in her Conscience till she had done that. But tho' she did in this what became a Christian, the Lady *Mary* could not so easily pardon these Injuries, but retain'd the Resentment of them during her whole Life. This ingenuity and tenderness of Conscience about lesser matters, is a great Presumption, that if she had been guilty of more eminent Faults, she would not have continued to the last denying them, and making Protestations of her Innocency: For that same Night she sent her last Message to the King, and acknowledg'd her self much oblig'd to him, who from a private Gentlewoman had first made her a Marchioness, and then a Queen; and now since he could raise her no higher, was sending her to be a Saint in Heaven; and then protested her Innocency, and recommended her Daughter to his care. Her Carriage that day she dy'd, appears by a Letter from Sir *William Kingston*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, which says,

Sir William Kingston's *Letter.*

Sir, *If we have an hour certain, as it may be known in* London, *I think here will be but few at the Execution, and I think a reasonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare her self to be a very good Woman for all Men but for the King, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such a time as she receiv'd the Good Lord, to the end I should hear her speak as touching her Innocency always to be clear. And in the writing this she sent for me, and at my coming, she said,* Mr Kingston, *I hear say, I shall not dye before noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I ought to be dead by this time, and past my pain; and I told her it should be no pain, it was so little; and then she said, I heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck, and then put her hands about it laughing very heartily. I have seen many Men and also Women executed; and that they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this Lady has much Joy and*

Pleasure

Pleaſure in Death. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her; and has been ſince two a Clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time, and thus fare you well. A. D. 1535.

Yours William Kingſton.

A little before noon, upon the 19th of *May* ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, and made a ſhort Speech to a great Company, that came to ſee the laſt Scene of this fatal Tragedy; The chief of whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary *Cromwel*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. She ſaid, *She was come to Dye as ſhe was Judged by the Law; ſhe would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the King; and call'd him a moſt merciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her a gentle Soveraign Lord: And if any would meddle with her Cauſe, ſhe required them to judge the beſt. And ſo ſhe took her leave of them, and of all the World, and heartily deſired they would pray for her.* After ſhe had been ſome time in her Devotions, her laſt Words being *To Chriſt I commend my Soul*, her Head was cut off by the Executioner of *Calais*, who was brought over, as more expert at Beheading, than any in *England*. Her Eyes and Lips were obſerv'd to move after her Head was cut off, as *Spelman* writes: Her Body was thrown into a common Elm Cheſt that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chapel within the *Tower* before twelve a Clock. The next Day after her Death, in the Week before *Whitſuntide*, the King married the Lady *Jane Seymour*, who at *Whitſuntide* was openly ſhew'd as Queen; and on *Thurſday* in the ſame Week her Brother, Sir *Edmund Seymour*, was created Viſcount *Beauchamp*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, was made Lord *Hungerford*. The 22d of *July*, *Henry*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, Baſe Son of King *Henry* by *Elizabeth Blunt*, dy'd at *St. James's*, and was buried at *Thetſton* in *Norfolk*.

Queen Anne's Speech at her death.

King Henry's third Marriage.

In *July* following, *Thomas Cromwel*, Secretary to the King, and Maſter of the Rolls, was made Lord *Cromwel*, and on the 18th of *July*, Vicar-General under the King over the Spirituality, who ſat divers times in the Convocation-Houſe amongſt the Biſhops, as Head over them. And now was the ſtate of Religion in *England* at great uncertainties; at firſt the Pope's Authority was excluded in ſome caſes only, and a while after in all, but yet the

A. D. 1536.

the *Romiſh* Doctrine was retained. Afterwards it came to be oppoſed in ſome points only, and afterwards in more, ſo that the Fable of *Proteus* might be no more called ſo, when Religion in *England* might be its true Moral; and indeed it could be no otherwiſe, the diſtance between the two Religions being impoſſible to be paſſed *per ſaltum*, but muſt be carried on by degrees, which may be obſerv'd in the Progreſs of the Story; for whereas it was at firſt permited to read the Bible only, now it was allow'd to pray in *Engliſh*. In *September* the Lord *Cromwel* ſet forth Injunctions to have the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave*, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and to be taught by all Parſons and Curates to their Pariſhioners; which Innovation ſo ſtirred up the People, that in *Lincolnſhire* they got together to the number of Twenty thouſand, againſt whom the King went in Perſon, who, by perſwaſion, wining their chief Leaders, brought the reſt, upon Promiſe of a Pardon, to ſubmit themſelves. But when he had done the work of Mercy himſelf, he ſent the Duke of *Suffolk*, with Sir *Francis Bryan* and Sir *John Ruſſel*, to do the work of Juſtice; who cauſed *Nicholas Milton*, and a Monk that called himſelf Captain *Cobler*, and Thirteen other ſeditious Ring-leaders, to be apprehended, and moſt of them to be executed. This Inſurrection was ſcarce appeas'd, but preſently there aroſe another in the Northern parts, where 40000 were got together, reporting themſelves to be holy Pilgrims, and on one ſide of their Enſigns had *Chriſt on the Croſs*, and on the other ſide, the *Cup* and *Sacramental Bread*, perſwading the World they rebell'd for the Propagation of the Chriſtian Faith, and Deliverance of the Holy Church now under Perſecution. Theſe were oppoſed by *George*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who having raiſed an Army without Commiſſion, tho' to reſiſt the Rebels, began to be much afflicted whether in ſo doing he had not commited Treaſon, and therefore was uneaſy till he had ſent to the King for a Pardon, and a Commiſſion to proceed. At that Time, a Rumour was rais'd among his Soldiers, that the Earl ſo well approv'd the Rebe's pretenſions, that what ſhew ſoever he made, yet when it ſhould come to a Tryal, he would not ſtick to join with them, and eſpouſe their Quarrel, to remove which prejudicate Opinion, he commanded his whole Army to appear before him, and caus'd his Chaplain

Lord Cromwel's *Eſſay towards a Reformation.*

Chaplain to give him an Oath, *That he would be faithful to the Crown, and never give Aſſiſtance to Rebels.* To reinforce his Troops were ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland*, who, with a mighty Army, approach'd the Rebels beyond *Doncaſter*, in the Road to *York*, and firſt attempted to pacify the Seditious without Bloodſhed; but when no perſwaſions would reduce them to Peace and Obedience, it was reſolved on both ſides to proceed to Battle. The Night before the Day appointed to engage, a little River called *Dunn*, runing between the two Armies, upon a ſmall Rain ſwell'd to ſuch a height, that it was impoſſible to be forded by either Horſe or Foot; and the Armies having time to conſider, they came to an Agreement, and the Rebels being pardon'd, disbanded, and returned to their own Habitations. Another Party, in the mean time, had laid Siege to *Scarborough* Caſtle, where the reſolute behaviour of Sir *Ralph Evers* is very remarkable, who held the Caſtle by his own Tenants and Servants, and that without any other ſuſtenance for 20 Days than Bread and Water, till the Siege was raiſed. All Commotions were not yet appeas'd, for at the ſame time there was another Army got together in *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and the Northern parts of *Lancaſhire*, marching Southward; but by the Conduct of the Earl of *Derby*, join'd with the Earl of *Suſſex*, they were ſuppreſſed, and their Leaders, the Abbots of *Whaley*, *Sauley*, and others, were apprehended and hang'd. Neither did this put an end to theſe Commotions, for in *February*, *Nicholas Muſgrave*, *Thomas Tilbey*, and others, to the Number of 12000, laid Siege to *Carliſle*, who were firſt beaten back by the Citizens, and then were encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who, by Martial Law, cauſed Seventy four of them to be hang'd on the Walls of *Carliſle* No ſooner were theſe overthrown, but *Strington*, *Pickering*, *Leigh* and *Scarborough*, began a new Rebellion, by the means of *Francis Bigot*, who, with great Force, intended to have taken *Hull*; but by the care of Sir *Ralph Elarkar*, and the Mayor of the Corporation, Sixty of the Rebels were taken and hang'd, and the reſt put to flight. Another Commotion was began by the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Huſſey*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmore* and his Wife, Sir *Thomas Pierey*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempeſt*, Eſq; and others, who conſpired againſt

A. D. 1536.

Several Commotions and Inſurrections.

1537.

A. D. 1537. the Government, tho' every one of them had been already pardoned by the King; but this, as being only the Fag-end of a Rebellion, was ſoon ſuppreſſed. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the Lord *Huſſey* at *Lincoln*, Sir *Robert Conſtable* was hang'd in Chains at *Hull*, Sir *John Bulmore*'s Lady was burnt in *Smithfield*, and moſt of the others were executed at *Tyburn*, ſo great was the Trouble in quieting an Inſurrection that was rais'd upon pretence of Religion.

Queen Jane *delivered of a Son.*

This Year, upon the Feaſt of St. *George*, the Lord *Cromwel* was made Knight of the Garter; and on the 12th of *October*, Queen *Jane* was delivered of a Son. The Child was Chriſtened *Edward*, but the joy of his Birth was damp'd by the exceſſive Grief that the King took at the Death of the Queen, who dyed next Day after, and was buried at *Windſor*; which ſo much afflicted the King, that he continued a Widower two Years after her death.

Memorable was the diſſolution of the Family of the *Geraldines*, or *Fitz-Gerald*, Earls of *Kildare* in *Ireland*: About this time *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, who had been for Ten Years Deputy of *Ireland*, upon complaint of ſome Miſdemeanor was ſent for over into *England*, and not making a ſatisfactory anſwer to the Council, was commited to the *Tower*; which his Son, whom he had left Deputy in his abſence, hearing, and ſoon after, as the Rumour increas'd, that he was put to Death, reſolv'd to be revenged, and immediately roſe up in Arms againſt the King, and having five Unkles in the Country, Men of great Eſtates and Eſteem, drew them, tho' ſome of them unwillingly, to take his part; and among other Outrages that he commited, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* was killed in his Preſence. The Father in the *Tower* hearing of this raſh Attempt of his Sons, and Brothers, dyed with Grief. This Son, and his Unkles, upon the King's ſending over an Army againſt them, either ſubmited, or were all taken Priſoners, and being ſent over into *England*, thoſe of his Unkles that were drawn in againſt their Wills, were in good Hopes of their Lives, till entring the Ship that was to bring them over, and underſtanding her name was the *Cow*, they all deſpaired of their Lives, and gave themſelves up for loſt Men, from a Prophecy current in *Ireland*, *That five Sons of a certain Earl ſhould be carried into* England *in the Belly of a Cow, and never ſee their own Country again:* And indeed the Event confirmed the Prediction, for through

An Iriſh *Prophecy.*

though the malice of their Enemies, who exaſperated the King againſt them, they were all put to Death. One only Son of the Family was left alive, a Youth of about 13 Years of Age, who, tho' at that time ſick of the Small Pox, made hard ſhift to ſave himſelf by flight: Firſt he fled into *France*, and being frighted from thence, travell'd into *Flanders*, and driven from thence fled into *Italy*, where he was protected by *Reginald Pool*, at that time made Cardinal by Pope *Julius* the Third, and by that means was afterwards reſtor'd to his Honour and Eſtate. A. D. 1537.

In *February* divers *Roods* (a *Saxon* word for a *Crucifix*, or the Image of Chriſt upon the Croſs) were taken down by the King's command; as the *Rood* of *Boxley* called the *Rood of Grace*, which was made with Vices to move the Eyes and Lips; alſo the *Rood* called *St. Saviour* at *Bermondſey* Abby in *Southwark*, and many other Places; and in *September*, at the ſpecial inſtance of the Lord *Cromwel*, all the remarkable Images, to which were made Pilgrimages and Offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images at *Walſingham*, *Ipſwich*, *Worceſter*, the Lady of *Wilſdon*, and many others: Alſo the Shrines that contain'd the Bodies of counterfeit Saints; among others the Shrine of *Thomas a Becket*, in the Priory of *Chriſt Church* in *Canterbury*, was taken to the King's uſe, and his Bones, Skull, and all that was found there, with a piece broken out by a wound in his Head, were all burnt in the ſame Church by the order of the Lord *Cromwel*. Now alſo all the Orders of the Fryars and Nuns were ſuppreſſed, and only three Abbots reſiſted, *viz.* the Abbot of *Colcheſter*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, who therefore were taken and executed. The whole number of Monaſteries that were ſuppreſſed, were 645, beſides 90 Colledges; 110 Hoſpitals, and 374 Chauntries and Free Chappels; and to make Amends for ſuppreſſing ſo many Monaſteries, the King inſtituted ſeveral new Biſhopricks, as at *Weſtminſter*, *Oxford*, *Peterborough*, *Glouceſter*, *Cheſter* and *Briſtol*, aſſigning a certain number of Prebendaries, and Canons to each of them; and had he endowed them with a Competency ſufficient to ſupport the Dignity, and purſued *Cranmer*'s intended Method, there had been fewer Blots upon his Memory than there are: Parſons and Vicars would not have been left under ſuch precarious Circumſtances, as the polling their Prefer-

1538.

The Diſſolution of Monaſteries. 1539.

A. D. 1539.

ments at that time, has too meanly ſubjected the inferior Clergy to; tho' the yearly value of the Monaſteries that were diſſolved, and then given to the Crown, was no leſs than 161100 *l.* beſides the Money made of their ſtocks of Corn, Cattle, Timber, Lead, Bells, Church Ornaments, Plate and Jewels, which are not valued, but may be gueſs'd at by that one Monaſtery of *St. Edmund's Bury* in *Suffolk*, from which, it appears by our Records, was taken to the value of 5000 Marks in Gold and Silver, beſides ſeveral Precious Stones of ineſtimable worth.

Now the Kingdom was perfectly divided into two Factions, the *Papiſts* and the *Lutherans*, each endeavouring to ſupplant and deſtroy the other, and the heat of the Conteſt lay between the Lord *Cromwel* and Biſhop *Gardiner*. *Cromwel* procur'd a Grant from the King for the Tranſlation of the Bible into *Engliſh*, and for the free and publick uſe of it in Churches and private Families, and *Gardiner* cauſed the Publication and ſtrict Injunction of the Six bloody Articles, which were, 1ſt. *That after the Words of Conſecration, there is no other Subſtance conſiſting in the Bread and Wine but the Subſtance of Chriſt, God and Man.* 2dly, *That the Communion in both kinds were not neceſſary to Salvation, the Fleſh only in form of Bread being ſufficient to the Laity.* 3dly, *That Prieſts may not marry by the Law of God.* 4thly, *That the Vows of Chaſtity ought by God's Law to be obſerved.* 5thly, *That private Maſſes were neceſſary for the People, and agreeable to the Law of God.* 6thly, *That Auricular Confeſſion was expedient to be retained in the Church of God.* The Publication of theſe Articles occaſion'd abundance of Diſcontent among the conſidering ſort of People, who thought it hard Meaſure to reſtrain the Liberty of their Conſcience to the abrupt Deciſion of the Common Law, ſince Conſcience was to be inſtructed, and not forc'd; and therefore Archbiſhop *Cranmer* oppoſed them in the Aſſembly three Days together, and *Latimer*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Shaxton*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, reſign'd their Biſhopricks to the King, rather than have a hand in the Approbation or Execution of them.

The Six Articles.

The third of *November*, *Henry Courtney*, Marquis of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Devonſhire*, *Henry Pool*, Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* of *Beddington*, and *Edward Nevil*, Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, being accuſed of High Treaſon by Sir *Geoffry Pool*, Brother to the Lord *Mon-*

A New Conſpiracy

Montacute, were commited to the *Tower*, and indicted for conſpiring to dethrone King *Henry*, and to advance *Reginald Pool* to the Crown. This *Pool* was near Kinſman to the King, being the Son of the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, Daughter and Heir to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*. He had a generous Education given him by the King, who made him Dean of *Exeter*; but being ſent abroad to learn Experience by variety of Converſation in Travel, he grew ſo intimate with the Pope, that he became an Enemy to the King, and expreſſing it in ſome conſiderable Inſtances, was by Pope *Julius* made a Cardinal, and for endeavouring to change his Hat into a Crown, theſe Lords being Condemned, were all Executed. Sir *Edward Nevil* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 3d, and the Lord Marquis and the Lord *Montacute* at the ſame place on the 9th of *January*. Two Prieſts condemned with them were executed at *Tyburn*, and Sir *Geoffry Pool* was pardoned. About the ſame time, King *Henry* being informed, that the Pope, at the promotion of Cardinal *Pool*, had encouraged divers great Princes to invade *England*, like a provident Governor fortify'd his Forts, ſtrengthen'd his Garriſons, guarded his Coaſts, and put his Fleet into a poſture of being ready on any ſudden occaſion. A. D. 1539.

It was now the Thirty firſt Year of King *Henry*'s Reign, and the Nine and fortieth of his Age, who having now continu'd a Widower two Years, began to think of Marrying again, wherein he was like to have little Trouble; for the Emperor ſollicited him to marry the Dutcheſs of *Milan*; but the Pope's Conſent being neceſſary to the accompliſhing of it, the King would rather live without a Wife, than to have any thing to do with the Pope about a Marriage. The Duke of *Cleve* alſo made him a Propoſal to marry the Lady *Anne* his Siſter: Who, tho' a Proteſtant Prince, and conſequently different in point of Doctrine, yet, in the main, in excluding the Pope's Authority, they were both agreed. Many about the King were zealous in promoting this Match, the Lord *Cromwel* eſpecially; and indeed it concerned him more than any, that the King ſhould marry a Proteſtant, for his Actions had been ſuch, as would never be approv'd by a Queen of the *Romiſh* Religion; and if the Queen ſhould not like them, the King, tho' done by his leave, would not like them long. Hereupon ſuch Expedients were em- 1540.

A. D. 1540. ploy'd, that Ambaſſadors were ſent by the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the Match, and the 11th of *December* the Lady herſelf was brought in great State to *Calais*, from thence to *Dover*, and being come to *Rocheſter* the King came ſecretly to ſee her. Afterward ſhe was conducted to *London*, and was met in the way by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of *January* ſhe was receiv'd into *London* by Sir *William Hollis*, then Lord Mayor, with Orations, Pageants, and the greateſt Complements of State, that ever had been ſhewn to any Queen of *England*: On the 12th of *January* the Marriage was ſolemniz'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In *April* following, the Lord *Cromwel* (as if he had won the King's Heart for ever by making this Match) was made Earl of *Eſſex*; for in *March* before, *Henry Bourchier*, Earl of *Eſſex* and the ancienteſt Earl of *England*, was kill'd by a fall from a Horſe, leaving only one Daughter, and ſhe dying without Iſſue, the Earldom deſcended to the Family of the *Devereux's*, who notwithſtanding did not enjoy the Honour till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. The ninth of *March* the King created Sir *William Paulet*, Lord *Paulet*, *St. John Ruſſel*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and Sir *William Par*, Lord *Par*. The 28th of *April* a Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*, in which *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, *Gertrude*, Marquis of *Exeter*, Cardinal *Pool*, Sir *Andrew Foskew*, *Thomas Dingley*, Knight of St. *John's*, were attainted for High Treaſon, of whom *Foskew* and *Dingley* were beheaded on the tenth of *July*, and the Counteſs of *Salisbury* two Years after. In this Parliament the Six Articles were Eſtabliſhed by Law, and Sir *Nicholas Hale* was reſtored to his Place of Speaker of Parliament.

King Henry's fourth Wife.

Five Months after the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, tho', at firſt ſight, he did not like her Perſon; yet whether with reſpect to the Sex, he would not diſparage her at firſt meeting, or tryed whether Time might not reconcile him to her, or being unwilling to diſoblige the Princes of *Germany*, (for ſome private Deſigns were rolling in his mind) he diſſembled the matter, and all things went on as well pleaſed on all ſides, but notwithſtanding all this fair ſhew, the crafty Biſhop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner*, finding how things were carried between the King and Queen, and for her ſake with *Cromwel*, to both which he was diſaffected, he ſo wrought upon the King's Inclination, by ſuggeſting Calumnies againſt him, and knowing that the King delighted

delighted to raiſe mean Perſons, and upon the leaſt diſtaſte to throw them down, prevail'd ſo far upon his Temper, that on the 9th of *July* the Lord *Cromwel* was Arreſted at the Council Table, for High Treaſon, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Commited to the *Tower*. The Lord *Cromwel* was born at *Putney* in *Surrey* the Son of a Blackſmith; and for the Pregnancy of his Wit was firſt entertained by Cardinal *Wooſey*. The Cardinal falling, the King took him into his Family and Service, and finding his great Abilities, firſt advanced him for his Merits, and then ruined him for his Pleaſure. He had contracted many Enemies among all ſorts and degrees of Perſons; the Nobility deſpis'd him for his mean Extraction: his aſpiring to the Order of the Garter, was thought a piece of inexcuſable Pride and Vanity, and his having ſo many Places heaped upon him, as Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and Lord Vice-Gerent, with the Maſterſhip of the *Rolls*, drew much envy upon him. All the Popiſh Party hated him out of meaſure, the ſuppreſſion of the Abbeys was laid wholly at his Door, and all other ſevere Proceedings were imputed to his Counſels; but the principal cauſe of his Ruin was, that as the King had an unconquerable Averſion to his Queen, ſo he was extreamly enamour'd by the Beauty and behaviour of the Lady *Catherine Howard*, Daughter to the Lord *Edmund Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*: And as this deſign'd Match rais'd the credit of her Unkle, ſo the ill conſequences of the former threw him down, that had been the principal Counſellor in it. The King alſo found his Government was grown uneaſy, and therefore judg'd it was no ill Policy to throw all upon a Miniſter that had great Power with him, and gave him up to be ſacrifiſed to excuſe himſelf. In this great Miniſter's Fall, he had the common Fate of all diſgrac'd Favourites, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted over by his Enemies; only Archbiſhop *Cranmer* retained ſtill ſo much of his former Candour and Simplicity, that he could never learn the Court Artifices, and therefore next Day wrote to the King in his Favour. However,

A. D. 1540.

The Lord Cromwel accuſed and confined.

Upon the 7th of *June* a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords againſt him, and the King paſs'd it the ſame Day, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* being abſent. *Cromwel* was condemned for Hereſy and Treaſon, and after he had

A. D. 1540. had been six Weeks a Prisoner was brought to his Execution. He had us'd all possible means for his Preservation; but the Charms of *Catherine Howard*, and the endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and Bishop *Gardiner* at length prevail'd, and he was very barbarously beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, on the 28th of *July*. Thus fell that great Minister, that was rais'd meerly upon the strength of his natural Parts; for as his Extraction was mean, so his Education was low: All the Learning he had, was, that he had got the New Testament in *Latin* by heart. His great Wisdom and dexterity in Business, rais'd him up thro' several steps, till he was become as great as a Subject could be. He carried his Greatness with wonderful Temper and Moderation, and fell under the weight of a popular Odium rather than Guilt; and when he fell, no Bribery, nor Cheating the King, could be fasten'd on him; tho' such things come out in swarms upon a disgrac'd Favourite, when there is any ground for them. The King was said to have lamented his Death when it was too late; but the Fall of the new Queen, that follow'd not long after, and the miseries which fell on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Family, some Years after, were look'd upon as the Scourges of Heaven, for the cruel Prosecution of this unfortunate Minister.

Lord Cromwel beheaded.

The King divorc'd from Ann Cleve.

The Lord *Cromwel's* Fall was the first step to the King's Divorce; for on the Four and twentieth of *June* he sent his Queen to *Richmond*, pretending the Country Air would agree better with her. On the sixth of *July* a Motion was made, and assented to in the House of Lords, that they should make an Address to the King, to suffer his Marriage to be try'd. The matter by several Lords was represented to the Commons, desiring their concurrence to the Address, to which they agreed, and the King also consented, and a Commission was issued out to try it. The Commissioners having taken and considered several Depositions relating to the matter in question, the whole Convocation, without one disagreeing Vote, judg'd the Marriage null and of no force, and that both the King and the Lady were free from the Bond of it. Now the only Argument that can be brought to justify this Proceeding in the Convocation, which was an open Breach, and a pernicious Precedent for invalidating all publick Treaties and Agreements, is, *That the King was resolv'd, on any terms, to be rid of the Queen; and the Clergy was resolv'd not to incur his Displeasure.* The Queen freely consented to all these Proceedings, for which the

King

ng assign'd her an Estate of 3000 *l.* a Year, and gave r Precedence over all the Ladies in *England*, next his ueen and Daughters; and upon having her choice to ay in *England*, or return into her own Country, she ose rather to live still in *England*, where she was in eat Honour, rather than return Home under that isgrace. Afterward she lived a private Life, well espected of the King, and died 16 Years after, in the th of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, and was buried in *West-inster*. A. D. 1540.

King *Henry* being divorc'd from his Wife on the 6th f *July*, was married on the 8th of *August* following to he Lady *Catherine Howard*. And now a cruel Per-ecution was set on Foot in *England*, for as none durst rotect those who refus'd to subscribe the six Articles, so everal Persons were burnt for refusing it, among the est Dr. *Barnes*, and Mrs. *Anne Askue*, a Woman of rare Wit and Beauty, of exemplary Piety and Constancy, who, after she had twice suffer'd the Rack, to the dis-jointing of her Bones, yielded, for Christ's and his Re-ligion sake, her Body to the Flames. Nor was it almost possible for any to escape this Popish Cruelty, Com-missioners being appointed in every Shire, to find out and punish all that were refractory; tho' their Punish-ment did but encrease the number of Professors, and advance the Reformed Religion; for as the Sufferers were observ'd, at their Deaths, to rejoice and triumph in the Flames, so it induced the People to believe they had more than ordinary Assistance from Heaven, and satisfaction in their own Consciences, to enable them to endure these cruel Torments. *A cruel Persecution.*

A little Rebellion appearing in *Yorkshire*, headed by Sir *John Nevil*, the King took care to suppress it early, and Sir *John* was beheaded at *York*. Shortly after fol-lowed the Countess of *Salisbury*'s Execution, but whe-ther it was hastened by the late Rebellion, or some new Offences, is uncertain, and with her, as all our Authors agree, ended the Right Line of the *Planta-genets*.

Now the King resolved to take a Progress into *York-shire*, to extinguish the remains of the late Commoti- 1541.
ons, and the Relicks of Superstition and Idolatry. As he with his Queen passed through *Lincolnshire*, the Peo-ple thankfully receiving their late Pardon, presented him with great sums of Money, and the *Yorkshire* Men followed their example. The King also, to ingratiate him-

A. D. 1541.

himself with them, issued out a Proclamation, that if any of his Subjects were agrieved for want of Justice from his Ministers, they should have free Access to the King and his Council for Redress; which Politick Stratagem satisfied the multitude, that not the King, but a former Minister, caused those vigorous Proceedings against them, and so the dead Lord *Cromwel* bore the blame of what the King had particularly commanded.

King Henry's Policy.

The King returning at *All-Hollantide* to *Hampton-Court*, was there inform'd of the Queen's dissolute and dishoneſt Life, first before her Marriage, with one *Francis Deerham*, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, whom she had at *Pomfret* lately taken again into her Service; and since her Marriage, with one *Thomas Culpeper*, a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber: Whereupon on the 30th of *November*, Sir *Thomas Writothsley*, the King's Secretary, was sent to the Queen at *Hampton-Court*, to charge her with these Treasonable Crimes, to discharge her Household, and to cause her to be convey'd to *Syon*, there to remain till the King's pleasure should be further known. The Delinquents being examin'd, *Deerham* confessed that before the King's Marriage with the Lady *Catherine*, there had been a Pre-contract between him and the Queen, but as soon as he understood the King lov'd her, he wav'd and conceal'd it for her Preferment; so the first of *December* these Gentlemen being arraign'd at *Guild Hall*, and confessing the Indictment, Sentence of Death was pronounc'd against them as in cases of High Treason, and on the 10th of *December* were drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, where *Culpeper* was beheaded, *Deerham* was hang'd and dismembred, and both their Heads set upon *London Bridge*. The 22d of *December* the Lord *William Howard*, the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, *Catherine Tilney*, *Alce Wrestwold*, Gentlewomen, *Joan Bulmer*, *Anne Howard*, the Queen's Brother's Wife, with divers others, were all condemned for misprission of Treason, and for concealing the Queen's abominable Crimes, to forfeit their Estates, and to remain under perpetual Imprisonment. The 16th of *January* a Parliament began at *Westminster*, who taking this matter into consideration, attainted the Queen and the Lady *Jane Rochfort*, Wife to the late Lord *Rochfort*, and who was the principal Instrument in procuring the death of Queen *Anne Boleyn*, and her Husband; they were brought to the *Tower*, and after Confession of their Crimes, were both beheaded. The next Year King *Henry*, by a Parliament

Queen Catherine's Adultery discovered.

1542.

She is beheaded.

liament held in that Country, and his own desires, was constituted King of *Ireland*, all our former Kings being only entitled Lords of *Ireland*, and afterwards confered Dignities there upon several Persons of Merit. *Oneal* seeing what good use the King made of his new Title, came into *England*, and their Deserts being notified to the King, *O Bryan*, *Mac William a Burgh*, and *Mac Gil Patrick*, had Honours given them, and by that means were obliged to continue firm to the Crown of *England*. A. D. 1542.

At this time many Complaints were made against the *Scots* for receiving *English* Rebels, for invading the *English* Borders, and after many delusory Artifices on the *Scoth* part, the King no longer enduring such abuses, sent an Army against them, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who enter'd *Scotland*, and staying but eight Days only, he burnt above Eighteen Towns, Abbeys and Castles, and then for want of Provisions, returned to *Berwick*. As soon as the Duke returned, the King of *Scots* came abroad with 15000 Men, and using great threatnings, invaded the Western Borders; but by an inconsiderable number of *English*, his Army was routed, upon an apprehension, that the Duke of *Norfolk* was come into those parts with his whole Army. Many of the *Scotch* Nobility were taken Prisoners, at which dismal Overthrow the King of the *Scots* fell into such extremity of Grief, that he died soon after, leaving behind him one only Daughter; and here King *Henry* began to apprehend a greater advantage than the Victory, for he conceived that this Daughter would be a fit match for his Son, Prince *Edward*, and would make a Union between the Two Kingdoms. To this purpose they confer'd with the Lords they had taken Prisoners, and they, and all *Scotland*, were pleased with the Proposition: But *John Beton*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, being a Cardinal at the Pope's Devotion, and consequently an utter Enemy to King *Henry*, so cross'd and perplexed the matter, that it came to nothing, but ended in a War between the two Kingdoms: In which the *Scots* suffer'd much by a Fight, and spoiling their Country; but the *English* having taken *Leith*, as they were marching to *Edinburgh*, the Provost with some of the Burghers came and offer'd the Keys of that City to the *English* General, upon Condition, they might march out Bag and Baggage, and the Town be preserv'd from Burning; but the Lord Lieutenant told them,

War with Scotland.

Desolations in Scotland.

A. D. 1543. them, They had been too falſe to expect any favour, therefore unleſs they would Surrender upon Diſcretion, he would proceed in his Enterprize, and burn the Town: And having by this imprudent threatning made the Enemy deſperate, the Provoſt anſwered, They would ſtand upon their Defence; and ſo they did, and forced the *Engliſh* to retire, for the Caſtle ſhot ſo fiercely, that having only burnt a part of the Town, they returned to *Leith*; but whilſt they lay there they ſo waſted the Country, that within 7 Miles every way of *Edinburgh*, there was neither Town, Village nor Houſe left unconſumed by Fire. In *Leith* they ſeiz'd upon all the *Scotch* Ships, among which were two very good ones; and having ſet that Town on Fire, and burnt it to the ground, the *Engliſh* Army marched to *Seaton*, thence to *Haddington*, thence to *Dunbar*, thence to *Ranton*, all which Towns and Caſtles, with divers others, they burnt and defaced, and on the 18th of *May* came to *Berwick*, not having loſt above 13 Men in the whole Enterprize.

King Henry's *ſixth Wife.*

The Separation or Divorce between the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* remaining uncontroverted, and Queen *Catherine* beheaded, the King bethought himſelf of another Wife, and having hitherto but ill luck among the Maids, reſolved to try his Fortune with a Widow; and thereupon on the twelfth of *June* took to Wife the Lady *Catherine Par*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer*, lately deceaſed, and accordingly ſhe was proclaimed Queen.

The Popiſh Party at Court fearing the Intereſt of that Church was declining, were ſtill incenſing the King againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion, which they branded with the odious name of Hereticks, and reſolving to drive their Point to the furtheſt, inſinuated their Complaints to the King againſt *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and told the King, that tho' there were evident Proofs ready to be brought againſt him, yet becauſe of his Greatneſs, and the King's Carriage in former Complaints, none durſt appear againſt him; but if he were once put in the *Tower*, that Men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear evidence of his being a Heretick. So the King conſented that he ſhould the next Day be called before the Council, and be ſent to the *Tower*, if they ſaw cauſe for it, and now they concluded him ruin'd; but in the Night the King ſent Sir *Anthony Denny* to *Lambeth*, to bring the

the Archbiſhop to ſpeak with him, and when he came, the King told him what Informations had been brought in againſt him, and how far he had yielded to them; that he ſhould be ſent to the *Tower* the next Day, and therefore deſired to hear from himſelf what he had to ſay upon it. *Cranmer* thank'd him that he had not left him in the dark, to be ſurprized in a matter that concerned him ſo nearly. He acknowledged the Equity of the King's Proceedings, and all that he deſired was, *That he might be brought to make his Anſwer, and that ſince he was to be queſtion'd for ſome of his Opinions, Judges might be aſſigned who underſtood thoſe matters.* The King heard this with Aſtoniſhment, wondering to ſee a Man ſo little concerned in his own Preſervation, and pleaſantly told him, *He was a Fool that look'd ſo little to his own ſafety; for did he think if he was put in Priſon, abundance of falſe Witneſſes would not be ſuborn'd to ruine him? and therefore ſince he took no more care of himſelf, he would do it.* And ſo order'd him to appear next day before the Council upon their Summons, and when things were objected to him, to ſay, *That ſince he was a Privy Counſellor, he deſir'd they would uſe him as they would expect to be uſed under the like Circumſtances; and therefore moved, That his Accuſers might be brought Face to Face; and things be a little better conſider'd before he was ſent to the* Tower; *and if they refus'd to grant that, then he was to appeal perſonally to the King, who intended that day to be abſent.* And in witneſs of it ſhould ſhew them the King's Seal Ring, that he wore upon his Finger, and was well known to them all. So the King giving him his Ring, ſent him privately home again. Next morning early came a Meſſenger of the Council, and ſummon'd him to make his appearance before them. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the *Lobby* before he was call'd in. At this unuſual ſight many were aſtoniſh'd; but Doctor *Butts*, the King's Phyſician, that lov'd *Cranmer*, and preſum'd more on a diſeas'd King than any other durſt do, went and told the King what a ſtrange thing he had ſeen, *The Primate of all* England *waiting at the Council Door among the Footmen and Servants*: So the King ſent them word that he ſhould be preſently brought in; which being done, they ſaid, *That there were many Informations againſt him, that all the Hereſies that were in* England *came from him, and his Chaplains* To which he anſwer'd as the King had directed him: But they inſiſted on what was be-

A. D. 1543.

The King's care of Cranmer

fore

A. D. 1543. for projected. He ſaid, *He was ſorry to be uſed thus by thoſe with whom he had ſet ſo long at that Board, ſo that he muſt appeal from them to the King*; and with that took out the King's Ring, and ſhew'd it. This put them in a wonderful confuſion, but they all roſe up and went to the King, who check'd them ſeverely for uſing the Archbiſhop ſo unhandſomely. He ſaid, *He thought he had a Wiſer Council than now he found they were. He proteſted by the Faith he owed to God*, laying his hand upon his Breaſt, *That if a Prince could be obliged by a Subject, he was by the Archbiſhop, and that he took him to be the moſt faithful Subject he had, and a Perſon to whom he was much beholden.* The Duke of *Norfolk* made a trifling Excuſe, and ſaid they meant no harm to the Archbiſhop, but only to vindicate his Innocency by ſuch a Tryal, which would have freed him from the Aſperſions that were caſt upon him; but the King anſwer'd, *He would not ſuffer Men that were ſo dear to him to be handled in that faſhion. He knew the Factions that were among them, and the Malice that ſome of them bore to others, which he would either extinguiſh, or puniſh very ſpeedily.* So he commanded them all to be reconciled to *Cranmer*, which was done with the outward Ceremony of taking him by the Hand, and was moſt real on his part, tho' the other Party did not ſo eaſily lay down the hatred they bore him. This I place at this time, tho' *Parker*, who related it, names neither Year nor Time in which it was done, but leads us very near it, by ſaying it was after the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Death, and this being the only time in which the King was in an ill humour againſt the Reformers, therefore I conclude it fell out about this time.

An attempt upon the Queen's Life.

The Popiſh Party finding 'twas in vain to ſtrike at *Cranmer*, never more attempted any thing againſt him; yet one Deſign failing, they ſet up another againſt the Queen. She was a great Favourer of the Reformers, and had frequently Sermons in her Privy-Chamber by ſome of thoſe Preachers, which tho' the King knew, he took no notice of it. She carried herſelf in all other things not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the King's Perſon, which became a Wife that was rais'd by him to ſuch great Honour, that he was much taken with her, ſo that none durſt venture to make any Complaints againſt her; but the King's Diſtempers increaſing, and his Peeviſhneſs growing with them, he became more uneaſy; and whereas ſhe us'd frequently to talk

alk to him, and defend the Opinions of the Reformers, A. D.
n which ſhe would ſometimes pleaſantly maintain the 1543.
rgument, now becoming more impatient, he took it
l at her Hands, and ſhe ſometimes in the heat of that
Diſcourſe had gone very far. One night after ſhe had
eft him, the King being diſpleas'd vented it to *Gardi-*
ner, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* that ſtood by, and he craftily
nd maliciouſly ſtruck in with the King's Anger, and ſaid
ll that he could deviſe againſt the Queen, to drive his
Reſentments higher; and taking the Lord Chancellor
nto the deſign to aſſiſt him, they filled the King's
Head with many ſtories of his Queen and ſome of her
Ladies, and ſaid they had favoured *Anne Askue*, had He-
retick Books among them, and perſwaded the King
that they were all Traytors, as well as Hereticks. The
matter went ſo far, that Articles were drawn againſt
her, which the King ſigned. The Lord Chancellor
puting up that Paper careleſsly, it dropt from him,
which being taken up by one of the Queen's Party,
was carried to her. Whether the King had really de-
ſign'd her ruin or not, is differently repreſented by
Writers who lived near that time: But ſhe ſeeing his
Hand to ſuch a Paper, had reaſon to conclude herſelf
loſt; yet by the Advice of one of her Friends ſhe went
to ſee the King, who received her kindly, and ſet on
a Diſcourſe about Religion; but ſhe anſwered, *That*
Women by their firſt Creation were made ſubject to Men, *Her Policy*
and they being made after the Image of God, as Women were
made after theirs, ought to inſtruct their Wives, who were
to learn of them; and ſhe much more was to be taught by
his Majeſty, who was a Prince of ſuch excellent Learning
and Wiſdom. Not ſo, by St. Mary, ſaid the King, *You*
are become a Doctor, Kate, *and able to inſtruct us, and not*
to be inſtructed by us. To which ſhe anſwered, *That it*
ſeems he had much miſtaken the freedom ſhe had taken in
arguing with him, ſince ſhe did it partly to engage him
in Diſcourſe, and paſs away the Time, and make him for-
get his Pain, and partly to receive new Inſtruction from
him, by which ſhe had much profited. And is it even ſo,
ſaid the King, *then we are Friends again* So he em-
braced her with great kindneſs, and ſent her away with
very tender Aſſurances of his conſtant Love to her:
But the next Day having been appointed for carrying
her, and ſome of her Ladies, to the *Tower*, the Day being
fair, the King went to take a little Air in the Garden,
and ſent for the Queen to bear him Company. And as they
were

A. D. 1543. were together the Lord Chancellor came in, having about forty of the Guard with him; but the King ſtept aſide to him, and after a little diſcourſe he was heard to call him Knave, Fool and Beaſt, and commanded him to depart his Preſence. The Innocent Queen, not knowing what danger was ſo near, ſtudied to mitigate the King's Diſpleaſure, and interceded for the Lord Chancellor. The King told her, ſhe had no reaſon to requeſt any thing in his favour, ſaying, *Ah, poor Fool, thou little knoweſt what he came about; upon my word, Sweetheart, he has been a very Knave to thee.* And thus, by God's Providence, was this good Queen preſerv'd, who elſe peradventure had taſted as bitter a Cup as any of his former Wives had done before her.

1544. This Year King *Henry* ſent over an Army to aſſiſt the Emperor againſt the *French* King. The *Sunday* before *Chriſtmas* the Lord *William Par*, the Queen's Brother, who had marry'd the Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourchier*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was, in right of his Wife, created Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *William Par*, Unkle to 'em both, was made Lord *Par* of *Horton*, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and on *New Years-day* Sir *Thomas Wriothſley*, the King's Secretary, was made Lord *Wriothſley*. In *June*, *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, fled out of *Scotland* into *England*, whom King *Henry* receiv'd kindly, and gave him in Marriage to the Lady *Margaret*, his Siſter's Daughter, by whom he had *Henry*, Father of King *James* the Firſt.

Boulogne *taken by the King's Forces.* *Thomas Audley*, Lord Chancellor, being dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothſley* ſucceeded in that Office. And now with a great Army the Duke of *Norfolk* enters *France*, and marching towards *Mutterel*, joyn'd the Emperor's Forces under the Conduct of the Count *de Baron*, and both the Armies laid Siege to *Mutterel*, of which Monſieur *de Bies*, a Mareſcal of *France*, was Governor, who being then at *Boulogne* return'd thither, which was what was intended by the Enemy to draw him and his Forces from *Boulogne*. and thereupon the Duke of *Suffolk* went over and laid Siege to it, and in *July* the King, in Perſon, came and aſſiſted at the Siege, which, after many Batteries and Aſſaults, yielded upon Compoſition. The Duke of *Suffolk* took poſſeſſion of it, and preſently after the King himſelf, leaving the Lord *Liſle*, Lord High Admiral, Governor of it, he return'd into *England*; and this Town remain'd in *Engliſh* hands, notwithſtanding all the Attempts that were made againſt

againſt it, till in a Treaty of Peace, the *French* redeem'd it on Payment of 800000 Crowns. Much about the ſame time dyed that valiant Commander the Lord *Poyning*, and *Charles Brandon*, the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, and was magnificently inter'd at the King's charge. A. D. 1545.

The deſign againſt Queen *Catherine*'s Life failing, was a great diſheartning to the Popiſh Party, and utterly alienated the King from them, and in particlular from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe ſight he could never after this endure. He made an humble Submiſſion to the King, which ſecur'd him from puniſhment; but all the Arts he us'd could never reſtore him to the King's favour. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, fell under a ſadder misfortune. He had done great ſervices to the Crown on many ſignal Occaſions, and ſucceſs had always accompanied him. His Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, was alſo a brave and noble Perſon, witty and learned to a high degree, but did not command the Armies with ſuch ſucceſs. He was much provok'd at the Earl of *Hertford*'s being ſent over to *France* in his room, and upon that had ſaid, *That in a little while they ſhould ſmart for it*, with ſome other expreſſions that ſavour'd of revenge, and diſlike of the King, and hatred of the Council. The Duke of *Norfolk* had endeavour'd to ally himſelf to the Earl of *Hertford*, and to his Brother, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, perceiving how much they were in the King's favour, and how great an Intereſt they were like to have under the ſucceeding Prince, and therefore would have engag'd his Son, being then a Widower, to marry that Earl's Daughter, and preſs'd his Daughter, the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, Widow to the King's natural Son, to marry Sir *Thomas Seymour*; but tho' the Earl of *Surrey* advis'd his Siſter to the Marriage projected for her, yet he would not conſent to that deſign for himſelf, nor did the propoſition about his Siſter take effect. The *Seymours* could not but ſee the Enmity the Earl of *Surrey* bore them, and they might well be jealous of the greatneſs of that Family, which was not only too big for a Subject of it ſelf, but was rais'd ſo high by the dependance of the whole Popiſh Party both at Home and Abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous Competitors for the chief government of Affairs, if the King were once out of the way, whoſe Diſeaſe was now growing ſo faſt upon him, that he could not live many Weeks: Nor is it unlikely that they perſwaded the King, that if the Earl of *Surrey* ſhould

The Duke of Norfolk and his Son's hard fate. 1546.

A. D. 1547.

Deserted Innocence never wants Accusers.

should marry the Lady *Mary*, it might embroil his Son's Government, and perhaps ruin him. It was also suggested that he had some such Project in his thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried, and by his using the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor, which of late he had given in his Coat, without a diminution. But to compleat the Duke of *Norfolk*'s ruin, his Dutchess, who complained of his using her ill, and had been separated from him about four Years, turn'd Informer against him. His Son and Daughter were also on ill terms together: So that the Sister informed all that she could against the Brother; and one Mrs. *Holland*, for whom the Duke was supposed to have an unlawful Affection, discovered all she knew; but all amounted to no more than some passionate Expressions of the Son, and some Complaints of the Father, who thought he was not beloved of the King and his Counsellors, and that he was ill used in not being trusted in secret Affairs. All Persons being encouraged to bring in Informations against them, Sir *Richard Southwell* charged the Earl of *Surrey* in some points, that were of an higher nature, which the Earl denied, and desired to be admited, according to the Martial Law, to fight in his Shirt with *Southwell*. But that not being granted, he, and his Father, were commited to the *Tower*. That which was most insisted on, was, their giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor, which were only to be given by the Kings of *England*. This the Earl of *Surrey* justified; and said, *They gave their Arms according to the Opinion of the King's Heralds*; but all Excuses availed nothing, for his Father, and he, were designed to be destroy'd upon Reasons of State; for which some colours were to be found out.

The Earl of *Surrey* being but a Commoner, was brought to his Tryal at *Guild Hall*, and put upon an Inquest of Commoners, consisting of nine Knights and three Esquires, by whom he was found guilty of Treason, and had Sentence passed upon him, which was executed on the 9th of *January* on *Tower-Hill*. This was generally condemn'd, as an act of high Injustice and Severity, which loaded the *Seymours* with popular Odium, that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a Man of great Parts, and high Courage, with many other noble Qualities.

The Earl of Surrey *beheaded.*

But the King, who never hated nor ruin'd any Man by halves, resolved to compleat the misfortunes of that Family, by the Attainder of his Father; all his emi-

nent

nent Services were now forgotten; nor could the submiſſion be made allay a Diſpleaſure, that was only to be ſatisfied with his Life and Fortune. Therefore a Parliament was called, the reaſon whereof was pretended to be the Coronation of the Prince of *Wales*; but it was thought the true cauſe of it was to attaint the Duke of *Norfolk*; for which they had not colour enough to do it in a Tryal by his Peers; and ſuch Arts were uſed, that his Attainder paſſed both Houſes of Parliament in ſix days time, and paſs'd the Royal Aſſent, by Commiſſion, in three days more, and had been executed the next morning, if the King's death had not prevented it. The Act it ſelf is not to be found upon Record; but is declared null and void by the Common Law of the Land, by an Act of Parliament in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, becauſe the Act of Attainder had no ſpecial matter in it, but only general Words of Treaſons and Conſpiracies. A. D. 1547.

As ſoon as the Act was paſs'd, a Warrant was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to cut off the Duke's Head the next morning; but the King dying in the night, the Lieutenant could do nothing on that Warrant: Nor was it thought adviſable to begin the new King's Reign with ſuch an odious Execution; and thus the Duke of *Norfolk* eſcaped very narrowly. Both Parties diſcanted upon the ſevere Proceedings againſt the Duke; the Papiſts ſaid, it was a judgment upon him, for obeying the King's Will oftentimes againſt his Conſcience: And the Proteſtants could not but obſerve the the Hand of God, in meaſuring out ſo hard a Portion to him, that was ſo heavy on thoſe poor People that were queſtioned for Hereſy. There is but one ſtep more of foreign buſineſs in this Reign; which was an Embaſſy ſent over by the Duke of *Saxony*, to let the King know of a League between the Pope and the Emperor, for the Extirpation of Hereſy, and that the Emperor was making War on him, and other Princes, in purſuance of that League, and therefore he deſired the King's aſſiſtance; but at the ſame time the Emperor, did, by his Agents, every where diſown that the War was upon a Religious Account, and ſaid, it was only to maintain the Rights of the Empire, which thoſe Princes had affronted; ſo the King anſwered, That as ſoon as it did appear to him, that Religion was not the cauſe of the War, he would aſſiſt them. *A narrow eſcape.*

The King was ſo overgrown with Corpulency and Fatneſs, that he became more and more unweildy; he could *The King's ſickneſs.*

A. D. 1547. could not go up and down ſtairs, but as he was rais'd up or let down by an Engine; and an old Sore in his Leg became very uneaſy to him, ſo that all the Humours in his Body ſinking down into his Leg, he became exceeding froward and untractable; to which his inexcuſable Severity to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son, may be, in a great meaſure, imputed. His Servants durſt ſcarce ſpeak to put him in mind of his approaching end, and an Act of Parliament, which was made for the Security of the King's Life, had ſome words in it againſt the foretelling of his Death, which made every one afraid to ſpeak to him of it, leſt he, in his Angry and Imperious Humour, ſhould have order'd them to be Indicted upon that Statute. But he felt Nature declining apace, and ſo made the Will he had left behind him at his laſt going into *France* be written over again, with this only difference, that *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, whom he had appointed one of the Executors of his Will, and a Counſellor to his Son till he came of Age, was now left out; of which when Sir *Anthony Brown* put the King in mind, apprehending it was only an omiſſion, he anſwered, that he knew *Gardiner*'s Temper well enough, and tho' he could govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it, and that he would give them much trouble. When *Brown*, at another time, repeated the ſame motion to the King, he told him, if he ſpake more of that, he would ſtrike him out of his Will alſo. The King continued decaying till the 27th of the Month, and then many ſigns of his Diſſolution appearing, yet few would adventure on ſo unwelcome a thing as to put him in mind of his Change, then grown imminent; only Sir *Anthony Denny* had the Honeſty and Courage to do it, deſiring him to prepare for Death, to remember his former Life, and to call on God for Mercy through Jeſus Chriſt. Upon which the King expreſs'd his Grief for the Sins of his paſt Life, yet ſaid he truſted in the mercies of Chriſt which were greater than his Sins. Then *Denny* ask'd him, If any Church-man ſhould be ſent for, and he ſaid, If any, it ſhould be Arch Biſhop *Cranmer*; and after he had reſted a while, finding his Spirits decay apace, he order'd him to be ſent for to *Croydon*, where he then was; but before he could come the King was ſpeechleſs. So *Cranmer* deſired him to give him ſome ſign of his dying in the Faith of Chriſt, upon which he ſqueez'd his Hand, and ſoon after dyed, after he had Reigned

37 Years

37 Years and 9 Months, in the 56th Year of his Age. His Body, with great Solemnity, was buried at *Windsor*, under a most costly and stately Tomb, begun in Copper and guilt, but never finish'd. A. D. 1547.

His Character.

King *Henry* was tall of Stature, strong of Body, fair of Complexion, but in his latter days Corpulent and Unweildy. He was a Prince of so many good Qualities, that one would wonder to think he should have any ill ones: And indeed, he had not many, till Flattery and ill Counsel in his latter days got the Ascendant over him. His Cruelty to his Wives may be excused, by saying, if they were Incontinent he did but Justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfy his Conscience, that he really thought them so; for if the Marriage-Bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is sacred. In suppressing of Abbeys he shewed not little Piety, but great Providence; for tho' they were excellent things, being rightly us'd, yet pernicious, being abus'd, and then may the use be justly suppressed, when the Abuses are impossible to be restrained. Many speak hardly of this Action, and call it robing God; but he that considers to what ill uses they were apply'd, will think it a reasonable Proceeding in the Government, to re-assume those Estates which had been fraudulently drawn from former Ages, to employ them to better Uses, for the Fault was not in taking them away, but in not applying a greater part of them to Uses truly religious. He was so far from Pride that he was rather too familiar with his Subjects. So valiant, that his whole Life was almost nothing but exercise of Arms, and tho' performed among his Friends in jest, yet that prepared him against his Enemies in earnest, and so they found him that durst put it to Tryal. It may be truly said, that the complexion of his Government for the first 20 Years was altogether Jovial, and the rest was Cholerick and Bloody; and it remains a doubt whether in the former he was more prodigal of his Treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects Blood: for as he consumed more Money in fictious Shews, than other Princes did in Realities; so in any Distemper of his People he used no Remedy but *Phlebotomy*; tho' we should do him wrong to say the *Romish* Prelates did not shed a great deal of Blood without his knowledge or approbation. I confess the Fate of the Lord *Cromwel*, and *Henry*, Earl of *Surrey*, lies hard upon him; but the former was attainted

A. D. 1547. tainted by Parliament, without which the King had no Power over his Life, and therefore must share in the Contrivance: And it's plain in the hard measure of the latter, that being no Lord of Parliament, he was found guilty by a Jury, so that if the King cut off his Head, the Jurors put the Ax into his hands, and laid the Earl's Neck upon the Block, or he had been secur'd by our Constitution. 'Tis true, the Charge of quartering the King's Arms may seem somewhat slight, yet 'tis always dangerous to play with edge Tools, and reason of State does in part excuse it. In the main, he appears a King of a great deal of Honour, and not without a good natur'd Generosity: He was careful to maintain the Civil Constitution, and Priviledges of Parliament, tho' he knew how to check their Career, when they attempted to grow upon him, and infringe his Prerogative. As for Religion, tho' he brought it not to a compleat Reformation, yet he gave it so great a begining that merited our thanks, and was a foundation for his Successors to build on. I know there are some that are severe upon his Memory, and discover as great a share of ill nature, as they charge him with, tho' others say, we always ought to put the best construction on the Actions of Princes, and to take their best likeness in History: To speak well of them if we can any way justify it; and to be silent in doubtful Characters, if we cannot commend them.



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EDWARD . VI

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Vol. 1.

The Life and Reign of King EDWARD *the Sixth:*

EDWARD, the Sixth King of *England* of that Name, was the only Son of King *Henry* the Eighth by his belov'd Queen, *Jane Seymour*, or *St. Maur*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, who was deſcended from *Roger St. Maur*, that married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Beauchamp* of *Hacche*. Their Anceſtors come into *England* with *William* the Firſt, and had, at ſeveral times, made themſelves conſiderable by the Noble Acts they performed in the Wars. He was born at *Hampton Court* on the 12th Day of *October*, being St. *Edward*'s Eve, in the Year 1537, and loſt his Mother the Day after he was Born; who dy'd, not by the Cruelty of the Chyrurgeons riping up her Belly to make way for the Prince's Birth, as ſome Writers gave out, to repreſent King *Henry* barbarous and cruel in all his Actions, (whoſe falſe Reports have been too eaſily followed) but as the Original Letters that are yet extant in the *Cottonian* Library ſhew, ſhe was ſafely delivered of him, and the Day following was taken with a Deſtemper incident to Women in that Condition, of which ſhe dy'd. He was ſoon after Chriſtened, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* being his Godfathers, according to his own Journal. He continued under the charge and care of the Women till he was ſix Years old, and then he was put under the Government of Doctor *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*: The one was to be his Preceptor for his Manners, and the knowledge of Philoſophy and Divinity, the other for the Tongues and Mathematicks. He was alſo provided with Maſters for the *French*, and all other things becoming a Prince, the Heir of ſo great a Crown.

A. D. 1547.

His Birth.

A. D. 1547.

He gave, very early, many Indications of a good diſpoſition to Learning, of a moſt wonderful Probity of Mind, and above all, of greater Reſpect to Religion, and every thing relating to it; ſo that once when he was in one of his Childiſh Diverſions, ſomewhat being to be reach'd at, that he and Companions were too low for, one of them laid a great Bible that was in the Room to ſtep on, which he beholding with Indignation, took up the Bible himſelf, and gave over his Play for that time. He was in all things ſubject to the Orders laid down for his Education, and profited ſo much in Learning, that all about him conceiv'd great hopes of extraordinary things from him, if he ſhould live; but ſuch unuſual beginings ſeem rather to threaten the too early end of the Life, that, by all appearance, was likely to have produced ſuch aſtoniſhing things. He was ſo forward in his Learning, that before he was Eight Years old, he wrote *Latin* Letters to his Father, who was a Prince of that ſtern Severity, that one can hardly think thoſe about his Son durſt cheat him by making Letters for him. He uſed alſo, at that Age, to write to his Godfather, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to his Unkle, who was firſt made Viſcount *Beauchamp*, as deſcended from that Family, and ſoon after Earl of *Hertford*. It ſeems Queen *Catherine Par* underſtood *Latin*, for he wrote to her alſo in the ſame Language; but the full Character of this young Prince is given us by the Learned *Cardan*, who writ it after his Death, and in *Italy* where this Prince was counted an Heretick, ſo that there was nothing to be got or expected by flattering him; and yet it is ſo great, and withal ſo agreeing in all things to Truth, that I ſhall give it here in *Engliſh*:

His Character by Cardan.

" All the Graces, ſays *Cardan*, were apparent in him, " he had many Tongues when he was but yet a Child; " together with the *Engliſh*, his natural Tongue, he had " both *Latin* and *French*; nor was he Ignorant, as I hear, " of the *Greek*, *Italian*, and *Spaniſh*, and perhaps ſome " more; but for *Engliſh*, *French* and *Latin*, he was exact " in them, and apt to learn every thing; nor was he " ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of Natural Phi- " loſophy, nor of Muſick. The ſweetneſs of his Temper " was ſuch as became a Mortal, his Gravity becoming " the Majeſty of a King, and his diſpoſition ſuitable to " his high degree. In ſum, That Child was ſo bred, " had ſuch Parts, was of ſuch expectation, that he look-

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A. D 1547.

"ed like a Miracle of a Man. Theſe things are not "ſpoken rhetorically, and beyond the Truth, but are, "indeed, ſhort of it. And afterwards he adds, he "was a marvellous Boy. He began to love the Libe-"ral Arts before he knew them, to know them be-"fore he could uſe them, and in him there was ſuch "an Effort of Nature, that not only *England*, but the "World, has reaſon to lament his being ſo early ſnatch'd "away. How truly was it ſaid of ſuch extraordinary "Perſons, that their Lives are ſhort, and ſeldom come "to be old. He gave us an Eſſay of Vertue, tho' he "did not live to give a pattern of it. When the gra-"vity of a King was needful, he carried himſelf like "an old Man, and yet was always affable, and gentle, "as became his Age. He played on the Lute, he "meddled in Affairs of State, and in Bounty emula-"ted his Father, though he even when he endea-"voured to be too good, might appear to have been "bad; but there was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch "thing in the Son, whoſe Mind was cultivated by the "ſtudy of Philoſophy.

He is proclaimed King.

When his Father dyed, the Earl of *Hertford* and Sir *Anthony Brown* were ſent by the Council to give him notice of it, being then at *Hertford*, and to conduct him to the *Tower* of *London*. Having brought him to *Enfield*, with his Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth*, they told him he was now their King. On the 31ſt of *January* the King's death was publiſhed in *London*, and he proclaim'd King. At the *Tower* his Father's Executors, with the reſt of the Privy Council, received him with a profound reſpect due to their King, ſo tempering their ſorrows for the Death of their Maſter with their joy for his Son's happy ſucceeding him, that by an exceſs of Joy, they might not ſeem to have forgot the one ſo ſoon, nor to bode ill to the other by extremity of Grief. The firſt thing they did, was the opening of King *Henry*'s Will, by which they found he had nominated ſixteen Perſons to be his Executors and Governors to his Son, and to the Kingdom, till his Son was Eighteen Years of Age. Theſe were, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriothſley*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Edward Montague*, Judge *Bromely*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wotton* and Doctor *Wotton*; theſe, or the major part of them were

King Henry's Executors.

A. D. 1547. were to execute his Will, and to administer the Affairs of the Kingdom. By their Consents were the King and his Sisters to be dispos'd in Marriage, but with this difference, that it was only order'd that the King should Marry by their Advice; but the two Sisters were so limited in their Marriages, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succession, if they married without their Consents; it being of far greater Importance to the Peace and Interest of the Nation, who should be their Husbands, if the Crown did devolve on them, than who should be the King's Wife. By the Act passed in the 35th Year of King *Henry*, he was impowered to leave the Kingdom to them, with what limitations he should think fit. To the Executors, the King added by his Will who should be assistant to them: These were the Earls of *Arundel* and *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheny*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *Anthony Winckfield*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwel*, and Sir *Edmund Peckham*. The King also order'd, That if any of the Executors should dye, the Survivors, without giving them Power of substituting others, should continue the Administration of the Government. He also charg'd them to pay all his Debts, the Legacies he left, to perfect any Grant he had begun, and to make good every thing he had promis'd. The Will being open'd and read, all the Executors, Judge *Bromely* and the two *Wottons* only excepted, were present, and resolved to execute it in every particular, and took an Oath for their faithful discharge of that Trust.

Their Assistants.

It was also proposed, that for the speedier dispatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction in all Affairs, there should be one chosen to be the Head of all the rest, to whom Ambassadors, and others might address themselves; and to this Office, by common consent of the King and Council, *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*, was elected by the Title of *Protector of the King's Realm, and the Governor of his Person*, till he should accomplish Eighteen Years of Age. In which Office, the first thing he did, was to make the young King a Knight, who presently Knighted the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Henry Hubblethorn*. And King *Henry*'s Obsequies being solemnly performed, he rais'd several Men to great Honours as has been pre-determined by King *Henry*. The Earl of *Hertford*, Protector, and the King's Unkle, was made Duke of *Somerset*

A Protector chosen.

erſet; *William Par*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was made Marquis of *Northampton*; *Dudley*, Viſcount *Liſle*, was made Earl of *Warwick*, Lord *Wriothſley* was made Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the Protector's Brother, was made Lord *Sudeley*, and Admiral of *England*, Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby* was made Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmund Sheffield* Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick* On the Nineteenth of *February* the King in great State, rode from the *Tower* to his Palace of *Weſtminſter*, where the day following he was Crowned by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all accuſtom'd Rites and Ceremonies. At which time a general Pardon was proclaim'd for all Offenders, ſix only excepted, namely, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Edward Courtney*, eldeſt Son to the Marquis of *Exeter*, Mr. *Forteſcue*, Mr. *Frogmorton*, and Dr. *Pate*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy. All which ſix continued unpardoned till the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, and then were reſtored. A few days after, the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Chancellor, for being contumacious to the reſt of the Lords in matters of Council, was removed from his Office of being Chancellor, from his Place in Council, and the Great Seal was delivered to Sir *William Pawlet*, Lord *St. John*, and Lord Great Maſter of the King's Houſhold, in whoſe cuſtody it continued ſeveral Months. Within two Months after the death of King *Henry*, *Francis*, the *French* King, alſo died, for whom ſolemn Obſequies were kept at St. *Paul*'s Church, as he had done at *Paris* upon the death of King *Henry*. Theſe two Kings were ſo agreeable in their Tempers, that certainly they had been great Friends while they had liv'd, if they had not been Kings, but Jealouſies of State made them oftentimes forget themſelves.

A. D. 1547.

The Chancellor diſplac'd.

King *Henry* before his death had left a charge with his Council, to proceed in the Marriage between his Son and the young Queen of *Scots*, which the *Scots* now ſeeming to refuſe, the Lord Protector, with Twelve thouſand Foot, and Six thouſand Horſe, entred into *Scotland*; but before he would commit any Act of Hoſtility, cauſed Proclamation to be made, that his coming was only to demand performance of the Articles formerly agreed upon cencerning the Marriage, which ſo neceſſarily tended to the Welfare of both Kingdoms, which if they conſented to, he would peace-

A. D. 1547.

peaceably return; and that he might more effectually perſwade them to accept the Propoſition, whereas it was formerly demanded, that the Queen ſhould be bred in *England*, the Protector was willing ſhe ſhould continue in *Scotland* till years of maturity. This Demand and Conceſſion appear'd very reaſonable to all the moderate Party in *Scotland*, who were willing to comply; but thoſe of the *French* and Popiſh Faction, who were greateſt in quality and number, ſtrongly oppos'd it, and ſpread a report, that the Protector was come with an Army to take away the Queen and enſlave the Nation; and the *Scots* knowing their ſtrength was greater than the *Engliſh*, they reſolv'd to fall upon them the next day. The 10th of *September* the two Armies drew out, and fought in the Field of *Pinkeney* near *Muſsleborough*. The *Engliſh* had the advantage of the Ground. And in the begining of the Action, a Cannon Ball from one of the *Engliſh* Ships killed the Lord *Grames*'s Eldeſt Son, and Twenty five Men more; which put the Earl of *Argyle*'s *Highlanders* into ſuch a fright, that they could not be kept in order. But after a charge given by the Earl of *Angus*, in which the *Engliſh* loſt ſome few men, the *Scots* gave ground; and the *Engliſh* obſerving that, and breaking furiouſly upon them, the *Scots* threw down their Arms and fled. The *Engliſh* purſu'd hard, and ſlew them without Mercy. There were reckon'd to be kill'd about 14000, and 1500 taken Priſoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley* and Five hundred Gentlemen, and all the Artillery were taken. This loſs quite diſheartned the *Scots*, and 'twas thought if the Protector had purſu'd this defeat, under the Conſternation that the *Scots* were in, every Place would have yielded to him. But he had ſome private reaſons that preſs'd his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and gave the *Scots* time to get ſuccours out of *France*; whereas he might eaſily have made an end of the War now at once, if he had vigorouſly followed his ſucceſs; but he thought he had done enough, and therefore drew his Army back into *England*; and having received a Meſſage from the Queen and Governor of *Scotland*, he ordered them to ſend Commiſſioners to *Berwick* to treat with the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he left there for that purpoſe. On the 29th of *September* the Protector returned into *England* full of Honour, having in all that Expedition loſt not above Sixty men. He had taken

Muſſleborough *Fight.*

The Pro-

taken Eighty pieces of Cannon, and bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom, by the Garrisons he had left in them. And now it may be easily imagined how much this raised his Reputation in *England*, since Men commonly make Auguries of the Fortunes of their Rulers, from the successes of the first Designs they undertake, so that every one now was in great expectation of success under his Government. And, indeed, if the breach between him and his Brother, with some other Errors, had not lost the Advantage he now had, this prosperous Action had laid the Foundation of great Fortunes to him. A. D. 1547.

The progress of the Reformation.

Now Arch bishop *Cranmer* being deliver'd from that too awful subjection that he had been held under by King *Henry*, resolv'd to go on more vigorously in reforming Abuses. He had the Protector firmly united to him in his design. Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, who were about the young King, were also very careful to infuse right Principles of Religion into him; and as he was very capable of understanding what was laid before him, so he had an early liking to all good and generous Principles; and was of so excellent a Temper of Mind, that as he naturally loved Truth, so the great Probity of his Manners made him very inclinable to love and cherish true Religion. The People also seem'd very desirous to be instructed in the Doctrines of the Gospel; and all the opposition they met with, was from the Priests, who look'd upon every step that was made upon the Reformation, to be taking the Bread out of their Mouths. But they being generally very ignorant, could oppose nothing with the Force of Reason or Learning, only murmur'd against it in places where they might do it safely. The Bishops were also ignorant and weak, but less danger arose from them; for they understood Religion little, and valued it less; and though they liked the old Superstition best, because it most encouraged Ignorance, and was the only Support of their Power and Wealth, yet to keep their Preferments, they resolved to swim with the Stream: So that the only Difficulty the Reformers encountred, was, that the Revenues of the Church were either so swallowed up by the Suppression of the Religious Houses, or so basely alienated, that there was little Encouragement left for those that would labour in the work of the Gospel: Which seemed unremediable till the King should be of Age, and be able by his Authority,

A. D. 1547. rity, to procure the Churchmen a better proportioned Maintenance.

The Homilies composed.

Two things, at this time, were chiefly propoſed, the one was to compoſe ſome Homilies for the inſtruction of the People, that might ſupply the defects of the Incumbents, and lead them to the knowledge of the Scriptures. The other was to ſelect the moſt eminent Preachers they could find, and ſend them over to *England* with the Viſitors, who ſhould with more Authority inſtruct the Nation in the Principles of Religion. The Homilies were compoſed and publiſhed, and had good effect by convincing Men's Reaſons. The greateſt part of the Ignorant Commons, formerly conſidered their Prieſts as a ſort of People, who had ſuch a ſecret Trick of ſaving their Souls, as Mountebanks pretend to in curing Diſeaſes, and that there was nothing to be done but to leave themſelves in their hands, and the buſineſs could not miſcarry; but now being convinc'd by the Power of the Word, they began to ſee their former Deluſions, and that the Reformation was ſo fairly carried on, that avoiding hurtful Errors, they were ſhewed the true and certain way of attaining Eternal Happineſs. To this was added ſeting up the *Engliſh* Bible in all Pariſh Churches, and publiſhing the Injunctions which had been commanded by King *Henry*, to be obeyed during the Lord *Cromwel*'s Vicegerency, which had been much neglected ſince his fall; for the Biſhops were more careful about the ſix Articles than the Injunctions. The Injunctions were, *for removing Images out of Churches, againſt Praying to Saints, and for the Dead, and for the uſe of Beads, Aſhes and Proceſſions; from Maſſes, Dirges, Praying in an unknown Tongue, and enjoyning the Bible and Prayers to be read in* Engliſh. All this was done about the time that the Protector went into *Scotland*; and *Edmund Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, was commited to the *Fleet*, for refuſing to receive theſe Injunctions: *Stephen Gardiner* was alſo commited to the *Tower*, for preaching againſt them, and ſo was *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Heath*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Biſhop of *Day*, and were all deprived of their Biſhopricks, and which was worſe, the Revenues were ſo ſpoiled, that little remained to the Biſhops that came after.

Injunctions publiſhed.

The Protector returning with Glory, was adviſed to meet the Parliament, and get himſelf eſtabliſhed in his Authority, and to do thoſe other things that required

quired a Seſſion. He found the Viſitors had perform'd their Viſitations, and all had yielded Obedience. And thoſe who expounded the ſecret Providences of God with an Eye to their own Opinions, took great notice of this: That on the ſame Day in which the Viſitors removed and deſtroyed moſt of the Images in *London*, their Armies were alſo ſucceſsful in *Scotland* in *Pinkney-field*. In the firſt Year of the King, the Parliament aſſembled, and by Prorogation continu'd the ſecond Year, wherein divers Chauntries, Colledges, Free-Chappels, Fraternities and Guilds, with all their Lands and Goods were given to the King, which being ſold at low rates, enriched many, and enobled ſome, and thereby made them firm in ſupporting the Alteration. It was there alſo enacted, That none ſhould ſpeak againſt receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, and that the Biſhops ſhould be inſtalled by the King's Collation, under his Letter Patents, without any preceding Election, or further Confirmation following; and that all Eccleſiaſtical Proceſſes ſhould be made in the King's name, as in Writs at the Common Law, and that all Perſons exerciſing any Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction ſhould uſe the King's Arms in their Seals of Office; and further, the Statute of the Six Articles, and other Statutes about puniſhing *Lollards* were repeal'd, and the King's Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed.

A. D. 1547.

A Parliament Aſſembled.

All this while the Wars in *Scotland* continued, and were managed by the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, with various ſucceſſes. About this time he was reinforced by the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with 15000 Men, and the *Scots* were aſſiſted by the Rhine-Grave with 10000 *French*, who entring into conſultation to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the *Engliſh*, provided a Fleet, and ſailing about *Scotland*, tho' the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in wait to obſtruct their Paſſage, yet they conveyed her ſafely into *France*, being then but ſix Years old, accompanied in her Voyage by *James*, her illegitimate Brother, *John Erskin*, and *William Leviſton*.

1548.

The Alteration of Religion cauſed great Troubles in ſome parts of *England*, for when the Injunctions were ſent into the Country, and Commiſſioners appointed to put them into Execution, one Mr. *Body*, a Commiſſioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwal*, was ſtab'd by a Prieſt with a Knife, and hereupon the People flock'd together in divers places of that Country, taking Arms, and commiting Outrages, and tho' the principal

A. D. 1548.

principal Offenders were hang'd and quarter'd in *Smithfield*, and many of his Accomplices executed in other parts of the Kingdom, and withal a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down their Arms; yet neither could that Severity, nor this Clemency, reſtrain them from their Inſolent Proceedings, but in ſeveral Countries, as *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, but eſpecially in *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*, great crouds of the Common People gather'd to a Head, whoſe chief Leaders were *Humphry Arundel*, and about Six others of the Rabble, but many Prieſts Some of theſe were called *Commonwealth Mutineers*, and others mutiny'd about Religion. Thoſe that mutiny'd about their Privileges and Rights were ſo divided among themſelves, that like, their Succeſſors, they could agree in nothing, but ruining what was eſtabliſhed. Some would have no Judges, ſome no Lords nor Gentlemen, ſome no Lawyers, nor Ordinary Courts of Juſtice, but above all, Incloſures muſt all go down; but whether All, or Which, or What, ſhould be ſet up in their Rooms, or how to be employed, was beyond their Underſtanding, or Intention to propoſe. The Religious Mutineers were not ſo diſagreeing among themſelves, having ſome few among them, that could think and talk, tho' not act reaſonably, and were Guides to the reſt. Theſe, in the name of our Soveraign Lord the People, drew up the following Articles, upon granting of which they promis'd to ſerve the King with their Lives and Fortunes. Firſt, *That Curates ſhould adminiſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm at all times of Neceſſity.* 2dly, *That their Children ſhould be confirmed by the Biſhop.* 3dly, *That the Maſs ſhould be ſaid by the Prieſt in* Latin, *but that none ſhould Communicate with him but himſelf.* 4thly, *That the Lord's Body ſhould be kept in their Churches.* 5thly, *That they might have Holy Bread and Holy Water, in remembrance of Chriſt's precious Body and Blood,* 6thly, *That Prieſts ſhould not be married.* 7thly, *That the ſix Articles ſet fourth by King* Henry *the Eighth ſhould be continued, at leaſt till the King came to Age.*

Divers Inſurrections

The Mutineers demands.

Upon theſe Demands, tho' the Protector knew that the firſt quarrell'd meerly for Sedition ſake, yet by order of the Council, all Incloſures were allowed to be thrown down, that were prejudicial to the poorer Commoners; and for the other Demands, the Council appointed Archbiſhop *Cranmer* to anſwer them, which are yet to be ſeen corrected by his own Hand, the Sub-

ſtance

stance of which was, That their Demands were insolent, such as were dictated to them by some seditious Priests, who knew not what General Councils had decreed, nor was there any in the Church of *England* contrary to them, tho' many things had been formerly received which were so; and for the Decrees, they were formed by the Popes to enslave the World, of which he gave several Instances too long to be repeated. With this Answer was sent a General Pardon, if they would submit; but the Seditious growing the more outrageous, the more humanely they were treated, and finding themselves unable to subsist on their own Estates, began to think of mending their Fortunes by spoiling Cities. First they came to *Exeter*, and demanded entrance, which the Citizens refusing, they set Fire on the Gates, but the Citizens prevented that Design, by casting in Wood and maintaining the Fire, till they had cast up a Half Moon within. Upon which, when the seditious Rabble attempted to enter, they were presently hewn and cut to pieces. After this they undermined the Walls, laid Powder, and ramm'd the Mouth; but the Citizens prevented this also, by making Countermines, into which they powred such plenty of Water, that the Powder could not be fired. All this while the Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy Seal, who had been sent down to suppress the Commotion, lay at *Honyton*, expecting a greater Strength, while the Citizens of *Exeter* for twelve Days together endured so great a Famine, that they were forced to eat Horsefiesh, and course Bread made of Bran, and moulded in Cloths, for otherwise it would not have cleaved together. At length the Lord *Gray* came and joined the Lord *Russel* with a supply of Forces, who, after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raise their Siege at *Exeter*, and thereby freed the City from many Calamities; to whom the King afterwards gave the Mannor of *Eveland* in reward of their Loyalty. The Rebels rallying their Forces, were set upon again by the King's Army, the greatest part of them were slain, the rest fled, and many were taken and executed. Their Leaders were sent to *London* and executed. The Sedition being thus suppressed, it's remarkable, what shameful sport Sir *William Kingston* made, by vertue of his Office, upon Men in misery. One *Bowyer*, Mayor of *Bodwin*, in *Cornwal*, had been among the Rebels, not willingly, but by constraint, to whom Sir *William* sent a message that

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The Archbishop's Answer.

Exeter *relieved.*

A D. 1548. he would come and dine with him, for whom the Mayor made an hoſpitable Entertainment. A little before Dinner the Provoſt took the Mayor aſide, and whiſpered him in the Ear, that there muſt be an execution that Afternoon in the Town, and therefore required him to order a Gallows to be ſet up over againſt his Door, to be us'd when they had dined. The Mayor did as he commanded, and the Provoſt taking him by the Hand, deſired him to lead him to the Place of Execution, which when he ſaw, he ask'd the Mayor if he thought them to be ſtrong enough; *Yes*, ſays the Mayor, *doubtleſs they are ſo. Well then*, ſaid Sir *William, get you up and try, for they are provided on purpoſe for you. I hope, Sir*, ſays the Mayor, *you are not in earneſt. By my Faith*, ſays the Provoſt, *there is no remedy, for you have been a buſy Rebel; and ſo without delay, or liberty to make his defence, he was executed*: Which was a baſe and inhumane Act. Near this place lived alſo a Miller, who had been very active in the late Commotions, who fearing the Provoſt's coming, told a ſtout Fellow his Servant, *That he had Occaſion to go from Home, and therefore will'd him if any Gentlemen in his abſence ſhould come a Fiſhing, and enquire for him, he ſhould tell them that himſelf was the Miller, and ready to ſerve them.* The Provoſt came, and ask'd for the Miller, out comes the Servant, ſaying he was the Miller; upon which the Provoſt commanded his Men to ſeize him, and hang him upon the next Tree. The poor Fellow hearing this cryed out, *He was not the Miller, but the Miller's Servant. Nay, Friend*, ſays the Provoſt, *I will take thee at thy word: If thou art the Miller, thou art a buſy Knave and a Rebel, and deſerveſt the Puniſhment intended for thee; if thou art not the Miller, thou art a falſe lying Knave, and canſt not do thy Maſter better Service than to hang for him*: And ſo without any more ado he was executed.

Baſe Feſting upon Men in miſery.

The Commotion in *Devonſhire* being defeated, another began in *Norfolk* about the buſineſs of Incloſures. The Seditious had got one *Robert Ket*, a Tanner of *Windham*, to be their Leader, and were encreas'd to the number of 20000, encamping themſelves at *Mouſhould*, near Mount *Surrey*, where they made a Pretence of Juſtice and Religion. They had one *Coniers*, an idle Fellow, to be their Chaplain, who read Solemn Prayers Morning and Evening, and Sermons were often preach'd among them. For the exerciſe of Juſtice, they

1549. Ket's *Rebellion in* Norfolk.

they had a Bench under a Tree, where *Ket* uſually ſat, and with him two of every Hundred, (from whence their Companions came) to hear Complaints and to give Judgment; and from this Tribunal were Warrants ſent in the King's name, to bring in Proviſions for War and the Mouth; which Tree has ever ſince been called the *Oak of Reformation.* Now being grown formidable, they preſented certain Complaints to the King, requiring a Herald to be ſent them, to give them Satisfaction in what they had demanded. The King, tho' he took it for a great Indignity to capitulate with ſuch inconſiderable Wretches, yet compoſing himſelf to the times, he returned this Anſwer, *That in* October *following, he would call a Parliament, wherein their Complaints ſhould be heard, and their Grievances, if they had any, ſhould be redreſſed:* Commanding them, in the mean time, to lay down their Arms, and return to their Houſes; and granted them a general Pardon upon thoſe Conditions; but this was ſo far from ſatisfying the Seditious, that they firſt aſſaulted the City of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Mayor attend them as their Servant, and then returned to their Station at *Mouſhold.* A. D. 1549.

Not long after this, *William Par*, Marquis of *Northampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights, and 1500 Horſe, with a ſmall Band of *Italians*, were ſent againſt them, whom the Rebels ſo ſtoutly oppoſed, that a great ſlaughter was made on both ſides. The Lord *Sheffield* falling with his Horſe in a Ditch, was taken Priſoner, and as he pulled off his Helmet, to ſhew who he was, he was killed by a Butcher. So that the Marquis and his Forces not prevailing, the Earl of *Warwick*, with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horſe, was ſent againſt them; who, approaching their Camp, ſent them the King's Pardon, if they would deſiſt; but they were ſo far from accepting that Gracious Offer, that a leud Boy turned up his naked back-ſide, and bid him kiſs it. Many Skirmiſhes and Rencounters paſs'd between the Earl and them, with various ſucceſſes: At length they came to Battle, and the Rebels plac'd all the Gentlemen in the Front that they had taken Priſoners, intending they ſhould periſh firſt; of whom yet very few were hurt; but of the Rebels were ſlain about 2000. Once more the Earl offered them a Pardon upon ſubmiſſion, yet notwithſtanding all *The King ſends Forces againſt them.*

A. D. 1549.

their Losses, they continued obstinate, till the Earl himself went and offered it in Person, and then hearing it read, they threw away their Weapons, and *Wish'd the King Prosperity*. Nine of their Principals were hanged upon the *Oak of Reformation*, and *Ket* being taken in his flight, was hang'd in Chains upon *Norwich* Castle, and put an end to this Rebellion: In memory whereof a Feast was kept on that Day in the City of *Norwich* many Years after. This was followed by another Commotion in *Yorkshire*, but with no better success to the Rebels than the others had in *Norfolk*, they and the former in *Devonshire* being but branches of one Confederacy against the King and Government.

The Rebels submit, and Ket *was hanged.*

The King of *France* taking advantage of the Troubles in *England*, tho' he had been in the Treaty of Peace, yet now he broke it, and proclaim'd a War. Upon this, all *French* Men in *England*, not Denizens, were commited to Prison, and their Effects seized to the King's use: And the *French* sent a Fleet to surprize *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, but it was beaten off with the loss of 1000 Men. Then he levied a Land Army, and went in Person against *Bulloign*, defended by that valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, but being weary of that work, he left his Lieutenant *Chastillon* to pursue the Siege; who, having made many fierce Batteries and Assaults, and not prevailing, he then attempted to hinder the Town from being supplied with Provisions, and for that purpose loaded a Galley with Stones and Gravel to sink in the mouth of the Harbour; but the *English* took the Galley before they could sink it, and employ'd the Stones in their own defence. This Attempt not succeeding, they made light Faggots, mixt with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder and Brimstone, with design to burn the Ships in the Harbour, but the Project was overthown by the *English*, which concluded the Actions, on both sides, for this Season.

Difference between the two Brothers.

Now an unfortunate Accident happen'd in *England*, which, begining upon a very light and trivial occasion, produced very sad effects; and tho' there were many concurrent dispositions, yet the original Cause, some say, was a Woman's peevish Pride, upon a point wherein the Weakness of Women commonly makes them too tender, and that was Precedence, or giving or taking place. The Protector married *Anne Stanhop*, a Woman of a haughty Humour, and the Lord Admi-

ral

ral his Brother, the Queen Dowager, a Lady of mild Temper. The near Relation of the Husbands, gave Opportunity to the Ladies often meeting, when the Dutcheſs would inwardly murmur, why ſhe being the Wife of the elder Brother, and the better Man, ſhould give place to her, who was the Wife of the Younger Brother, and the meaner Perſon in Office and Eſtate. This envious Humour in her towards the Queen, bred a hatred in her againſt the Admiral, as thinking the Miſchief ſhe did to the Husband was a Revenge upon the Wife; and tho' the Queen ſhortly after died in Child-Bed, yet the Dutcheſs's malice towards the Admiral continued, and ſhe put ſeveral ſurmiſes into the Protector's Head againſt his Brother, the Admiral, as tho' he ploted his Death, to get the Adminiſtration into his Hands; he being a Papiſt, and the Protector a Proteſtant. In this caſe, there were but too many cauſes of Jealouſy againſt the Admiral, for it was known that in King *Henry*'s Reign, he aimed at marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Henry*'s ſecond Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen Dowager being Dead, not without ſuſpicion of Poyſon, who was a good and vertuous Lady, and in her whole Life had done nothing unſeemly, but in marrying him ſo indecently, and ſo ſoon after the King's Death; he renewed thoſe Amours, which ſhewed he was aſpiring to a great height. The Protector was a plain ſincere Man, and one that had not the cleareſt inſight into ſubtle Practices; and whether too importunately provoked by the Admiral's Enemies, or his own ambitious Follies, or whether out of ſincere intention, not to patronize ſuch faults tho' in a Brother, he gave way for Accuſations to be brought againſt him. In a Parliament then aſſembled, he was Impeached for attempting to get into his Cuſtody the Perſon of the King, and the Government of the Kingdom; for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's Siſter, and for perſwading the King in his tender Years to take the Government upon himſelf; upon which points, truly and ſubſtantially proved againſt him, tho' he was never call'd to his Anſwer, he was condemn'd by Act of Parliament, and in few Days after, a Warrant was ſent under his Brother, the Protector's, and the whole Council's hands, to cut his Head off; wherein, as it after proved, he did as much as if he had laid down his own Head upon the Block, for if the Admiral would

A. D. 1549.

The Admiral beheaded.

A. D. 1549. have been true to the Protector, which was ſcarce poſſible, and theſe two Brothers had held together, they had ſupported each other. The Admiral's Courage might have ſupported the Protector's Authority, and the Protector's Authority might have indulged the Admiral's Valour; tho' by the implacable hatred he always ſhewed to his Brother, there was little Reaſon for the Protector to hope or expect any kindneſs from him.

On the 20th of *March*, 1549. he was beheaded; but what his beheavior was upon the Scaffold does not appear; nor how current ſoever the Story runs among our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, that the difference between the two Brothers began about the Precedence of their Wives, there is no Record nor good Authority to credit that Relation.

Diſtractions in the Councils.

There were great Diſtractions in the Council about this time. The Protector was inclined to deliver up *Bulloign* for a ſum of Money, and to make Peace with the *French* and *Scots*. The King's Treaſure was exhauſted, his Affairs at Home in great Confuſion, the defence of *Bulloign* was a great charge, and a War with *France*, a thing of that conſequence, which in that ſtate of Affairs was not to be adventured on. On the other hand, thoſe that hated the Protector, and meaſured Councils more by the Bravery than the Solidity of them, ſaid, It would be a reproach to the Nation to deliver up a Place of that Conſequence, which their late King, in the declining of his Days, had gained with ſo much loſs of Men and Treaſure: And to ſell this for a little Money, was accounted ſo ſordid, that the Protector durſt not venture on it. The North of *England* was waſted by the Incurſions of the *Scots*: *Ireland* alſo was in an ill Condition; for the Natives there did joyn generally with the *Scots*, being addicted to the old Superſtition. The Emperor was not our Friend, the *French* were our Enemies. All theſe things concured to beget the Protector many Enemies, and he had very few Friends; for none ſtuck firmly to him, but Sir *William Paget*, Secretary *Smith*, and eſpecially Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who never forſook his Friend. All that favoured the old Superſtition were his avowed Enemies: And ſeeing the Earl of *Southampton* heading the Party againſt him, they all run into it. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great heats among them; Several Perſons interpos'd to mediate, but to no

Parties made againſt the Protector.

effect,

effect, for the Faction againſt him was ſo ſtrong, that they reſolv'd to ſtrip him of his exorbitant Power, and reduce him to an equality with themſelves. The King was then at *Hampton-Court*, where alſo the Protector was, with ſome of his own Retainers and Servants about him; which encreas'd the Jealouſies, for it was given out, *That he intended to carry away the King.* So on the 6th of *October*, ſome of the Council met at *Ely* Houſe: The Lord *St. John*, Preſident, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Arundel* and *Southampton*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Richard Southwel*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Edward Wotton* and Dr *Wotton*; and Secretary *Petre* being ſent to them, in the King's Name, to ask what they met about, join'd himſelf likewiſe to them. They ſat as the King's Council, and enter'd their Proceedings in the Council Book, from whence this relation was taken. A. D. 1549.

The Protector blam'd for all miſcarriages.

Theſe being met together, and conſidering the Diſorders that had been lately in *England*, the loſſes in *Scotland* and *France*, laid all the blame on the Protector, who, they ſaid, was ſo obſtinately given up to other Councels, that he would not hearken to the advices they had given him, both at the Board and in private; and they declar'd, That having intended that day to have gone to *Hampton Court*, for a Friendly Communication with him, he had rais'd many of the Commons to have deſtroy'd them; had made the King ſet his Hand to the Letters he had ſent for raiſing Men; had diſpers'd ſeditious Bills againſt them, and therefore they now intended to take care of the King and Kingdom's ſafety. After this, they wrote a Letter to the King, full of Expreſſions of their Duty and Care of his Perſon, complaining of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s not hearkning to their Councels, and of his gathering a Force about him to maintain his willful doings. They alſo wrote to Archbiſhop *Cranmer* and Sir *William Paget*, to take care of the King's Perſon, and that he ſhould be attended by his own Servants, and not by thoſe that belong'd to the Duke of *Somerſet*: But the Protector hearing of this Diſorder, had remov'd the King in all haſte to *Windſor*, had taken down all the Armour that was either there or at *Hampton-Court*, and had arm'd ſuch as he could gather about him for his Preſervation.

A. D. 1549.

The Council go into the City.

The Council at *London* complain'd much of this that the King ſhould be carry'd to a place where there were no Proviſions fit for him, and therefore order'd all things he might want to be ſent to him from *London*. On the 8th of *October* they went to *Guild-Hall*, where they gave an account of their Proceeding to the Common Council of the City, and aſſur'd them, they had no thoughts of altering the Religion, as was given out by their Enemies, but intended only the ſafety of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom, and for theſe ends deſir'd their Aſſiſtance. The whole Common Council with one voice declar'd, That they thank'd God for the good Intentions they had expreſſed, and aſſured them they would ſtand by them with their Lives and Eſtates. When the Protector underſtood at *Windſor*, that not only the City but the Lieutenant of the *Tower* (of whom he had held himſelf aſſured) had forſaken him, he reſolv'd to ſtruggle no longer: And though it is not improbable that he, who was chiefly accus'd of protecting the Commons, might eaſily have gather'd together a great body of Men for his own preſervation; yet he reſolv'd rather to give way to the Tide that was now againſt him. So he proteſted to the King, and thoſe few Counſellors that were about him, that he had no deſign againſt any of the Lords, and that the Force he had got together was only to preſerve himſelf from any violent attempt that might be made on his Perſon. He therefore declar'd, That he was willing to ſubmit himſelf, and propos'd, That two of thoſe Lords ſhould be ſent from *London*, and two of thoſe that were yet about the King ſhould conſider what might be done, in whoſe determination he would acquieſce, and deſir'd that whatſoever was agreed on ſhould be confirm'd in Parliament. Hereupon a Warrant under the King's Hand, was ſent for any two of the Lords of the Council that were there, to come to *Windſor* with Twenty Servants a piece, who had the King's Faith for their ſafety in coming and going: And *Cranmer*, *Paget* and *Smith* wrote to them, *to diſpoſe them to end the Matter peaceably, and not to follow cruel Councels, nor to be miſled by them, who meant otherwiſe than they profeſs'd, of which they knew more than they would mention.* This ſeem'd to point at the Earl of *Southampton*.

The Protector ſubmits.

On

A. D 1549.

On the 9th of *October* the Council at *London* was en-eas'd by the acceſſion of the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Ventworth*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Winckfield*, nd Sir *John Baker*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Com-ons, , ſo that now they were in all Two and twenty. hey were inform'd that the Protector had ſaid, *That they intended to put him to Death, the King ſhould dye rſt; and if they would famiſh him, they ſhould famiſh the ing firſt; and that he had arm'd his own Men, and put em next the King's Perſon, and was deſigning to carry im out of* Windſor, and as ſome reported, *out of the ingdom, upon which they concluded he was no longer fit to e Protector.* But of theſe words no proof being men-ion'd in the Council Book, they look like the Forge-ies of his Enemies, to make him odious to the People.

The Coun-cil go all to Windſor.

On the 12th of *October* the whole Council went to *Wind-or*, and coming to the King, proteſted, *That all they had done was out of the Zeal and Affection they had to his Perſon and Service.* The King receiv'd them kind-y, thank'd them for their care of him, and aſſured them, he took all they had done in good part. On the 13th they ſat in Council, and ſent for thoſe they had order'd to be kept in their Chambers, only *Cecil* was let go. They charg'd them, that they had been the chief Inſtruments about the Duke of *Somerſet* in all his willfull Proceedings; and they turn'd *Smith* out of his Place of Secretary, and ſent him with the reſt to the *Tower* of *London.*

Articles againſt the Protector.

The day following the Protector was call'd before them, and Articles of Miſdemeanor and High Treaſon were laid to his Charge; the ſubſtance of which were, *That he being made Protector, upon condition, that he ſhould do nothing without the conſent of the other Executors, he had not obſerv'd that Condition, but had treated with Ambaſſadors, made Biſhops and Lord Lieutenants by his own Authority: That he held a Court of Requeſts in his own Houſe, and had done many things contrary to Law; had embaſed the Current Coin; had in the matter of Incloſures ſet out Proclamations, and given Commiſſions againſt the minds of the whole Council: That he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late Commotions, but juſtify'd and encourag'd them: That he had neglected the Places the King had in* France, *by which means they were loſt: That he had perſwaded the King, that the Lords who met at* London *intended to deſtroy him, and had deſir'd*

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desir'd him never to forget, but to revenge it, and had required some young Lords to keep it in his remembrance: That he had caus'd the Lords to be proclaim'd Traytors; that he had said, if he should dye the King should dye too; that he had carry'd the King so suddenly to Windsor, *that he was not only put in great fear, but cast into a dangerous Disease; that he gather'd the People, and arm'd them for War; had armed his own Friends and Servants, but had left the King's Servants unarm'd, and that he intended to fly to* Jersey *or* Guernsey. So he was order'd to the Tower, and conducted thither by the Earls of *Sussex* and *Huntingdon*. That day the King was carry'd back to *Hampton-Court*, six Lords were made the Governours of his Person, who were the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, the Lords *St. John*, *Russel* and *Wentworth*. Two of those in their course were to attend constantly on the King.

Commited to the Tower.

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerset* from his high Offices and great Trust. The Articles objected to him (says Dr. *Burnet*, Bishop of *Salisbury*) seem to say as much for his Justification as the Answers could do, if they were in my power. He is not accus'd of Rapine, Cruelty or Bribery; but only of such things as are incident to all Men, that are of a sudden exalted to a high and disproportion'd Greatness. He bore his Fall more equally than he did his Greatness, and during his Imprisonment, employ'd his time in study and reading, to his great Comfort and Satisfaction. *Peter Martyr* wrote a long consolatory Letter to him, which was Printed both in *Latin* and in an *English* Translation. And all the Reform'd Christians, both at Home and Abroad, look'd on his Disgrace as a publick loss to that whole Interest, which he had so steadily set forward. But on the other hand, the *Popish* Party rejoyc'd, that so great an Enemy to their Superstition was remov'd. They had too great hopes of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Patronage; but he finding the King so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any Man so much to him, as the promoting it further would do, he soon forsook the *Popish* Party, and was seemingly the most earnest for a further Reformation as far as was possible.

The King's Zeal for the Reformation.

But the business of *Bulloin* was that which pressed them most, they doubting that *Paget* had not manag'd that Matter dexterously and earnestly with the Emperor,

ror, therefore they sent Sir *Thomas Cheny* and Sir *Philip Hobbey* to him, to intreat him to take *Bulloign* into his Protection; they also sent over the Earl of *Huntington* to command it, with the Addition of 1000 Men to reinforce that Garrison. When the Ambassadors came to the Emperor, they desired leave to raise 2000 Horse and 3000 Foot in his Dominions, for the preservation of *Bulloign*. The Emperor gave them very good Words, but insisted much on his League with *France*, and refered them to the Bishop of *Arras*, who told them plainly, that the thing could not be done. So Sir *Thomas Cheny* took his leave of the Emperor, who, at parting, desired him to represent to the King and Council, how necessary it was to re-examine matters of Religion, that so they might be all of one mind, for to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually, as otherwise he desired to do. And now the Council saw clearly, that they had not been deceived by *Paget* in that particular, and therefore resolved to apply themselves to *France* for a Peace. Now the Earl of *Warwick* falling off from the *Popish* Party, the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great Discontent. He was neither restored to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treasurer, nor one of those who had charge of the King's Person. So he began to lay a Train to blow up the Earl of *Warwick*; but he was too quick for him, and discover'd it: Upon which he left the Court by Night, and it was said he poyson'd himself, or pin'd away with Discontent, for he died in *July* following. A. D. 1549.

Shortly after, a Parliament was called, wherein a Bill was brought in against the Duke of *Somerset*, upon the Articles formerly mentioned, with a Confession of them sign'd by his own Hand. This he was prevail'd withal to do, upon assurance given that he should be gently dealt with, if he would freely confess, and submit himself to the King's mercy. But the Lords in Parliament, not knowing but this Confession might be extorted from him by force, and be an ill Precedent, they sent Eight of their own Members to know the Truth of it. The Day following the Bishop of *Coventry* made the Report from him, that he thanked the Lords for that kind Message, but that he had freely subscribed the Confession that lay before them. He had made it on his Knees before the King and Council, and signed it on the 13th

of

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of *December*. He proteſted his Offences had flowed from Raſhneſs and Indiſcretion rather than Malice, and that he had no treaſonable deſign againſt the King or his Realms: So he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000 *l.* a Year Land, and loſt of all his Goods and Offices. Upon this he wrote to the Council, acknowledging their favour in bringing him off his matter by a Fine, humbly entreated them, that they would interceed with the King to moderate his Fine, and that he might be pardoned and reſtored to Favour, aſſuring them, that for the future, he would carry himſelf ſo humbly and obediently, as ſhould make Amends for his former Follies. This was much cenſured by many, as a Sign of an abject Spirit: Others ſaid it was wiſely done, to get out of Priſon upon any Terms, ſince, while he was in the hands of his Enemies, he would be continually in danger. So on the 6th of *February* he was ſet at Liberty, giving Bond of 10000 *l.* for his good behaviour, and being confined to ſtay either at the King's Houſe at *Sheene*, or his own at *Syon*, and not to go four Miles from thence, or come to the King or the Council, unleſs he were called. On the 16th of *February* he had his Pardon, and carried himſelf ſo humbly after it, that he was reſtored to Favour, and Sworn of the Privy Council. And ſo this ſtorm went over him more mildly than was expected; but his Carriage in it was thought to have ſo little of the Heroe, that after this he was not much conſidered.

Diſcourſe about Bulloign.

The *Engliſh* Council that ſo ſtiffly oppoſed the delivering up of *Bulloign* chiefly to throw off the Duke of *Somerſet*, that being done, were all convinc'd that it was not worth the coſt and danger of a War; only they ſtood upon the Indecency of yielding it, eſpecially they having rais'd ſuch Clamours againſt the Protector, when he but propounded the Delivery of it; but at the ſame time were not unwilling to harken to Terms of Peace, tho' they made great ſhews of Preparations to defend it. One *Guidott*, a *Florentine*, that lived in *England*, was employ'd by the Governor of *France*, *Montmorancy*, to ſet on foot a Treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any orders to do it from that King. He went often to and fro between *London* and *Paris* about it, and at laſt it was reſolved on both ſides that there ſhould be a Treaty. In the mean time there was a great change of the Affairs in *Italy*. Pope *Paul* the Third having

having held that See 15 Years, dy'd in the 82d Year of his Age; much broken in Mind after the Calamity of his Family, the killing of his Son, the loſs of *Placentia*, and the ingratitude of his Grand-child. Upon his Death the Election fell upon Cardinal *Pool*, and the Cardinals, coming by Night to adore him, and make him Pope, he received them with his uſual coldneſs, and deſired them to defer it till Day light, for God was not pleaſed with Works of Darkneſs. The *Italians*, who, whatever Judges they might be about the qualifications of ſuch a Pope as is neceſſary for their Affairs, underſtood not this Temper of Mind, which in better times would have recommended him with the higheſt advantages, therefore ſhrunk all from him: And after ſome Intrigues, uſual on ſuch occaſions, choſe the Cardinal *de Monte*, afterwards Pope *Julius* the Third, who gave a ſtrange Omen of what Advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own Hat, according to the cuſtom of the Popes, who beſtow their Hats before they go out of the Conclave, to mean a Servant of his, who had the charge of a Monkey that he kept: And being ask'd what he obſerv'd in him to make him a Cardinal, he anſwer'd, As much as the Cardinal had ſeen in him to make him Pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the ſecret of his Promotion was an unnatural Affection to him. A. D. 1550.

And now, to return to *England*, It was reſolv'd to ſend Ambaſſadors to *France*, who were the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Paget*, now made a Lord, Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John Maſon*, who concluded a Peace between the two Crowns, upon condition, That *Bulloign* ſhould be deliver'd up within ſix months, with all the Places about it, and the Ordnance, except what the *Engliſh* had caſt ſince they had it; for which ſurrender the *French* were to pay 400000 Crowns, then equal value with the *Engliſh* Noble, the one half three days after the Town was in their hands, and the other half in *Auguſt* following. *Scotland* was alſo concluded in this Peace, and all the Articles were perform'd according to the Covenants It was proclaim'd in *London* the 29th of *March*, being confirm'd by both the Kings. Only it was much obſerv'd, that when it was to be confirm'd in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick*, on pretence of Sickneſs was abſent; to make a ſhew to the People, that he abhor'd ſo diſhonourable a thing, as himſelf had often call'd it, during the Bulloign ſurrendered to the French.

A. D. 1550. the Duke of *Somerset*'s Administration, and that therefore he would not, by his presence, seem to consent to it, tho' he had sign'd all the Orders for it.

Now was the King entering upon the 4th year of his Reign, free from all Wars, which had hitherto very much distracted his Government. So the Council was more at leisure to settle Affairs at Home. But the Earl of *Warwick* begining to form great Designs, resolvd first to make himself Popular, by calling all, that had meddl'd in the King's Affairs, to a strict account, and either to make them compound for great Sums, by which theKing's Debts should be paid, or to keep them under the lash till he had made them subservient to his own ends. The Earl of *Arundel* was fined at 12000 *l.* to be paid in 12 years. This was the more taken notice of, because *Southampton* and *Arundel*, with Sir *Richard Southwel*, had been the chief Contrivers of the Duke of *Somerset*'s fall. *Southampton* was driven away, *Arundel* fined, and *Southwel* commited to the *Fleet*, for dispersing seditious Libels. This employ'd all Tongues, and was look'd upon as a Judgment for conspiring against the Duke of *Somerset*: And the Delivery of *Bullogn* made it yet more plain, that the Charge against him was chiefly grounded on Malice. After *Arundel*'s Disgrace, all the Duke of *Somerset*'s Friends made their Compositions, and were discharg'd. Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, *Thomas Fisher*, and *William Gray*, paid the King each 3000 *l.* as also Sir *John Tynn* submited to a Fine of 6000 *l*

Warwick *Studies Popularity.*

The Duke of *Brunswick*, about this time, sent to the King of *England*, to offer him the assistance of 10000 Men in his Wars, and to entreat the Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the King's eldest Sister. To his Offer of Aid answer was made, that the King's Wars were at an end, and touching the Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the King was now treating of a Match for her with the Infant of *Portugal*; but if he did not succeed, he should be favourably treated with. The Queen Dowager of *Scotland* returning from *France* into her own Country, landed at *Portsmouth*, and being met there by divers of the *English* Nobility, she was conducted to *London*, where she was Royally feasted by the King at *Whitehall*, and after staying four days, was attended by the Sheriffs of the several Counties, till she came into the Borders of *Scotland*. The same year the Sweating Sick-

ickneſs, that had been formerly in *Henry* the Seventh, and the late King's Reign, broke out with that violence in *England*, that many were ſwept away by it. Such as were taken with it, dyed certainly if they ſlept, to which they had a violent deſire; But if it did not carry them off in four and twenty hours, they ſweated out the malignity of the Diſeaſe, and recovered. Eight hundred Perſons dyed of this Diſtemper in one Week in *London*. It alſo ſpread into the Country, and the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* by his late Wife, both Dukes of *Suffolk*, died of it within a Day of one another. A. D. 1551. *The Sweating Sickneſs.*

This Honour being fallen, the Earl of *Warwick* reſolved to link himſelf into that Family, and procure the Honour of the Dukedom of *Suffolk* to be given to the Marquis of *Dorſet*, who was a weak Man, and eaſily managed. He had three Daughters, the Eldeſt was the Lady *Jane*, a Lady of as excellent qualities as any of that Age; of great Parts, bred to Learning, converſant in the Holy Scripture, and of ſo rare a Temper of Mind, that ſhe charmed all that knew her: In particular, the young King, about whom ſhe was bred, and who had always lived with her in the Familiarities of a Brother. The Earl of *Warwick* deſigned to marry her to *Guilford*, his fourth Son, then living, his three Elder being already married; and ſo to get the Crown to deſcend to them, if the King ſhould dye, of which 'tis thought he reſolv'd to take care. He was in no trouble about the Lady *Mary*'s Title, ſhe being out of favour, and declar'd illegitimate by Act of Parliament; but apprehending ſome danger from the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Right, he intended to ſend her away. So an Ambaſſador was diſpatched to *Denmark*, to treat of a Marriage for her with the King's Eldeſt Son. To amuſe the King, a moſt ſplendid Embaſſy was ſent to *France*, to propoſe a Marriage for the King to that King's Daughter *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to *Philip* of *Spain*, and with the Ambaſſadors he ſent that King the Order of the Garter, which was kindly received by the *French* King, who, in return, ſent him the Order of St. *Michael*, but the Marriage had no effect. *Warwick's deſign upon the Crown.*

While theſe things were tranſacting, a deſign was laid to deſtroy the Duke of *Somerſet*, leſt he ſhould counterplot the Deſigns of the Earl of *Warwick*, who, to raiſe himſelf and his Friends into the higheſt Orb, procured a great Creation of new Honours. *Gray* was made

A. D. 1551. made Duke of *Suffolk*, and himself Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Northumberland* being dead without Issue; his next Heirs were the Sons of *Thomas Piercy*, that had been attainted in the last Reign for the *Yorkshire* Rebellion. *Pawlet*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, was made Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *William Herbert*, that had married the Marquis of *Northampton*'s Sister, was made Earl of *Pembrook*. Lord *Russel* had been made Earl of *Bedford* last Year, upon his return from making the Peace with *France*. Sir *Thomas Darcy* had also been made Lord *Darcy*. The new Duke of *Northumberland* could no longer bear such a Rival in his greatness as the Duke of *Somerset*, who was the only Person that he thought could take the King out of his Hands. So on the 16th of *October*, the Duke was again apprehended, and sent to the *Tower*, and with him the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel*, *&c.* The Day after the Dutchess of *Somerset* was sent to the *Tower*, with one *Crane* and his Wife, that had been much about her, and two of her Chamber-women. The Evidence against the Duke was, that he had made a Party to get himself declared Protector in the next Parliament, which was attested by the Earl of *Rutland*, but Sir *Thomas Palmer*, tho' imprison'd with him as a Complice, was the Person that ruin'd him; for he impeached him before the King privately, for Attempting to raise Forces, and of a design to have kill'd some of the Privy Counsellors, which wrought a great Aversion in the King towards his Unkle; and therefore he left him to the Law. In *December* the Duke of *Somerset* was brought to his Tryal, where the Marquis of *Wincheſter* was Lord High Steward. The Peers that judged him were 27 in Number: The Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Darby*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Sussex*, *Worceſter*, *Pembrook*, and the Viscount *Hereford*, the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Ewers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Souch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Windsor*, *Cromval*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*, by whom he was acquited of Treason, and found guilty of Felony, for designing to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*. When the Lords pronounced him not guilty of Treason, all the People, who were much concerned for his Preservation, shouted for Joy, so loud and so long, that they were heard from *Westminster* to *Charing-Cross*;

A new Promotion.

Somerset *commited.*

Condemn'd for Felony.

Croſs; but the joy laſted not long, when they heard he was condemned of Felony, and that Sentence of Death was pronounced upon him. After the Duke was condemn'd, all poſſible care was taken to divert and entertain the King's mind with Sports, and pleaſing Sights, which, it ſeems, had the effect deſired, for he was not much concerned in his Unkle's Preſervation. A. D. 1551.

On the 22d of *January* 1552. an Order was ſent for beheading the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the ſame day he was brought to the place of Execution on *Tower-Hill*; his whole Deportment was very compoſed, and no ways changed from what it had ordinarily been. He firſt kneeled down and prayed, and then ſpoke to the People in theſe words. 1552.

His Speech at Execution.

Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought here to ſuffer Death, tho' I never offended againſt the King, in word or deed, and have been always true and faithful to his Realm as any man has been; but ſince I am condemned by Law to dye, I acknowledge my ſelf to be ſubject to it as well as others. And therefore to teſtify my obedience to the Laws, I am come hither to ſuffer death, and give God thanks for giving me ſo long a time of Repentance. However, there is ſomething that I muſt put you in mind of, and that is my Religion, which I always endeavoured to promote, as coming neareſt to the Primitive Times of Chriſtianity, which I eſteem as a great Benefit to you and me, and moſt heartily exhort you all, that the Reformed Religion, which is moſt purely ſet forth to you, you will with like thankfulneſs accept and embrace, and practiſe it in your Converſations, which if you do not, without doubt, greater Miſchiefs and Calamities will follow.

An Interruption.

When he had gone thus far, there was an extraordinary noiſe heard, as if ſome Houſe had been blown up with Gun powder, which frightned all the People, ſo that many run away they knew not for what, and the Relater who tarried ſtill, ſays, it brought into his remembrance the Aſtoniſhment the Band was in that came to our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground. At the ſame time Sir *Anthony Brown* riding towards the Scaffold, they were all in hopes he had brought a Pardon, upon which there was a general ſhouting, *Pardon, Pardon, God ſave the King*, many throwing up their Caps, by which the Duke might perceive how dear he was to the People; but as ſoon as theſe Diſorders were over, he made a ſign with his hands to the People to compoſe themſelves, and then went on with his Speech.

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Dearly beloved Friends, there is no such thing to be expected as you vainly hope or believe, this is by the permission of God's Will, to which we ought to yield Obedience; and therefore I entreat you all to be pacified and contented with my Death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now joyn in Prayer to God for the Preservation of the King's Majesty, to whom I have always demeaned myself as a faithful and obedient Subject, and no less diligent in seeking the Good and Benefit of the whole Kingdom; upon which the People cryed, *It is most true: To whom I wish a continued Felicity, and to all his Counsellors the Grace and Favour of God, that they may rule with Justice, and to whom I exhort you all to be obedient, as you are bound in Duty. And whereas I have formerly had to do in many Affairs, and it is hard to please all Men; if there be any that have been injured by me, I humbly ask them forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom I have grievously offended; and for any that have done me injury, I heartily forgive them. Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their tumultuary behaviour might trouble him*, adding, *for tho' the Spirit is willing, the Flesh is weak and wavering, and by your quietness I shall be more composed. I also desire you all to bear witness, that I die in the Faith of Jesus Christ, and beg the Assistance of your Prayers, that I may continue in it till my Life ends.*

The Duke of Somerset *beheaded.*

Then Doctor *Cox*, who was with him on the Scaffold, put a Paper in his Hand, which was a Prayer he had composed for him, which the Duke read upon his Knees, then took leave of all about him, and undress'd himself to be fited for the Axe. In all which there appeared no change nor alteration in his Countenance, only his Face was a little ruddier than ordinary. He continued calling *Lord Jesus save me*, till the Executioner severed his Head from his Body.

His Character, and Reflections on the contrivance.

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerset*: A Person of great Vertues, eminent for Piety, humble and affable in his Greatness, sincere and candid in all his Transactions. He was a better General than a Counsellor, and had been often successful in War. He was always extraordinary careful of the Poor and Oppressed, and, in a word, had as many Vertues, and as few Faults, as most Great Men (especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced) have ever had. It was generally believed, that all this pretended Conspiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a Forgery; for both *Palmer* and *Crane*, the chief Witnesses, were soon after set at Liberty, as were also *Bartueil* and *Hammond*, with

with all the reſt that had been made Priſoners on pretence of this Plot; and the Duke of *Northumberland* after that, continued in ſo cloſe a friendſhip with *Palmer*, that it was generally believ'd he had been corrupted to betray him; and indeed the not bringing the Witneſſes into the Court, but only their Depoſitions, and his Enemies ſiting as his Judges, gave great occaſion to condemn the Proceedings againſt him; for it was generally thought that all was an Artifice of *Palmer*'s, who had put the Duke of *Somerſet* in fear of his Life, and ſo got him to gether Men about him for his own Preſervation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, ſeemed through fear to acknowledge what he had before contrived. This was further confirmed at the Execution of Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, accuſed, tried and condemned as the Duke's Confederates, who at their deaths ſolemnly proteſted, that they had never been guilty of any deſign againſt the King, or to kill the Lords; and *Vane*, added, *That his Blood would make* Northumberland's *Pillow very uneaſy to him.* The People were ſtrangely affected at the Duke's Execution, and many dipped Handkerchiefs in his Blood, to perſerve his memory. One Lady that met the Duke of *Northumberland*, when he was led through the City in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, ſhaking one of theſe bloody Handkerchiefs at him, ſaid, *Behold the Blood of that worthy Man the Duke of* Somerſet, *which was ſhed by thy malicious Practice does now begin apparently to revenge it ſelf on thee.* Sure it is, that *Northumberland*, as having maliciouſly contriv'd this death, was ever afterwards hated by the People.

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But on the other hand, great notice was taken, that the Duke of *Norfolk*, who, with his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, were believ'd to have fall'n into all their misfortunes by the Duke of *Somerſet*'s means, did now outlive him, and ſaw him fall by the Conſpiracy of his own Servants, as himſelf and his Sons had done before him. The Proceedings againſt his Brother were likewiſe remember'd, for which many thought the Judgment of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being apt to convert ſacred things to his own uſe, becauſe a great part of his Eſtate was raiſed out of the ſpoils of many Churches. Some late Writers have alſo made an Inference on his not demanding the *Benefit of his Clergy*, that he was thus left to God, not to plead

Reflections upon Somerſet *himſelf.*

A. D. 1552. that Benefit, since he had so much invaded the Rights and Revenues of the Church, but in this they shew'd their Ignorance, for, by the Statute, that Felony, of which he was found guilty, was not to be purg'd by the Clergy. Those who pleased themselves in comparing Events in their own Times with the Transactions of former Ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the the Duke of *Somerset* and *Humphry*, the good Duke of *Gloucester*, in *Henry* the Sixth's time, but the Reader in that is left to his own observation.

Northumberland governs all. Now the Duke of *Northumberland* was absolute at Court, all Offices were dispos'd of among his Creatures, and others turn'd out to make room for them: To which purpose a strict enquiry is made after those that had cheated the King in suppressing Chauntries; but on none did this Storm break so severely as upon the Lord *Paget*. He had been Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and was charg'd with a great many Misdemeanors in that Office, for which he was fined Six Thousand Pounds, but that which was most severe was, that on St *George*'s Eve he was degraded from the *Order of the Garter* for divers Offences, tho' chiefly, because he was no Gentleman, neither by Father nor Mother. His chiefest Fault was his greatest Vertue: He had on all occasions been a constant Friend to the Duke of *Somerset*, for which the Duke of *Northumberland* mortally hated him, and so got him degraded to make room for his Son. This was censur'd as a most barbarous action, that a Man, who had so long serv'd the Crown in Publick Negotiations, should be look'd upon now of meaner Blood than he was when King *Henry* first gave him the Order, and to be so dishonour'd, being guilty of no other fault, but what is common to most Courtiers, of enriching himself a his Master's cost, for which his Fine was severe enough for the expiation; but the Duke of *Northumberland* was a Person so given up to Violence and Revenge, that an ordinary disgrace did not satisfy his Hatred.

The King's last Year. I am now come to the last and fatal year of this young King's Life and Reign, which began with a Regulation of the Privy Council, and which was divided into several Committees, wherein every one had their proper work assign'd them, as well as days appointed for the receiving and dispatching of all Affairs. A Parliament was likewise assembl'd, wherein, after many debates, they granted the King two Tenths and two Fifteenths,

with

with a Subſidy for two years: And the Clergy, as an expreſſion of their Affection and Duty, gave the King Six ſhillings in the Pound of their Benefices. It was in this Parliament, that the Duke of *Northumberland* ſo well manag'd his point, that they made a publick declaration of their diſlike of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Proceedings, which was the more neceſſary, becauſe the King had let fall ſome words concerning his Death, by which he ſeemed to reflect on it with ſome concern, and looked on it as the act of *Northumberland*. Many foreign Tranſactions were alſo on foot; for the Emperor and the *French* King being embroiled in War, and the Beam inclining towards the advantage of the *French*, after the King had confirmed a Peace with that Crown for himſelf, he mediated a Peace between the Emperor and *France*. A. D. 1552.

But now the King's Death broke off all theſe Negotiations, together with all his other Affairs. The laſt Year, he had firſt the Meazles, and then the Small Pox, of which he was perfectly recovered. In his progreſs he had ſometimes been violent in his Exerciſe, which had caſt him into great Colds, but theſe went off, and he ſeemed to be well after it. But in the begining of *January* this Year, he was ſeized with a deep Cough, and all Medicines that were uſed, did rather encreaſe than leſſen it. Upon which a ſuſpicion was taken up, and ſo ſpread over all the World, that it is mentioned by all the Hiſtorians of that Age, that ſome lingring Poyſon had been given him; but more than Rumours, and ſome ill favoured Circumſtances, is not to be diſcovered concerning this. He was ſo ſick when the Parliament met, that he was not able to go to *Weſtminſter*, but ordered their firſt meeting and Sermon to be at *Whitehal*. In the time of his Sickneſs, Biſhop *Ridley* preached before him, and took occaſion to enlarge himſelf upon Works of Charity, and the obligation that lay upon great Men to be eminent in good Works. This touch'd the King to the quick, ſo that preſently after Sermon he ſent for the Biſhop, and after he had commanded him to ſit down by him, and be covered, he reſumed moſt of the Heads of the Sermon, and ſaid, he look'd upon himſelf as moſt concern'd in it. He deſired him therefore, as he had given him the Exhortation in general, ſo he would direct him how to do his Duty in that particular. The Biſhop aſtoniſhed at this Tenderneſs in ſo young a Prince, burſt out into Tears, ex-

The King ſuſpect to be Poyſon'd.

A. D. 1553. preſſing how much he was overjoy'd to ſee ſuch Inclinations in him; but told him he muſt take time to think of it, and craved leave to conſult with the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen: So the King wrote by him to them, to conſult ſpeedily how the Poor might be relieved. They conſidered there were three ſorts of Poor: Such as were ſo by natural Infirmity, or Folly; or impotent Perſons, and Mad Men, and Idiots: Such as were ſo by accident, as Sick or Maimed Perſons; and ſuch, as by Idleneſs, caſt themſelves into Poverty. So the King ordered the *Gray Fryers* Church near *Newgate*, with the Revenues belonging to it, to be a Houſe for Orphans; St. *Bartholomew*'s near *Smithfield*, to be an Hoſpital, and gave his own Houſe of *Bridwell* to be a Place of Correction, and work for ſuch as were willfully Idle. He alſo confirmed and enlarged the Grant for the Hoſpital of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark*, which he had erected and endowed in *Auguſt* laſt, and when he ſet his Hand to theſe Foundations, which was not compleated till the 26th of *June* this Year, he gave God thanks that had prolonged his Life, till he had finiſhed that deſign. So he was the firſt Founder of thoſe Houſes, which, by many great Additions ſince, have riſen to be reckoned among the nobleſt Foundations in *Europe*.

His Works of Charity.

He expreſs'd in the whole courſe of his Sickneſs great ſubmiſſion to the Will of God, and ſeemed glad at the approaches of Death, only the conſideration of Religion, and the Church, affected him much, and upon that account he ſaid he was deſirous to live. About the end of *May*, or begining of *June*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s three Daughters were married. The eldeſt, Lady *Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was the only Son he had yet unmarried. The ſecond, the Lady *Catherine*, to the Earl of *Pembrook*'s eldeſt Son, the Lord *Herbert*. The third, the Lady *Mary*, who was crooked, to the King's Groom Porter, *Martin Leys*. The Duke of *Northumberland* married his two Daughters, the eldeſt to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Son to Sir *William Sidney*, that had been Steward to the King when he was Prince, the other was married to the Lord *Haſtings*, Son to the Earl of *Huntingdon*. People were mightily enflamed againſt this inſolent Duke, for it was generally reported that he was ſacrifiſing the King to his own extravagant Ambition. He ſeemed little to regard

A clutter of Marriages.

their

their Cenſures, but attended conſtantly on the King, and expreſſed all the Care and Concern about him that was poſſible; and finding that nothing went ſo near his Heart, as the Ruin of Religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his Death, when his Siſter *Mary* ſhould come to the Crown, he, and his Party, took Advantage upon that to propoſe to him, to ſettle the Crown, by his Letters Patents, on the Lady *Jane Grey*: How they prevail'd with him to paſs by his Siſter *Elizabeth*, who had been always much in favour, I don't ſo well underſtand; but the King being brought over to this, the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, who was next in King *Henry*'s Will, was ready to devolve her Right on her Daughter, even tho' ſhe ſhould come afterwards to have Sons. So on the Eleventh of *June*, *Montague*, that was Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and *Baker* and *Bromley*, two Judges, with the King's Attorney and Sollicitor, were commanded to come to Council, where they found the King, with ſome Privy Counſellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the Danger the Kingdom might be in, if, upon his Death his Siſter *Mary* ſhould ſucceed, who might marry a Stranger, and change the Laws and Religion of the Realm; to prevent which he ordered ſome Articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the Crown to deſcend. They objected, that the Act of Succeſſion being an Act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any ſuch Deviſe, yet the King required them to take the Articles, and draw a Book according to them. They asked ſome time to conſider of it, and having examined the Statute of the firſt Year of this Reign, concerning Treaſons, they found that it was Treaſon, not only after the King's Death, but even in his Life, to change the Succeſſion. Secretary *Petre* in the mean time preſs'd them to make haſte. When they came again to the Council, they declared, They could do no ſuch thing; for it was Treaſon, and all the Lords would be guilty of it if they proceeded in it. Whereupon the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was not then in the Council Chamber, being adviſed of it, came in, in great Fury, calling *Montague* a Traytor, and ſo threatned all the Judges that they thought he would have beaten them; but the Judges ſtood to their Opinions. They were ſent for again, and came with *Goſnold* added to them. On the 15th of *June* the King was preſent, and ſomewhat ſharply asked them, Why

A. D. 1553.

Endeavours to alter the Succeſſion.

A. D. 1553. they had not prepar'd the Book, as he had commanded them? They answer'd, That whatsoever they did would be of no validity, in this case, without a Parliament. The King said he would call one suddenly. Then *Montague* propos'd that it might be delay'd till the Parliament met; but the King said he would have it first done, and then confirm'd in Parliament, and therefore commanded them, on their Allegiance, to go about it; and some of the Council told them, If they refus'd to obey that Command, they were Traytors. This put them into a very great Consternation, and old *Montague* thinking it could not be Treason whatsoever they did in this matter while the King liv'd, and that, at worst, a Pardon under the Great Seal would secure him, he consented to set about it, if he might have a Commission requiring him to do it, and a Pardon under the Great Seal when it was done. Both these demands being granted him, he was satisfy'd. The other Judges being ask'd if they would concur, did all agree, being over come with fear, except *Gosnold*, who still refus'd to do it; but he also, being sorely threaten'd, both by the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, consented to it the next day; so they put the Entail of the Crown in a Form of Law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor to put the Seal to it. They were all requir'd to set their Hands to it; but both *Gosnold* and *Hales* refus'd, tho the former was at last perswaded to it; but the latter, tho' a most steady and zealous Man for the Reformation, would, upon no consideration, yield to it. After that, the Lord Chancellor, for his Security, desir'd all the Council might set their Hands to it, which was done on the 21st of *June* by Thirty three of them, it is like, including the Judges among them. But *Cranmer*, as he came seldom to Council after the Duke of *Somerset*'s Fall, so he was that Day absent on design. *Cecil*, in a relation he made one write of this Transaction, for clearing himselff afterwards, says, That when he had heard *Gosnold* and *Hales* declare how much it was against Law, he refus'd to set his Hand to it as a Counsellor, and that he only sign'd it as a Witness to the King's Subscription; but *Cranmer* still refus'd to do it, after they had all sign'd it, and said, He would never consent to the Disinheriting his late Majesty's Daughters. Many Consultations were had to perswade him to do it, but he could not be prevail'd on, till the King himself set on him, who used many Arguments from

The Judges oppose it.

Hales *only refused it.*

rom the danger Religion would otherwiſe be in, toge- A. D.
her with other perſwaſions; ſo that by his Reaſons, or 1553.
ather Importunities, he at laſt brought him to it; but Cranmer
whether he alſo us'd *Cecil*'s diſtinction, that he did it as *yields at*
Witneſs, and not as a Counſellor, I do not know; but *laſt.*
ſeems probable, that if that liberty was allow'd the
ne, it would not be deny'd the other.

But, tho' the ſettling this Affair, gave the King great Content in his Mind, yet his Diſtemper rather encreas'd, ſo that the Phyſicians had no hope of his Recovery: Upon which, a confident Woman came and undertook his Cure, if he might be put into her hands. This was done, and the Phyciſians were diſmiſs'd upon this pretence, that they having no hopes of his Recovery, in a deſperate Caſe deſperate Remedies were to be uſed. This was ſaid to be the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Ad- *The King's*
vice in particular, and it encreas'd the People's Jealouſy *Diſtemper*
of him, when they ſaw the King very ſenſibly grow *encreaſeth*
worſe every day, after he came under the Woman's direction, which becoming ſo plain, ſhe was put from him, and the Phyſicians were again ſent for, and took him into their Charge; but if they had but ſmall hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus haſtening on him, the Duke of *Northumberland* knowing he had done but half his work, except he had the King's Siſters in his hands, got the Council to write to them in the King's Name, inviting them to come and keep him Company in his Sickneſs; but as they were on their Journey, on the 6th of *July*, his Spirits and Body were ſo ſunk, that he found Death approaching, and therefore compos'd himſelf to dye in a moſt devout manner. His whole Exerciſe was Prayers and Ejaculations; the laſt he was heard to uſe was in theſe words: *Lord God, deliver me out of this miſerable and wretched Life, and take me among thy choſen; howbeit, not my Will but thine be done. Lord, I commit my Spirit unto thee. O Lord, thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy choſen ſake ſend me Life and Health, that I may truly ſerve thee. O Lord, my God, bleſs my People, and ſave thine Inheritance. O Lord God, ſave thy choſen People of* England. *O Lord God defend this Realm from Papiſtry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I, and my People, may praiſe thy Holy Name, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake.* Seeing ſome about him, he ſeem'd troubl'd that they were ſo near, and had heard him; but with a pleaſant Countenance, ſaid, he had been praying to God; and ſoon after the Pangs of Death

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His Character. He was of a ſtrait and well proportioned Body, of a ſweet and beautiful Aſpect, and eſpecially in his Eyes, which ſeem'd to have a ſtarry Livelineſs and Luſtre in them. As the natural and acquired Perfections of his Mind were wonderful, ſo his Vertues, and true Piety, were yet more extraordinary. A Prince of ſuch Qualities, ſo much eſteemed, and ſo dearly beloved, could not but be much lamented at his Death, and this made thoſe of the Reformation abhor the Duke of *Northumberland*, who, they ſuſpected, had haſtened him to an untimely end. He dy'd on the 6th Day of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1553. in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, when he had reign'd ſix Years, five Months, and nine Days. His Body was buried on the ninth of *Auguſt*, in the Chappel of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*, near the Body of King *Henry* the Seventh, his Grand father.



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BRITISH MUSEUM
15 JAN 71



MARY

22.

The Life and Reign of Queen MARY.

KIng *Edward* the Sixth being dead, the Crown devolv'd, according to King *Henry*'s Will, and the Act of Parliament made in the 35th year of his Reign, on his eldeſt Siſter Queen *Mary*. She was on her way towards *London* in obedience to the Letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her Brother in his Sickneſs; and was come within half a days Journey of the Court, when ſhe receiv'd advice from the Earl of *Arundel*, that her Brother was dead, together with a relation of what was done about the Succeſſion. The Earl acquainted her, that the King's death was conceal'd, on deſign to entrap her; and therefore advis'd her to retire. Upon this, ſhe knowing that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great ſlaughter he had made among them, in the third year of the laſt Reign, therefore choſe to go that way to the Caſtle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*: Which Place being near the Sea, ſhe might, if her deſign ſhould miſcarry, have an opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor, who was then in *Flanders*.

A. D. 1553.

Arundel's notice to Queen Mary.

At *London*, it ſeems, the whole buſineſs of ſeting up the Lady *Jane*, had been carry'd very ſecret; ſince if Queen *Mary* had heard any hint of it, ſhe had certainly kept out of the way, and not have adventur'd to come ſo near the Town. It was indeed an unaccountabe Error in the Party for the Lady *Jane*, that they had not immediately, after the Seal was put to the Letters Patents, or, at fartheſt, preſently after the King's Death, ſent ſome body to make ſure of the King's Siſters, inſtead of which they thus linger'd, hoping they would have come into their Toils, in an eaſier and leſs violent way. On the 8th of *July*, they writ to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Bruſſels*, the News of the King's Death, but ſaid nothing of the Succeſſion. On the 9th of *July*, they perceiv'd the King's Death was known; for Queen *Mary* writ to them from *Kenning hall*, *That ſhe underſtook the King, her Brother, was dead, which how ſorrowful it was to her, God only knew, to whoſe Will ſhe did wholly ſubmit*

Queen Mary's Letter to the Counſil.



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A. D. 1553.

ſubmit herſelf. The Proviſion of the Crown to her after his Death, ſhe ſaid, was well known to them all, and therefore ſhe thought it ſtrange, that he being three days dead, ſhe had not in that time been adviſed of it by them. She added, *She knew what Conſultations were had againſt her, as well as what Engagements they had enter'd into; but was willing to think favourably of them, and therefore gave her Pardon for all that was paſt to ſuch as would accept of it, and requir'd them to proclaim her Title to the Crown in* London. Upon this Letter they ſaw the Death of the King could be conceal'd no longer; ſo the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, went to *Durham-Houſe* to the Lady *Jane*, and gave her Notice of her being to ſucceed to the Crown of theſe Realms, in the room of the deceaſed King. She receiv'd the News with great ſorrow for King *Edward*'s death, which was not at all leſſen'd, but rather encreas'd by that other part of their Meſſage, concerning her being to ſucced him.

The Lady Jane's *Character.*

She was a Lady indeed, that ſeem'd to be born for a great Fortune; for as ſhe was a beautiful and graceful Perſon, ſo alſo ſhe had great Parts, and greater Vertues. Her Tutor was Dr. *Elmer*, believ'd to be the ſame Perſon that afterward was made Biſhop of *London*, by Queen *Elizabeth*. She had learnt from him the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues to great perfection; ſo that being of the ſame Age with the late King, ſhe ſeem'd ſuperior to him in thoſe Languages: And having obtain'd the help of Books, ſhe ſpent her time much in the knowledge of them. *Roger Aſcham*, Tutor to the Lady *Elizabeth*, coming once to wait upon her at her Father's Houſe in *Leiceſterſhire*, found her reading *Plato*'s Works in *Greek*, when all the reſt of the Family were hunting in the Park: He ask'd her, How ſhe could be abſent from ſuch pleaſant Diverſion; ſhe anſwer'd, That the Paſtimes in the Park, were but a ſhadow to the delight ſhe had in reading *Plato*'s *Phedon*, which then lay open before her; and added, that ſhe eſteem'd it one of the greateſt Bleſſings God ever gave her, that ſhe had ſevere Parents, and a mild School maſter, which had made her take delight in nothing ſo much as in her Study. She lov'd very much reading the Scriptures, and had attain'd great knowledge in Divinity: And with all theſe advantages of Birth and Parts, ſhe was ſo humble, ſo meek and pious, that all People both admir'd and lov'd her, and none more than the late King. She had a mind wonder-

wonderfully rais'd above the World, and at the Age wherein others are but imbibing the Notions of Philoſophy, ſhe had attain'd to the practice of the higheſt precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hopes of a Crown, nor caſt down, when afterwards ſhe ſaw her Palace converted into her Priſon, but carry'd her ſelf with an equal Temper of Mind, in thoſe great inequalities of Fortune, that ſo ſuddenly exalted and depreſs'd her. All the Paſſion ſhe expreſs'd in it was, that which is of the nobleſt ſort, and is the indication of tender and generous Natures, being very much affected with the Troubles which her Father and Husband fell into on her account. The mention of the Crown, when her Father, with her Father-in Law, ſaluted her Queen, did rather heighten her diſorder on the King's death. She ſaid, ſhe knew by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by natural Right, that the Crown ought to go to the King's Siſter; ſo that ſhe was afraid of burdening her Conſcience by aſſuming that which belong'd to them; and that ſhe was unwilling to enrich herſelf with the ſpoils of others; but they told her, all that had been done was according to Law, and all the Judges and Privy Counſellors had ſet their Hands to it. This, joyn'd with their perſwaſions, together with the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philoſophy in him, at length prevail'd with her to ſubmit to it; of which her Father in-Law did afterwards ſay in Council, *She rather came to the Crown by enticement and force, than by her own Inclinations, which were wholly averſe to that Dignity.*

A. D. 1553.

Her unwillingneſs to accept the Crown.

Upon this, Orders were given for the Proclaiming her Queen the day following: And an Anſwer was writ, and ſent to Queen *Mary*, ſign'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Marquiſſes of *Wincheſter* and *Northampton*; the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford* and *Pembrook*; the Lords *Cobham* and *Darcy*; Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *William Cecil*, Sir *John Maſon*, Sir *Edward North*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, in all 21, leting her know, *That Queen* Jane *was now their Sovereign, according to the ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King* Edward's *Letters Patents, to whom they were now bound by their Allegiance*. They told her, *the Marriage between her Father and Mother was diſſolv'd by the Eccleſiaſtical Court, according to the Laws of God and the Land. That*

An Anſwer to Queen Mary's

many Let-

A. D. 1553. *many noble Universities in Christendom had consented to it that the Sentence had been confirm'd in Parliament, and she had been declar'd illegitimate and uninheritable to the Crown. They therefore requir'd her to give over her Pretences, and not to disturb the Government; and promis'd, that if she shew'd her self obedient, she should find them all ready to do her any Service which in duty they could.*

Lady Jane *Proclaimed Queen.*

The day following they proclaim'd Queen *Jane*. The Proclamation sets forth, *That the late King had by his Letters Patents limited the Crown, that it should not descend to his two Sisters, since they were both illegitimated by Sentences in the Spiritual Court, and Acts of Parliament, and were only his Sisters by half the Blood, who (tho' it were granted they had been legitimate) are not inheritable by the Law of* England. It was added, *That there was also cause to fear, that the King's Sisters might marry Strangers, and so change the Laws of the Kingdom, and subject it to the Tyranny of the Bishop of* Rome, *and other foreign Laws. For these reasons they were excluded from the Succession, and the Lady* Frances, *Dutchess of* Suffolk, *being next the Crown, it was provided, That if she had no Sons at the death of the King, the Crown should immediately devolve upon her eldest Daughter* Jane, *and after her, and her Issue, to her Sister's, since she was born within the Kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore she was Proclaim'd Queen, promising to be most benign and gracious to all her People, to maintain God's Holy Word, and the Laws of the Land, requiring all the Subjects to obey and acknowledge her.* When this was proclaim'd, great Multitudes were gather'd to hear it; but there were very few that shouted with the ordinary Acclamations on such occasions. And whereas

A Vintner's Boy severely punish'd

a Vintner's Boy, did some way, express his scorn at what was done, it was order'd he should be made an example the next day, by being set on a Pillory, and having his Ears nail'd to it, and cut off from his Head, which was accordingly done, a Herald in his Coat reading to the Multitude, that were call'd together by Sound of Trumpet, the nature of his Offence. This severity against a Boy, was imputed to the violent Temper of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and was accounted a very indiscreet Action; for though when a Government is strong, and Factions weak, the making of some publick Examples may intimidate a Faction otherwise dishearten'd, yet Severities in such a juncture as this, when the Council had no other support but the assistance of the People, it was thought a great error to punish him in that manner.

ner. This made them reflect on the reſt of *Northumberland*'s Cruelties: His bringing the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Gentlemen that ſuffer'd with him, to an untimely End, by a foul Conſpiracy; but above all things, theſe ſuſpicions that lay on him, of being the Author of the late King's Death, enrag'd the People ſo much againſt him, that without conſidering what they might ſuffer under Queen *Mary*, they generally inclined to ſet her on the Throne. A. D. 1553.

Tho' the Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in many Towns near *London*, yet the People were runing to Queen *Mary*: Many from *Norfolk* came to her, and a great body of *Suffolk* Men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They deſired to know of her, whether ſhe would alter the Religion ſet up in King *Edward*'s Days; to whom ſhe gave full Aſſurances, *That ſhe would never make any Innovation or Change, but be contented with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion.* Upon this they were all poſſeſs'd with a Belief of her Sincerity, and reſolv'd to hazard their Lives and Eſtates in her Quarrel. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suſſex* raiſed Forces, and joined with her, ſo did the Sons of the Lords *Wharton* and *Mordant*, with many others. The Council hearing this News, reſolv'd to raiſe Forces for the diſperſing theirs, and ſent the Earl of *Huntingdon*'s Brother to raiſe *Buckinghamſhire*, and others to other Parts, ordering them to meet the Forces that ſhould come from *London* at *New-Market*. It was at firſt propoſed, that the Duke of *Suffolk* ſhould command them; but the Lady *Jane* was ſo much concern'd in her Father's Preſervation, that ſhe urg'd he might not be ſent, and he being but a ſoft Man, was eaſily excus'd. So it fell next on the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was now much diſtracted in his Mind. He was afraid, if he went away, the City might declare for Queen *Mary*, nor was he well aſſured of the Council, who complied with him rather out of fear than love. *Cecil* refuſed to act as Secretary, the Judges would do nothing, and the whole ſucceſs of his deſign depending on the diſperſing the Queen's Forces, tho' ſore againſt his judgment, on the 14th of *July* he march'd out of *London* with 2000 Horſe and 6000 Foot; but as he rode thro' *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet* and *Shoreditch*, tho' there were great Crouds of Lookers on, none wiſh'd him ſucceſs, which gave a ſad Indication how ill they were affected to him.

Queen Mary's promiſe to the Suffolk Proteſtants.

An ill Omen to Northumberland.

The Council writ to the Emperor by one *Shelly*, whom they ſent to give notice of the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion

A. D. 1553. ceſſion, complaining that the Lady *Mary* was making Commotions, and that the Ambaſſador had officiouſly meddled in their Affairs, but that they had given Orders for reducing the Lady *Mary* to her Duty. They alſo deſired the continuance of his Friendſhip, and that he would command his Reſident to carry himſelf like an Ambaſſador. Sir *Philip Hobbey* was continued Ambaſſador there; the others were ordered to ſtay and proſecute the mediation of the Peace; but the Emperor would not receive thoſe Letters, and in a few days there went over others from Queen *Mary*. *Ridley* was required to ſet out Queen *Jane*'s Title in a Sermon at St. *Paul*'s, and to warn the People of the danger they would be in, if Queen *Mary* ſhould reign; which he did, and gave an account in his Sermon of what had paſs'd between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the ſame time the Duke of *Northumberland* at *Cambridge*, where himſelf was both Chancellor of the Univerſity, and Steward of the Town, made the Vice Chancellor preach to the ſame purpoſe. But he held it in more general terms, and managed it ſo, that there was no great Offence taken on either hand.

Queen Mary *proclaimed at* Norwich.

Queen *Mary* finding her numbers daily encreaſe, caus'd her Title to be proclaimed in the City of *Norwich*, and ſent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and others of conſiderable Quality, to come to her Aſſiſtance. Some Ships had been ſent about to lye on that Coaſt for intercepting her, if ſhe ſhould attempt to fly away; but thoſe who commanded them were ſo effectually managed, that inſtead of acting againſt her, they declared for her. Sir *Edward Haſtings*, who had raiſed 4000 Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, inſtead of joyning the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service. Many alſo from other places were daily runing into her, and in ſeveral Counties of *England* ſhe was proclaimed Queen; but as none came to the Duke of *Northumberland*, ſo he writ earneſtly to the Lords of the Council in *London* to ſend him more ſupplies; but they underſtanding from all quarters of *England*, that the Tide grew every where ſtrong for Queen *Mary*, entred into conſultation how to redeem their paſt faults, and reconcile themſelves to her. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland* on many accounts. The Marquis of *Winchester* was famous for his dexterity in ſhifting ſides, always to his own advantage.

To

A. D. 1553.

To them joined the Earl of *Pembroke*, the more closely linked to the Interest of the Lady *Jane*, because his Son had marry'd her Sister, which made him the more careful to disintangle himself in time. To these Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Sir *John Mason* with the two Secretaries came over, and feigned excuses to get out of the *Tower*. As soon as they were out, the Earl of *Arundel* press'd them to declare for Queen *Mary*, and to perswade them to it he laid open all the Cruelties of *Northumberland*, under whose Tyranny they must resolve to be enslaved, if they would not now shake it off. The other readily consenting to it, they sent for the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and the Aldermen, and having declared their Resolutions to them, they rode together into *Cheapside*, and there on the 19th of *July*, proclaimed Queen *Mary*: from thence they went to St. *Paul*'s Church, where *Te Deum* was sung. An Order was sent to the *Tower*, to require the Duke of *Suffolk* to deliver up that place, and to acknowledge Queen *Mary*, and that the Lady *Jane* should lay down the Title of Queen. To this as her Father tamely submited, so she express'd no such sort of Concern in losing that imaginary Glory, which now for nine days had rather been a Burden to her, than any matter of Joy. They also sent Orders to the Duke of *Northumberland* to disband his Forces, and to carry himself as became an obedient Subject to the Queen. And the Earl of *Arundel*, with the Lord *Paget*, were sent to give her an account of it, who continued still at *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*.

Proclaimed in London.

The Duke of *Northumberland* had retired back to *Cambridge*, to stay for new Men from *London*; but hearing how matters were carried, before the Order of the Council came to him, he dismiss'd his Forces, and went to the Market place, and proclaimed the Queen, flinging up his own Hat for Joy, and crying *God save Queen* Mary. But the Earl of *Arundel* being sent by the Queen to apprehend him; it is said, that when he saw him, he fell abjectly at his Feet to beg his favour. This was like him: It being not more unusual for such insolent Persons to sink most basely with their Fortunes, than to be out of Measure blown with success. On the 25th of *July* he was sent to the *Tower*, with the Earl of *Warwick*, his eldest Son, *Ambrose* and *Henry*, two of his other Sons, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, the wicked Instrument of the Duke of *Somerset*'s fall, who was now

Proclaimed in Cambridge *by* Northumberland.

A. D. 1553. become his Confident, and Dr. *Sands*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*. Now abundance of People came to implore the Queen's Pardon, and she receiv'd them favourably; except the Marquis of *Northampton*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Lord *Robert Dudley*. These, with the two Lords Chief Justices *Cholmley* and *Mountague*, and Sir *John Cheek*, were sent to the *Tower*, where the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband, were detained; but the Duke of *Suffolk* was set at Liberty upon his Parole of Honour; for it was believ'd he had not offended out of Malice; and his great weakness giving no cause to suspect any danger from him, therefore the Queen being willing to express a signal act of Clemency at her first coming to the Crown, it was thought best to let it fall on him.

The Queen comes to London. Now the Queen came to *London*, being met on the way by her Sister *Elizabeth* with 1000 Horse, who had gather'd about her, to shew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which, in the late Contest, had been link'd together. She made her Entry into *London* with great solemnity and pomp on the 3d of *August*. When she came into the *Tower*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almost seven Years in it, *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who had been there five Years, the Dutchess of *Somerset*, that had been kept there near two Years, and the Lord *Courtney*, whom she afterwards made Earl of *Devonshire*, who had been there ever since his Father was attainted, were all set at Liberty. So now she was peaceably set on the Throne, without Effusion of Blood: Having broke thro' a Confederacy against her, which seem'd to be so strong, that if he that was the Head of it, had not been universally odious to the Nation, it could not have been thrown off so easily.

When the Differences between her Father and Mother became irreconcilable, this Queen follow'd her Mother's Interests, which, indeed, were her own, and for a great while, could not be perswaded to submit to the King; who being impatient of Contradiction from any, but especially from his own Child, was resolved to strike a Trror in all his People, by puting her openly to death, and none at Court would hazard their own Interest, by speaking to the King in her favour. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Bishop *Gardiner*, stood looking on, but would not adventure to speak; but *Cranmer* prevail'd with him to spare her, when all else had forsaken her; but after her Mother's death, she chang'd her Note, and besides the Declaration she then sign'd, wrote such sub-

Cranmer's kindness to the Queen.

ſubmiſſive Letters to him, as ſhew how expert ſhe was at diſſembling. From that time this Princeſs had in all points been moſt exactly compliant to every thing her Father did. And after his Death, ſhe never pretended to be of any other Religion, but what was eſtabliſh'd by him: So that all ſhe pleaded for in her Brother's Reign, was only the continuance of that way of Worſhip which was in uſe at her Feather's death. But now that ſince ſhe was come to the Crown, that would not content her; yet when ſhe thought where to fix, ſhe was diſtracted between two different Schemes that were preſented to her. A. D. 1553.

Gardiner, and all that Party, were for bringing Religion back to what it had been at King *Henry*'s death, and afterwards, by ſlow degrees, to raiſe it to what it had been before his Breach with the *Papacy*. On the other hand, the Queen, of her own Inclination, was much diſpos'd to return immediately to the Union of the Catholick Church, as ſhe call'd it. And it was neceſſary for her to do it, ſince it was only by the Papal Authority that her Illegitimation was remov'd. However, *Gardiner* kept to his point, and ſtill perſwaded, that the prejudices which the Nation had imbib'd might be worn out by time, and that precipitating Councils would certainly ruin all, and to this effect, wrote to the Pope, and the Emperor, which took ſo far with the Emperor, that he wrote to the Queen to comply with *Gardiner*'s Advice, and the Queen in complaiſance to the Emperor, made *Gardiner* Lord Chancelior of *England*, and the conduct of Affairs was chiefly in his hands. So that now the meaſure of the Queen's Councils was to do every thing ſlowly; and by ſuch ſure ſteps as might put them leaſt in hazard. *Two Schemes to ſettle Popery.*

The firſt thing that was done, was the bringing the Duke of *Northumberland* to his Tryal. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lord High Steward, the Queen thinking fit to put the firſt Character of Honour upon him, who ſuffer'd ſo much for being head of the Popiſh Party. And here a very ſubtle thing was ſtarted, which has been kept a ſecret hitherto. It was ſaid the Duke of *Norfolk* had never been truly attainted; and that the Act againſt him was not a true Act of Parliament; ſo that without any Pardon, or Reſtitution in Blood, he was ſtill Duke of *Norfolk*. This he never mention'd in the laſt Reign, leſt that ſhould have procured an Act to confirm his Attainder. So he came *The Duke of Norfolk's Caſe*

A. D. 1553

in now upon his former Right, by which all the Grants that had been given of his Eſtate, were declar'd void by Common Law. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were all brought to their Tryals, and before they pleaded, the Duke deſir'd to be reſolv'd in two points, *viz. Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and the Order of the Council, can be guilty of High Treaſon?* 2dly, *Whether thoſe that had been equally guilty with him, and by whoſe Directions and Commands he had acted, could ſit as his Judges.* To theſe Queries in Law the Judges made anſwer, *That the Great Seal of one that was not Lawful Queen, could give no Authority or Indemnity to thoſe that acted by ſuch a Warrant, and that any Peer that was not convicted by Attainder upon Record, might ſit as a Judge, and was not to be challeng'd upon a ſurmiſe or report.* So that theſe points, upon which he ſhould make his defence, being determin'd againſt him, he pleaded guilty, and refer'd himſelf to the Queen's Mercy, and ſo did the Marquis of *Northampton*, and his Son, the Earl of *Warwick*. The next day Sir *John* and Sir *Humphrey Gates*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, pleading Guilty, were condemn'd alſo; but of all theſe, it was reſolv'd that only the Duke of *Northumberland*, Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, ſhould be made examples. On the 22d of *Auguſt*, *John*, Duke of *Northumberland*, was brought to *Tower-Hill*, and there beheaded. He made a long Speech, wherein he ask'd the Queen forgiveneſs, whom he acknowledg'd to have grievouſly offended, and then making profeſſion of his Faith, that he dy'd a true Catholick (meaning a Papiſt) he ſaid the Pſalms of *Miſere & de profundis*, and ſix of the firſt Verſes of the Pſalm, *in Te Domini ſperavi*, ending with this Verſe, *into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*, and that being ſaid he look'd about as if he expected a Pardon, but none coming. he laid his Neck upon the Block, and at one blow his Head was ſever'd from his Body, and both bury'd in the *Tower* Chappel, by the Body of *Edward*, late Duke of *Somerſet*: So that there lyeth before the High Altar, two Dukes between two Queens, the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Duke of *Northumberland* between Queen *Anne* and Queen *Catherine*, all four beheaded. Of what Religion this Duke was, may well be doubted, ſince at his Death he proteſted himſelf a Papiſt, when lately before he had importun'd King *Edward* to make the

Queries in Law.

Northumberland's Execution.

Lady

Lady *Jane* his Succeſſor, for fear the Popiſh Religion ſhould be reſtor'd. It ſeems he was zealouſly of neither, but for other ends, was then a Proteſtant, when it was to make his Daughter-in-Law a Queen, and now a Papiſt, when it was to ſave his Life; for it was thought he was promis'd a Pardon, if he would recant. At the ſame time and place were alſo beheaded Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*. Thus dy'd the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*. In the former parts of his Life he was a great Captain, and had the reputation of Wiſdom, as thoſe are generally thought to have, that are ſucceſsful. He was however, an extraordinary Man in a lower Sphere, but forgot himſelf in his Exaltations, in which his Mind ſeem'd to be rais'd more than his Fortunes. But as he was tranſported by his Rage and Revenge out of meaſure, ſo he was as ſervile and mean in his Submiſſions, and thoſe who conſider'd how much Guilt diſorders all People, and that they have a black Cloud over their Minds, which appears either in the violence of Rage, or the abjectneſs of Fear, found ſo great a change in his Deportment, in the laſt paſſages of his Life, from what it was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was ſome extraordinary thing within him, from whence it flow'd.

A D. 1553.

His Character

As for King *Edward's* death, thoſe that now had the management of Affairs, were ſo little careful of his Memory, and indeed ſo glad of his Death, that it is no wonder that they made little enquiry after it. It is rather ſtrange, that they allow'd him ſuch Funeral Rites. For the Queen kept a ſolemn Obſequy, with all the other remembrances of the Dead, and Maſſes us'd in the *Roman* Church were read for him, at the *Tower* the 8th day of *Auguſt*; and the ſame day he was bury'd at *Weſtminſter*, the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Pembroke* being the principal Mourners. It was intended that all the Rites of the *Roman* Church ſhould have been perform'd in the old Forms in uſe before the Reformation; but *Cranmer* vigorouſly oppos'd it, and inſiſted upon it, that as the King himſelf had been a zealous Promoter of that Reformation, ſo the *Engliſh* Service was then eſtabliſh'd by Law, and therefore ſtoutly hinder'd any other way of officiating, and perform'd all the Offices of Burial himſelf, to which he join'd a Communion. In theſe it may be eaſily imagin'd he did every thing with a very lively Sorrow; ſince as he lov'd the King beyond Expreſſion, ſo he could not but look upon his

King Edward's Funeral.

A. D. 1553. Fneral as the Burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a ſtep to his own.

Now all things looking towards the re-eſtabliſhing of Popery, one *Bourn*, a Chaplain to Biſhop *Bonner*, preaching before him at St *Paul*'s *Croſs*, ſpoke honourably of his Maſter, and bitterly reflected on the Proceedings againſt him in King *Edward*'s Reign, which ſo provok'd the whole Auditory, who, as they hated *Bonner*, could not endure to hear any thing that detracted from that King, ſo that a Tumult immediately rais'd; ſome call'd to pull him down, while others flung Stones, and one of 'em threw a Dagger towards the Pulpit with ſo much force, that it ſtuck faſt in the Timber of it. *Bourn* by ſtooping ſav'd himſelf from that danger, and *Rogers* and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, and of credit with the People, ſtood up and gently quieted the Heat, and they, to deliver *Bourn* out of their hands, convey'd him out of the Pulpit to a Houſe that was near the Church. This was ſuch an accident as the Papiſts wiſh'd for, becauſe it gave them a pretence to proceed more ſeverely; and on the 13th of *Auguſt* an Inhibition was publiſh'd in the Queen's Name, ſtrictly commanding that none ſhould preſume to preach or expond the Scriptures, or print any Books without her ſpecial Licenſe, till Religion ſhould be ſettl'd by common conſent; and this was the firſt thing that was publiſh'd in her Name ſince ſhe came to the Crown. When this was put out, the Queen being inform'd, that in *Suffolk*, thoſe of the Reformation took a little more liberty than the reſt of their Neighbours, preſuming on their great Merit, and the Queen's Promiſes to them, there was notwithſtanding a ſpecial Letter ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s Vicar General, he himſelf being at *Bruſſels*, to execute theſe Injunctions. Upon this, ſome came out of *Suffolk*, to put the Queen in mind of her Promiſe. This was thought a moſt inſolent piece of Behaviour, and ſhe return'd them no other Anſwer, *but that they being Members, thought to rule her that was their Head; but they ſhould learn that the Members ought to obey their Head, and not think to bear rule over it.* One of theſe, one *Dobbe*, having ſpoken of her Promiſe with more confidence than the reſt, was ſet three days in the Pillory, for defaming the Queen. From hence all ſaw what a ſevere Government they were falling under, in which the claiming of former Promiſes, which the Queen had made when ſhe wanted their Aſſiſtance, was now

A Dagger thrown at the Preacher.

The Queen's requital to the Suffolk Men.

now accounted a Crime. But there was yet a more unreasonable Severity shewed to *Bradford* and *Rogers*, who had appeased the Tumult the *Sunday* before, and rescued the Preacher from the Rage of the People. It was said, that their appeasing it so easily, shewed what Interest they had with the Poeple, and was a Presumption that they had set it on; so without any further Proof, one was imprisoned in the *Tower*, and the other confined to his House. A. D 1549.

Now the deprived Bishops, who were *Bonner* of *London*, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, *Tunstal* of *Durham*, *Heath* of *Worcester*, and *Day* of *Chichester*, were all restored to their Sees. On the 29th of *August* a Commission was granted to *Gardiner*, to license Preachers through the Kingdom, which much troubled the Reformed Preachers, because they saw themselves excluded, while the Papists had an opportunity to infect and seduce the People. Upon this they considered what to do. If there had been only a particular Interdiction of some private Persons, the consideration of Peace and Order being of a more publick nature, than the consequence of any one Man's open Preaching could be, they judged it was to be submited to. But when the Interdiction was general, they did not think themselves oblig'd to yield obedience to it. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly, others instead of preaching in Churches, were contented only to have the Prayers, and other Service there, and for instructing their People, had private Conferences with them. The Council finding their Orders had been disobey'd by some in *London*, two in *Coventry*, and one in *Aversham*, they were sent for and put into Prison. *Coverdale*, Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Hooper*, Bishop of *Glocester*, were also sent for to the Council, and *Hooper* was sent to the *Fleet*, and *Coverdale* appointed to wait their Pleasure. The Popish Party growing more insolent, began to set up the Images, and bring in the *Latin* Service, before they had any Authority to do it. Upon which Judge *Hales*, who thought he might with the more Assurance speak his mind, having so steadily appeared for the Queen: At his Circuits in *Kent* he gave a charge to the Justices, to see to the Execution of King *Edward*'s Laws, which, were still in force and unrepealed: Upon which he was, without any respect to his former zeal, put into the *Marshalsea*, from thence he was removed to the Counter. and after that to the *Fleet*, where

Protestant Preachers excluded.

The barbarous usage of Judge Hales.

A. D. 1553. where the good old Man was so disordered with the Cruelties, that the Warden told him were contriving against all that would not change their Religion, that it turned his Brain, so that he endeavoured to kill himself with a Penknife. He was after that set at liberty upon his Submission, but never returned to his right mind again; but being not well look'd to, drowned himself in a very shallow Water, which added, to the usage of the *Suffolk* Men, gave the People occasion to say, *That no merits nor services could secure any Man from the Cruelties of that Religion.* *Peter Martyr* was so ill used at *Oxford*, that he was forc'd to fly to *Lambeth* for his safety, where he could not look for any Protection long, since *Cranmer* himself was every day in expectation of being sent to Prison, but was, at that time, contrary to all Men's Expectation, delivered from it. For *Gardiner* seeing he could not expect to succeed him, and that the Queen had designed that Preferment for Cardinal *Pool*, whom she had sent for, he resolved to protect and secure *Cranmer* all he could. Some moved that he should only be put from his Bishoprick, and have a small Pension assigned him, with a charge to keep within a Confinement, and not to meddle with any matters of Religion. He was generally beloved for the meekness of his Temper; so it was thought, that proceeding severely with him, might alienate some from them, and embroil their Affairs in the next Parliament. Others objected, that if he who had been the chief Promoter of Heresy, was used with so much tenderness it would encourage the rest to be more obstinate. And the Queen, who had forgot the services he did her in her Father's time, and rather remembring that he pronounced the Sentence of Divorce against her Mother, was easily induced to proceed severely, so that on the 13th of *September* both he and *Latimer* were called before the Council. *Latimer* was that day commited; but *Cranmer* was respited till the next day, and then he was sent to the *Tower*, both for matters of Treason against the Queen, and for dispersing of Seditious Libels. *Tyler* of *Hatley*, and several other Preachers, were also put in Prison, and upon an Information brought against *Horn*, Dean of *Durham*, he was sent for: But *Peter Martyr* and *John a Lasco*, that were Foreigners, had leave to depart into their own Country.

Cranmer *and* Latimer *commited.*

Many in *England* seeing the Government was set on severe Courses so early, did infer that it would suddenly grow

row up in a rigorous Perſecution, ſo that above a Thouſand Perſons fled beyond Sea. The chief of the Clergy that went over, were *Cox*, *Sands*, *Grindal* and *Horn* Theſe things diſcontenting the People, great care was taken to oblige all thoſe Noble Men, who had aſſiſted the Queen in her coming to the Crown; for a grateful Acknowledgment of paſt Services is the greateſt Encouragement, both to the ſame Perſons to renew them, and to others to undertake the like upon new occaſions. The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Steward; Sir *Edward Haſtings* Maſter of the Horſe, and afterwards Lord *Haſtings*; Sir *John Gage* was made Lord Chamberlain; Sir *John Williams*, who had proclaimed the Queen in *Oxfordſhire*, was made Lord *Williams*; and Sir *Henry Jermingham*, that firſt gathered the Men in *Norfolk* about her, was made Captain of her Guards; but *Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suſſex*, that had done her moſt Service, and to whom ſhe had given the Command of her Army, an unuſual Honour was contrived for him that he might *Cover his Head in her Preſence*, which paſſed under the Great Seal the 2d of *October*, he being the only Peer of *England*, on whom this Honour was ever confer'd. The like was granted to the Lord *Courcy*, Baron of *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, whoſe Poſterity ſtill enjoys it, tho' I know not by which of our Kings it was granted. The Queen having ſummoned a Parliament to meet the 10th of *October*, was crowned on the firſt of that Month by *Gardiner*, who with ten other Biſhops in all their Mitres, Copes and Croſiers, performed that Ceremony with great Solemnity: And to make the People incline more to her Intereſt and Religion, *Gardiner* provided a Vehicle to make it go down the better; for whereas two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Subſidy were granted to her Brother by the laſt Parliament, which now were due to her, the Queen, of her great Clemency and Goodneſs, by Proclamation, diſcharged all her Subjects from the Payment of them.

A. D. 1553.

A new promotion.

Queen Mary's Coronation.

Thus matters were prepared for the Parliament, that had little reaſon to be honoured with that Appellation, ſince they were generally elected by force, threats, and other Court Artifices, to pack up a Party to ſerve their deſigns; upon which *Beal*, a good Writer in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, concludes them to be no Parliament. In this Seſſions, the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage was ſent up the Lords, who ſent it down

to

A. D. 1553. to the Commons, to be reformed in two Proviſos, that were not according to former Precedents. How far this was contrary to the Rights of the Commons, who now ſay, that the Lords cannot alter a Money Bill, I am not able to determine. The only publick Bill that paſs'd in this ſhort Seſſions, was a Declaration of Treaſons and Felonies, and that nothing ſhould be accounted Treaſon, but what was within the Statute of Treaſons, in the 25th of *Edward* the 3d. When the Parliament met again, the Bill about King *Henry*'s Marriage with the Queen's Mother, was ſent down on the ſix and twentieth by the Lords and the Commons paſſed on the eight and twentieth; ſo ſtrangely was the ſtream turned, that a Divorce that had been ſeven years earneſtly deſired by the Nation, was now repealed in leſs than ſeven days conſultation. By this Artifice *Gardiner* perform'd his Promiſe to the Queen, of taking off her Illegitimation, without any relation to the *Pope*'s Authority. But in pening, he ſhewed himſelf to be paſt ſhame, in throwing all the blame upon *Cranmer*, ſince he promoted it himſelf, long before *Cranmer* was known to King *Henry*, and was in the Commiſſion, and gave his conſent to the Sentence of Divorce, that was given by *Cranmer* at *Dunſtable*.

The Queen's Legitimation.

By this Act there was alſo a ſecond Illegitimation brought on the Lady *Elizabeth*, to whom hitherto the Queen had been very kind, but from this time forward ſhe handled her more ſeverely. It was perhaps occaſion'd by this Act, ſince before they ſtood equally illegitimated; but now the Act that illegitimated the Queen, making her moſt certainly a *Baſtard-in law*, the Queen might think it now too much to treat her as ſhe had done formerly. The new Earl of *Devonſhire* was much in the Queen's favour, inſomuch, that ſome thought ſhe was inclined to marry him; but he having an Averſion to her, and an Inclination to her Siſter, who, of that moderate ſhare of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addreſſes with more than ordinary concern to the Lady *Elizabeth*, which brought them both into great trouble. The next ſtep the Parliament made towards Popery, was repealing all King *Edward*'s Laws about Religion, as alſo Attainting Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Jane* his Wife, with two other Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, which were all he had except the Lord *Robert*, who

The Earl of Devonſhire's *Amours.*

who was reserv'd for better Fortune. These being brought to their Tryals confess'd the Indictment; only *Cranmer* appeal'd to those that judg'd him, how unwillingly he consented to the Queen's Exclusion. These were the publick Proceedings, what follows was more secret A. D. 1549.

Cardinal *Dandino*, the Pope's Legate at the Emperor's Court, sent *Commendone* (afterwards a Cardinal) secretly into *England*, to bring him the Queen's Intentions concerning Religion. *Commendone* went to *Newport*, where he gave himself out to be the Nephew of a Merchant lately dead at *London*, and hiring two Servants there, to whom he was unknown, came over unsuspected to *London*. He procur'd (by a Servant of the Queen's) a private Audience, and return'd back with the Queen's Letter to the Pope, giving him Assurance of her Obedience, and that she resolv'd, *so soon as she could do it with safety, to settle the Pope's Authority here, as it was before her Father made the breach*; therefore desir'd him to send over Cardinal *Pool*, with a Legatine Authority to assist her; but this coming to *Gardiner*'s knowledge, he sent to the Emperor to stop the Cardinal's Journey, assuring him, that things were going well on, and that his coming over would spoil all. At this time the Emperor began to think of marrying his Son *Philip* to the Queen, who, tho' she was above Nine years older than he, yet being but Thirty seven, he was not out of hopes of having Children. The Emperor saw, that if *England* were united to the *Spanish* Crown, it would raise that Monarchy to a great height; that they should have all the Trade of the World in their hands; and so enclose *France*, that it seem'd as probable a step to the Universal Monarchy, as that he had lately lost in *Germany*. The Queen entertain'd this motion easily, not trusting to the Affection of her People, nor thinking it possible to set up the Papal Authority, nor to restore the Church-lands, without the Assistance of a Foreign Force. It is said indeed she had some Inclinations to Cardinal *Pool*, and that the Emperor fearing it might be a hindrance to his own design, the Cardinal's coming over was stop'd, at least, till the Queen was marry'd to his Son *Philip*. Therefore the Emperor press'd her first to settle the State, and consummate her Marriage, and that would easily make way for what was to follow: For *Gardiner* had assur'd him, the bringing in of the Papal Power, and making up the Marriage

Secret Affairs.

A Marriage proposed.

A. D. 1548.

riage both at once, would be things of ſuch ill Digeſtion, that it would not be eaſy to carry them together, and therefore it was neceſſary to let a conſiderable Interval go between. This being reſolv'd on, Cardinal *Pool* was ſtop'd at *Dilling*, a Town on the *Danube*, which the Emperor did at firſt by his own Authority, and afterwards perſwaded the Queen to ſend one to him to the ſame purpoſe; but to let him ſee how much ſhe depended on his Counſels, ſhe deſir'd he would ſend her a Liſt of ſuch Perſons as were fit to be made Biſhops, for many were now turn'd out. To this he made an anſwer, and ſent her a Paper of tedious Inſtructions, full of Words, and to very little purpoſe. When this diſpatch was brought into *England*, *Gardiner*, by the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, convinc'd the Queen that his method was impracticable, and that the Marriage muſt firſt be diſpatch'd. And now the Cardinal, and *Gardiner*, declare open enmity to one another: *Gardiner* thought him a weak Man, that might have ſome ſpeculative knowledge of abſtracted Ideas, but neither underſtood the World, nor the Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation. *Pool*, on the other hand, thought him a falſe Man, that made a Conſcience of nothing, and was better at Intrigues and Diſſimulation, than the government of the Church. But the Emperor ſaw that *Gardiner* had ſo well manag'd this Parliament, that he concluded his Meaſures were rather to be follow'd than the Cardinal's.

Cardinal Pool *and* Gardiner *at open enmity.*

While every one was thus contriving their own ends, the Parliament ſaw the Queen ſo much guided by foreign Counſels that it was neceſſary to gain her to the Intereſt of the Nation, by being eaſy to her in the matter of Religion; but when they ſaw the deſign of the Marriage, and uniting with *Rome* was ſtill carry'd on, they were all much alarm'd, and ſent the Speaker, and Twenty other of their Members with him, with an earneſt and humble Addreſs to her, not to marry a Stranger. This had ſo inflam'd the Houſe, that the Court ſaw more could not be expected from them, till they were ſatisfy'd in that point. So on the 6th of *December* 1553 the Parliament was diſſolv'd. Upon this, *Gardiner* ſent to the Emperor, to let him know that the Marriage was like to meet with ſuch Oppoſitions, that unleſs extraordinary Conditions were offer'd to the advantage of the *Engliſh* Crown, it would not by carry'd without a general Rebellion. He alſo aſſur'd the Emperor, that if great ſums of Money were not ſent over to

Gardiner's *advice to the Emperor.*

to gratify the chief Nobility, and leading Men in the Country, both for obliging them to his Intereſt, and enabling them to carry Elections for the next Parliament, the oppoſition would be ſuch, that the Queen muſt lay aſide all thoughts of marrying his Son. The Emperor and his Son, were willing to yield to any Conditions the *Engliſh* would demand, for *Philip* reckon'd, *If once the Crown was upon his Head, it would be eaſy for him, with the aſſiſtance which his other Dominions might give him, to make all thoſe Conditions ſignify little.* And for Money, ſince the Emperor knew it was buying of *England*, he did not make the leaſt ſcruple of it, but borrow'd 12000 *l.* and ſent it over to be diſtributed as *Gardiner*, and his own Ambaſſador, ſhould think fit, which his Son was to repay when he had gain'd the Crown of *England*. In the carrying on this Affair, *Gardiner* was ſo exceeding zealous, that as he corrupted many by Bribes, ſo in the Court of *Chancery* Common Juſtice was deny'd to all, but thoſe who came into theſe Deſigns. A. D. 1554.

The Spaniſh *match agreed on.*

In the begining of the Year 1554, the Emperor ſent over Count *Egmont*, and other Ambaſſadors, to treat of the Marriage between his Son and the Queen. *Gardiner* being now the chief Oracle of the Council board, manag'd this whole Affair, and in drawing up the Articles of Marriage ſhew'd his utmoſt Skill and Subtlety; for he excluded the *Spaniards* from having any ſhare in the Government of *England*, that he might ſtill keep the Adminiſtration in his own hands. The Conditions being agreed on, and afterwards confirm'd in Parliament, it was now apparent that the Queen would marry the Prince of *Spain*, which gave an univerſal Diſcontent to the whole Nation. All that lov'd the Reformation ſaw, that not only their Religion would be chang'd, but a *Spaniſh* Government and Inquiſition ſet up in its ſtead. All the great Conditions that were now talk'd of, were but gilding the Pill, but the Operation would be very fatal, if they once ſwallow'd it down. Theſe things had a great influence on many; but the chief Conſpirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wyat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*. The one was to raiſe all the Midland Countries, the other *Cornwal*, and *Wyat* all *Kent*; hoping by their riſing in ſuch remote places, ſo to diſtract the Government, that they ſhould be able to engage the Commons, who were now as much diſtaſted with the Queen, as they had been formerly fond of her. But

A. D. 1554.

as *Carew* was carrying on his Design in the West it came to be discover'd, which forc'd him to fly for refuge into *France*.

Wyat's *Rebellion.*

Sir *Thomas Wyat* fearing this discovery would ruin him, went to *Maidstone*, and there made Proclamation, *That he intended nothing but to preserve the Liberty of the Nation, and keep it from coming under the Yoke of Strangers*; and there gathering together more Men, and intending to joyn *Islet* and *Knevet*, who had rais'd Men about *Tunbridge*, they march'd to *Rochester*, whither the Queen sent him a Pardon, provided he would lay down his Arms, but *Wyat* would not accept of it. The High Sheriff got as many Men as he could together, and at *Gravesend* join'd the Duke of *Norfolk* and Sir *Henry Jermingham*, who were come thither with 600 Men from *London*; and they hearing that *Knevet* was on his way to *Rochester*, went and intercepted and routed him. Sixty of his Men were kill'd, the rest sav'd themselves in the Woods. This News very much dishearten'd *Wyat*, who was endeavouring to make his escape, if he had not been prevented by this Accident. One *Harper*, under the pretence of being a Deserter, got among the *Londoners*, and perswading them, they had no design but to preserve themselves from being Slaves to the *Spaniards*, it had such an effect upon them, that they all cry'd out, *We are all English Men*, and went over to *Wyat*; so the Duke was forc'd to march back again. Now *Kent* was all open to *Wyat*, who thereupon sent a Messenger to the Duke of *Suffolk*, pressing him to make haste and raise his Country, but the Bearer was intercepted, and upon the discovery the Earl of *Huntingdon* was sent down with some Horse to apprehend him. The Duke was always a mean spirited Man, but it never appear'd more than now: For after a faint endeavour to raise the Country he gave it over, and conceal'd himself in a private House; but was betray'd by him to whom he trusted himself, into the hands of the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and so was brought to the *Tower*.

His extravagant Demands.

Wyat's Party encreasing, they march'd towards *London*, and when they came to *Deptford*, Sir *Edward Hastings* and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* came to them in the Queen's Name, to ask what would content them? *Wyat* demanded, *That the Command of the* Tower *might be put into his Hands*; *that the Queen might be under his Guard*; *that the Council might be chang'd*. Upon these extravagant Proposals there were some hard words interchanged

ed, and the Privy Counſellors returned to the Queen. A. D. 1549.
Wyat being now 4000 ſtrong, marches into *Southwark*, intending for *London*, but found the Bridge ſo well fortified, that it was impoſſible for him to force it, and therefore reſolved to go over *Kingſton* Bridge; but when they came thither they found the Queen had ordered the Bridge to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he croſs'd the River that Night, and came to *Hide-Park* by nine of the Clock next Morning, being *Aſh Wedneſday*. The Earl of *Pembroke* had gathered a good Body of Men to have fallen upon them, but they only look'd on to let him fall into their Hands. He marched down to *Charing Croſs*, and there the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the ſeveral Bodies of his Men, and ſo diſpers'd them, that he had not 500 left about him: With thoſe that remained he paſs'd through the *Strand*, and *Fleetſtreet* to *Ludgate*, where he hoped to have the Gates opened to him; but being diſappointed he returned back, and being now out of all heart, was taken at *Temple-Bar* by a Herald. Thus was a Rebellion both raiſed and diſperſed in as ſtrange a manner as could have been imagined. *Wyat* was a popular and ſtout Man, but had no Head for ſuch an Undertaking, otherwiſe the Government was ſo feeble, that it had been no difficult Enterprize to have driven the Queen to very great ſtreights. This ſoon broken Rebellion was as lucky to *Gardiner*, and thoſe who carryed on the Marriage, asif they had projected it; for ill digeſted Rebellions raiſe the Prince higher, and add as much Spirit to his Friends, as they take from the Faction againſt him; and give a Handle to do ſome ill Things, for which otherwiſe it were not eaſy either to find Colours or Inſtruments.

He is defeated and taken.

One effect of this was, the proceeding ſeverely againſt the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, who both ſuffered on the twelfth of *February*. The Lady *Jane* was not much diſorder'd at it; for ſhe knew upon the firſt Jealouſy ſhe muſt be the Sacrifice, and therefore now had lived ſix Months in the continual Meditations of Death. *Fecknam*, afterwards Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent to her by the Queen, three days before to prepare her to dye. He had a long converſation with her; but ſhe anſwered him with that calmneſs of Mind, and clearneſs of Reaſon, that it was an aſtoniſhing thing to hear how ſo young a Perſon, of her Sex and Quality, could look on death ſo near her, with ſo little diſorder, and talk ſo ſenſibly both of Faith and

Lady Jane's notice of her death.

A. D. 1554. and Holineſs, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church. *Fecknam* left her, ſeeing he could work nothing on her: But procured, as is ſaid, the continuance of her Life three days longer, and waited on her to the Scaffold. She writ to her Father to moderate his grief for her death, which muſt needs have been great, ſince his folly had occaſion'd it. She expreſs'd her ſenſe of her Sin in aſſuming the Royal Dignity, tho' he knew how unwillingly ſhe was drawn to it; and that in her Royal Eſtate, her enforc'd Honour had never defiled her innocent Heart. She rejoyced at her approaching end, ſince nothing could be more welcome to her, than to be delivered from that Vale of Miſery, into that Heavenly Throne, to which ſhe was to be advanced, where ſhe prayed that they might meet at laſt. She expreſs'd great tenderneſs when ſhe ſaw her Husband led out firſt to execution, but ſoon overcame it, when ſhe conſidered how cloſely ſhe was to follow him. He had deſired to take leave of her before he dyed, but ſhe declined it, ſince it would rather be an encreaſe of Grief, than any addition of Comfort to them. She ſaid, ſhe hoped they would ſhortly meet, and be united in a happier ſtate; and with a ſetrled Countenance, ſhe ſaw them bring back the beheaded Body to the Chappel, where it was to be buried.

Her Letter to her Father.

When ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, which was raiſed for her within the *Tower*, to prevent the Compaſſion, which her dying more publickly might have raiſed; ſhe confeſs'd ſhe had ſined in taking the Queen's Honour, when it was given her. She declar'd that ſhe dy'd a true Chriſtian, and hoped to be ſaved only by the *Mercy of God in the Blood of Chriſt*. She acknowledged that ſhe had too much neglected the *Word of God*, and had loved herſelf and the World too much, for which that Puniſhment had come juſtly to her from God; but ſhe bleſs'd him that made it a means to lead her to Repentance. Then having deſired the People's Prayers, ſhe repeated the 51ſt Pſalm: Then ſhe undreſſed herſelf, and ſtretched out her Neck on the Block, and cry'd out, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, and ſo her Head was parted from her Body.

Her Execution.

On the 17th of *February*, the Duke of *Suffolk* was tryed by his Peers and condemned, and ſuffered on the Twenty firſt. He would have died more pitied for his Weakneſs, if his practices had not brought his Daughter to her end. Next *Wyat* was brought to his Tryal, where

where in moſt abject Words he beg'd his Life, and offered to promote the Queen's Marriage if they would ſpare him; but for all that he was beheaded. *Bret* was hang'd in Chains at *Rocheſter*. In all, fifty eight Perſons were executed in ſeveral Places, and ſix hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and to beg their Lives, which ſhe granted them, and ſo this ſtorm was diſſipated; only the Effuſion of Blood afterwards was thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment was generally caſt on *Gardiner*, and made him become very hateful to the Nation; which has been always much moved at a Repetition of ſuch ſad Spectacles. A. D. 1545.

Lady Elizabeth *impriſon'd*

The Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, came to be ſuſpected of the Plot, as if the Riſing in the Weſt had been ſet on by the Earl, with deſign, if he had ſucceeded, to have marry'd the Lady *Elizabeth*, and put her in the Queen's room. *Wyat* did, at his Death, clear them of any occaſion to his Confederacies; yet the Queen, who was ſo much alienated from her Siſter upon old Scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for uſing her ill, ſo ſhe was made a Priſoner; and ſo upon an old grudge was the Earl of *Devonſhire*. At the ſame time there was a baſe Impoſture ſet up, of one that ſeem'd to ſpeak through a Wall with a ſtrange ſort of Voice. Many ſeditious things were utter'd by that Voice, which was variouſly cenſured. Some called it the *Spirit of the Wall*: Some ſaid it was an Angel ſpoke: And many marvellous things were reported of it; but the Matter being narrowly enquired into, it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, a Girl, who from a private hole in the Wall, with the help of a Whiſtle, had uttered thoſe Words. She was made to do Pennance openly at St. *Paul's* for it; but by the account printed of it in thoſe times, we can find no Accomplices but one *Drake*, between whom and the Girl theſe Tricks were plaid, tho' for what reaſon it does not appear.

Towards the end of this Month the Lady *Elizabeth* was taken out of the *Tower*, and put into the cuſtody of the Lord *Williams*, who waited on her to *Woodſtock*, and treated her with great Civility, and all the Reſpect due to her Quality, but this being not ſo acceptable to thoſe who govern'd, ſhe was put under the charge of Sir *Henry Benefield*, by whom ſhe was more roughly handled.

King Philip *and* Queen Mary *Marry'd*

On the 20th of *July*, Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton*: When he ſet Foot on Shore he drew his

A. D. 1554.

and Holineſs, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church. *Fecknam* left her, ſeeing he could work nothing on her: But procured, as is ſaid, the continuance of her Life three days longer, and waited on her to the Scaffold. She writ to her Father to moderate his grief for her death, which muſt needs have been great, ſince his folly had occaſion'd it. She expreſs'd her ſenſe of her Sin in aſſuming the Royal Dignity, tho' he knew how unwillingly ſhe was drawn to it; and that in her Royal Eſtate, her enforc'd Honour had never defiled her innocent Heart. She rejoyced at her approaching end, ſince nothing could be more welcome to her, than to be delivered from that Vale of Miſery, into that Heavenly Throne, to which ſhe was to be advanced, where ſhe prayed that they might meet at laſt. She expreſs'd great tenderneſs when ſhe ſaw her Husband led out firſt to execution, but ſoon overcame it, when ſhe conſidered how cloſely ſhe was to follow him. He had deſired to take leave of her before he dyed, but ſhe declined it, ſince it would rather be an encreaſe of Grief, than any addition of Comfort to them. She ſaid, ſhe hoped they would ſhortly meet, and be united in a happier ſtate; and with a ſetrled Countenance, ſhe ſaw them bring back the beheaded Body to the Chappel, where it was to be buried.

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When ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, which was raiſed for her within the *Tower*, to prevent the Compaſſion, which her dying more publickly might have raiſed; ſhe confeſs'd ſhe had ſined in taking the Queen's Honour, when it was given her. She declar'd that ſhe dy'd a true Chriſtian, and hoped to be ſaved only by the *Mercy of God in the Blood of Chriſt*. She acknowledged that ſhe had too much neglected the *Word of God*, and had loved herſelf and the World too much, for which that Puniſhment had come juſtly to her from God; but ſhe bleſs'd him that made it a means to lead her to Repentance. Then having deſired the People's Prayers, ſhe repeated the 51ſt Pſalm: Then ſhe undreſſed herſelf, and ſtretched out her Neck on the Block, and cry'd out, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, and ſo her Head was parted from her Body.

Her Execution.

On the 17th of *February*, the Duke of *Suffolk* was tryed by his Peers and condemned, and ſuffered on the Twenty firſt. He would have died more pitied for his Weakneſs, if his practices had not brought his Daughter to her end. Next *Wyat* was brought to his Tryal, where

where in moſt abject Words he beg'd his Life, and offered to promote the Queen's Marriage if they would ſpare him; but for all that he was beheaded. *Bret* was hang'd in Chains at *Rocheſter*. In all, fifty eight Perſons were executed in ſeveral Places, and ſix hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and to beg their Lives, which ſhe granted them, and ſo this ſtorm was diſſipated; only the Effuſion of Blood afterwards was thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment was generally caſt on *Gardiner*, and made him become very hateful to the Nation; which has been always much moved at a Repetition of ſuch ſad Spectacles. A. D. 1545.

Lady Elizabeth *impriſon'd*

The Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, came to be ſuſpected of the Plot, as if the Riſing in the Weſt had been ſet on by the Earl, with deſign, if he had ſucceeded, to have marry'd the Lady *Elizabeth*, and put her in the Queen's room. *Wyat* did, at his Death, clear them of any occaſion to his Confederacies; yet the Queen, who was ſo much alienated from her Siſter upon old Scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for uſing her ill, ſo ſhe was made a Priſoner; and ſo upon an old grudge was the Earl of *Devonſhire*. At the ſame time there was a baſe Impoſture ſet up, of one that ſeem'd to ſpeak through a Wall with a ſtrange ſort of Voice. Many ſeditious things were utter'd by that Voice, which was variouſly cenſured. Some called it the *Spirit of the Wall*: Some ſaid it was an Angel ſpoke: And many marvellous things were reported of it; but the Matter being narrowly enquired into, it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, a Girl, who from a private hole in the Wall, with the help of a Whiſtle, had uttered thoſe Words. She was made to do Pennance openly at St. *Paul's* for it; but by the account printed of it in thoſe times, we can find no Accomplices but one *Drake*, between whom and the Girl theſe Tricks were plaid, tho' for what reaſon it does not appear.

Towards the end of this Month the Lady *Elizabeth* was taken out of the *Tower*, and put into the cuſtody of the Lord *Williams*, who waited on her to *Woodſtock*, and treated her with great Civility, and all the Reſpect due to her Quality, but this being not ſo acceptable to thoſe who govern'd, ſhe was put under the charge of Sir *Henry Benefield*, by whom ſhe was more roughly handled.

King Philip *and* Queen Mary *Marry'd*

On the 20th of *July*, Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton*: When he ſet Foot on Shore he drew his

A. D. 1554. Sword, and carry'd it a good way naked in his Hand; Whether this was one of the Forms of his Country I know not, but it was interpreted as an Omen, that he intended to rule by the Sword. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, an Expreſſion of Duty always paid to our Princes; he took them from him and gave them back, without ſpeaking a Word, or expreſſing by any Sign or Geſture that he was pleaſed with it. His *Spaniſh* ſtiffneſs much amazed the *Engliſh*, who uſed to be treated by their Kings with great Sweetneſs on ſuch Occaſions, and ſo much Gravity in ſo young a Man was not underſtood, but was look'd on as a ſign of intollerable Pride and Moroſeneſs. The Queen met him at *Winchester*, where, on the 25th of *July*, *Gardiner* marry'd them in the Cathedral, the King being then in the 27th, and the Queen in the 38th Year of her Age. They were preſented from the Emperor by his Ambaſſador, with a Reſignation of his Titular Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*, which were pledges of that total Reſignation that follow'd after. On the 27th of *July* they were proclaimed by their new Titles, *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Jeruſalem* and *Ireland*; Princes of *Spain* and *Sicily*, Defenders of the Faith, Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*; Dukes of *Milan*, *Burgundy* and *Brabant*; Count of *Habsburg*, *Flanders* and *Tyrol*. *Spain* having always delighted in a long

1555. Enumeration of Pompous Titles. He made his Entry into *London* in great State, and tho' the King's wonderful Gravity and Silence gained nothing upon the *Engliſh*, yet his Magnificence and Bounty was very acceptable. He brought after him in *January* following a vaſt Maſs of Wealth; Seven and twenty Cheſts of Bullion, every Cheſt being a Yard and ſome Inches long, which were drawn in 20 Carts to the *Tower*, after which came 99 Horſes, and 2 Carts laden with coyn'd Gold and Silver. This great Wealth was perhaps the Sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be diſtributed among the *Engliſh*, which I ſuppoſe was only promiſed before, and now Money was brought to diſcharge *Gardiner*'s and his Ambaſſador's Engagements.

The great Summs he brought with him.

At King *Philip*'s firſt ſettling in *England*, he perſwaded the Queen to ſet many Priſoners at liberty; and the Interceſſions he made for the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, gained him the Hearts of the whole Nation, more than all Things he ever did during

ring his continuing in *England*. *Gardiner* was wholly set againſt them, and ſtudied to bear down the Declaration that *Wyat* had made of their Innocency; but it was made ſo publick on the Scaffold, that it was not poſſible to ſuppreſs it. In his former Examination he had accus'd them, hoping to ſave his Life by ſo vile an Action, but redeem'd it all he could at his Death. This had broken *Gardiner*'s Meaſures, who thought all they did to eſtabliſh Popery, was but done by halves, unleſs the Lady *Elizabeth* were deſtroyed. He knew tho' ſhe comply'd in many things, yet her Education had been wholly under the Reformed: And which was more to him, who judged all People by their Intereſts, that that would oblige her to declare againſt the Papacy, (ſince otherwiſe ſhe was a Baſtard) if ſhe ſhould out live her Siſter. King *Philip* oppoſed this at firſt upon a generous Account, to recommend himſelf by obtaining ſuch Acts of Favour from the Queen; but afterwards when the hopes of Iſſue failed him by his Marriage, he preſerv'd her out of Intereſts of State: For if ſhe had been diſpatched, the Queen of *Scotland*, who was now to be marry'd to the Dauphin, was to ſucceed, which would have made too great an Acceſſion to the *French* Crown: And beſides, as it afterwards appeared, he was not without hopes of perſwading her to marry himſelf. For the Earl of *Devonſhire*, he more eaſily obtained his Freedom, who being at liberty, and finding he muſt live under perpetual Diſtruſts, and upon every Diſorder be thruſt into the *Tower*, he reſolved to go beyond Sea, but dy'd a Year after, as ſome ſay, of Poyſon. All this I have put together, tho' it fell not out all at once, that I might give a full Account of all the Acts of Grace that *Philip* did in *England*, but for the reſt of his behaviour, it was no ways acceptable to the People; his Temper and way of Deportment ſeemed moſt ridiculous, and extravagantly formal to the *Engliſh* Genius, which naturally love the Mein between the exceſſive Jollity and Talkativeneſs of the *French*, and the ſullen Reſervedneſs of the *Spaniards*; indeed his Carriage was ſuch here, that the Mimicking him and his *Spaniards*, was one of the greateſt Diverſions of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Court

A. D. 1553.

Gardiner's *helliſh Policy.*

King Philip's *Deportment.*

Great Diſcontents now appear in all Places. The ſevere Executions after the laſt riſing of the Parliament, the Marriage with *Spain*, and the over turning of Religion, concur'd to alienate the Nation from the Go-

A. D. 1555. vernment; which they ſhew'd in Ballads, Lampoons, and ſcurrilous Poems againſt Images, the *Latin* Service, and the Pageantry of their Worſhip. But none occaſion'd more Laughter, than what fell out at St. *Paul*'s the *Eaſter* before; the Cuſtom being to lay the Sacrament into the Sepulchre at the Even-Song on *Good Fryday*, and to take it out by break of day on *Eaſter*-morning: At the time of taking it out, the Quire ſung theſe Words, *Surrexit, non eſt hic, he is riſen, he is not here*; and the Prieſt at pronouncing theſe Words, and looking for the Hoſte, found it was not there indeed, for one had ſtol'n it out, which had put them all into no ſmall Diſorder; but a new one was preſently brought in its ſtead: Upon this a Ballad follow'd, *That the Papiſt's God was ſtolen and loſt, but they had made a new God in his room.* This Railery was ſo tart, that it much provoked the Clergy, they offered large Rewards to diſcover him that had ſtol'n the Hoſt, or made the Ballad, but could not come to the knowledge of it, therefore they reſolv'd e'er long to turn that Mirth and Pleaſantneſs of the Hereticks into ſevere Mourning.

A pleaſant ſtory.

1556 Thus Matters went on till the 11th of *November*, when the third Parliament was ſummon'd, which ſeem'd to begin in a heat, and zeal for their Country, againſt an Arbitrary Court; but that was ſoon abated, and it quickly appear'd, that all things were ſo well prepar'd by *Gardiner*'s Policy, and the *Spaniſh* Gold, that it would be an eaſy matter to carry every thing as they pleas'd in this Seſſions. Cardinal *Pool* was now ſent for over, and the firſt thing that paſs'd the Houſe was the Repeal of his Attainder. It began on the 17th, and was ſent down on the 19th to the Commons, who read it three times in one day, and ſent it up. This Bill being to be paſs'd, before the Cardinal could come into *England*, it was queſtion'd in the Houſe of Commons whether the Bill could be paſs'd without making a Seſſions, which would neceſſiate a Prorogation? But at length it was reſolv'd it might be done; ſo on the 22d the King and Queen came and paſs'd it. On the 24th the Cardinal came to *London*, but without the Solemnity of a Legate's Entry, becauſe the Pope's Authority was not yet eſtabliſhed by Law. The Cardinal firſt declar'd what his Deſigns and Powers were to the King and Queen; and on the 27th a Meſſage was ſent to the Parliament, to come and hear him deliver his Legation; which they doing, he, in a long Speech,

The power of God.

Pool's Legation.

Speech, invited them to a Reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See, from whence he was ſent by the common Paſtor of *Chriſtendom*, to reduce them, who had long ſtray'd from the Incloſure of the Church. This Speech made ſome Emotion in the Queen, which ſhe fondly thought was a *Child quickned in her Belly*, and redoubled the Joy; ſome not ſparing to ſay that as *John* the Baptiſt leaped in his Mother's Belly at the Salutation of the Virgin, ſo here a happy Omen follow'd on the Salutation from Chriſt's Vicar: And her Woman ſeeing her firmly believe ſhe was with Child, flatter'd her ſo far, that they fully perſwaded her of it. Notice was given to the Council, who that Night ordered Biſhop *Bonner* to ſing *Te Deum* at St. *Paul*'s, and the other Churches in *London*, and that Collects ſhould be conſtantly uſed, for bringing the Conception to a happy Perfection: All that Night, and the next Day, there was great joy about the Court and City. A. D. 1556.

The Parliaments Supplication.

On the 29th, the Lords and Commons had a Conference, about preparing a Supplication for their being reconciled to the See of *Rome*, which was done in the form of an Addreſs to the King and Queen, *viz. That as they had been guilty of a moſt horrible Defection and Schiſm from the Apoſtolick See, they did now ſincerely repent of it; and in ſign of their Repentance, were ready to repeal all the Laws made in prejudice to that See; and ſince the King and Queen had been no way defiled by their Schiſm, they prayed them to be Interceſſors with the Legate to grant them Abſolution, and to receive them again into the Boſom of the Church.* This Inſtrument being preſented by both Houſes on their Knees, to the King and Queen, and they making Interceſſion to the Cardinal, he enjoin'd them, as a Pennance, to repeal the Laws they had made, and then, in the Pope's Name, gave them Abſolution, which they receiv'd on their Knees; and he alſo abſolved the whole Kingdom from all Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. The next ſteps the Parliament made, was an Act repealing all Laws againſt the See of *Rome*, and reviving the Statutes made by *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth, againſt Hereticks. And all the Bills being ended, the Parliament was diſſolved on the 16th of *January*, to the no little Joy of *Gardiner*. He had now performed all he had undertaken for the Queen and the Emperor, and gained the Reputation of a great States man, in effecting ſo great a change, when

A D. 1556. when the Intereſts of thoſe who conſented to it, ſeem'd to lead them another way.

After the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the firſt thing taken into conſideration, was, which way to proceed againſt Hereticks. Cardinal *Pool* profeſs'd himſelf an Enemy to extream Proceedings, ſaying, Paſtors ought to have Bowels even to their ſtraggling Sheep: Biſhops were Fathers, and ought to look on thoſe that err'd as their ſick Children, and endeavour to cure, but not to kill them. He had obſerv'd, he ſaid, that ſevere Proceedings did rather enflame than cure the Diſeaſe, and therefore firſt adviſed to reform the manners of their own Clergy, whoſe ignorant and ſcandalous Lives were the chief Promoters of Hereſy, and then Men might be more eaſily brought over, when theſe ſtumbling Blocks were remov'd. But *Gardiner*, who had no great ſenſe of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, but as they ſerved Intrigues of State, and being himſelf of ſuch a Temper, that ſevere Proceedings wrought much on him; judged that the Execution of the Laws againſt the *Lollards*, was the moſt effectual way to gain their point; being at that time highly provoked by the reprinting his Books of True Obedience, which he had writ in King *Henry*'s Reign, and to which *Bonner* had made a Preface. In theſe Books, *Gardiner* had not only argued againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and for the King's, but had condemned the King's Marriage with Queen *Catherine*, calling it often inceſtuous and unlawful; and had juſtify'd the King's divorcing her, and marrying his moſt Godly and Vertuous Wife Queen *Anne*. This being reprinted at *Strasburgh*, was convey'd into *England*, and was acknowledged to be a dexterous piece of Spite in the Reformed to expoſe him to the World. Between theſe two Councils of Lenity and Severity, the Queen commanded the mean to be followed, and encouraged *Pool* to proceeed in correcting the Manners of the Clergy; likewiſe preſs'd *Gardiner* to proceed againſt Hereticks, and ſent Viſcount *Mountacute*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carn*, Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to repreſent the ſtate of the Kingdom to confirm her Obedience to the Pope, and to obtain his Confirmation of all thoſe Graces Cardinal *Pool* had granted in his Name.

The Cardinals Lenity

The Queen's Advice.

Now they opened the Scene of Perſecution, and fell violently upon the Hereticks. Thirty of them were taken at a Meeting near *Bow* Church, where one *Roſe*, a Miniſter, gave them the Communion, according to the *Engliſh*

Engliſh Service Book, for which they were all put in Priſon. *January* the 22d Mr. *Rogers*, and others, were apprehended, and brought before the Council. He was eſteem'd one of the moſt learned Men among the Reformers. *Gardiner* ask'd him if he would re-unite to the Catholick Church, and acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy. *Rogers* anſwered, *He knew no Head of the Church but Jeſus Chriſt, and that the Pope had no Authority in* England, *either by the Word of God, or the Authority of the Church for* 400 *Years after Chriſt.* *Hooper* anſwer'd to the ſame purpoſe, and Nine more one after another, who were all ſent back to Priſon, and were kept much ſtricter than formerly, none being ſuffer'd to come near them. On the 28th of *January* the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *London*, *Durham*, *Salisbury*, *Norwich* and *Carliſle*, ſat in St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*, where *Hooper* was firſt brought before them, and next Mr. *Rogers*, who after being ask'd many impertinent Queſtions about other Matters, they ask'd *Rogers*, what he thought of the Sacrament, who told them, *he did not allow of their Corporal Preſence.* They gave *Hooper* and him time till next Morning, to conſider what they would do; but they continuing in their former Reſolution, not to ſubmit to the Injunctions of the Antichriſtian Church of *Rome*, were declared obſtinate Hereticks, and appointed to be degraded, and ſo to be deliver'd into the Sheriffs Hands. *Hooper* was only degraded from the Order of Prieſthood. *Rogers* deſir'd he might ſpeak with his Wife about his ten Children: They anſwered, ſhe was not his Wife, and deny'd his Requeſt, commanding them to be carryed to *Newgate*. On the 4th of *February* Mr. *Rogers* was led to the Stake in *Smithfield*, where he was not ſuffered to make any Speech to the People, ſo in a few Words he deſired them to *continue in the Doctrine he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently ſuffered all the bitterneſs and cruelty that had been exerciſed upon him, but now moſt gladly reſigned his Life, and gave his Fleſh to the conſuming Fire for a Teſtimony to it.* He repeated the 51ſt Pſalm, and then fited himſelf for the Stake. A Pardon was brought him, if he would recant; but he choſe rather to ſubmit to that ſevere, but ſhort Puniſhment, than to put himſelf in danger of everlaſting Burnings by ſuch a vile Apoſtacy. So the Fire was put to him, which conſumed him to Aſhes.

A. D. 1556.

Roger's and Hooper's Anſwer.

Roger's Exhortation at his Death.

Hooper was carried to *Glouceſter* to be burnt, at which he much rejoyced, in hopes by his Death to confirm their Faith, over whom he had been formerly placed.

A. D. 1556. Some there perſwaded him to accept the Queen's Mercy, ſince Life was ſweet, but Death bitter. He anſwered, *that the Death which was to come was more bitter, and the Life which was to follow much more ſweeter.* As ſome of his Friends parted from him he ſhed Tears, and told them, that all his Impriſonment had not made him do ſo much. On the 9th he was led to his Execution, where being denied leave to ſpeak, but only to pray, in the ſtrain of a Prayer, he declared his Belief. Then the Queen's Pardon being ſhew'd him, he deſir'd them to take it away. He pray'd earneſtly for ſtrength from God to endure his Torment patiently, then undreſs'd himſelf, and embrac'd the Reeds. When he was tyed to the Stake with Iron Chains, he deſir'd them to ſpare their pains for he was confident he ſhould not trouble them. The Fire was put to him, but the Wood being green, burnt but ſlowly, and the Wind blew away the Flames from the Reeds. He pray'd often, *O Jeſus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my Soul*; and call'd to the People, for the Love of God, to bring him more Fire, for the Fire was burning his Nether parts, but did not reach his Vitals. The Fire was renew'd, but the Wind ſtill blew it away from riſing up to ſtifle him, ſo that he was long in the Torment. The laſt Words he was heard to ſay, were, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* One of his Hands drop'd off before he dy'd; with the other he continued ſtriking upon his Breaſt ſome time after, and was in all near three quarters of an Hour a burning.

Hooper's *Execution.*

Next theſe was Mr. *Saunders* condemned, and ſent to *Coventry* to be burnt, where he ſuffered on the 8th of *February.* He was made a Priſoner for Preaching, notwithſtanding the Queen's Prohibition, and was condemned for refuſing to conform to the new Laws. When he was led to the Stake, a Pardon was alſo offered him; but he ſaid, he held no Hereſies, his Faith was contain'd in the Holy Bible, and would never recant the Principles he had learned, and taught from it. When he came to the Stake, he embraced it, and ſaid, *Welcome the Croſs of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting Life*, and then was burnt. Next him follow'd Dr. *Taylor*, Parſon of *Hadley.* He endeavour'd to hinder certain neighbouring Prieſts from ſaying Maſs in his Church, which *Gardiner* being inform'd of, ſent for him up to *London.* Several of his Friends would have had him abſconded, but

Sanders's *burning.*

but he refus'd it, saying, *he must follow Christ the good Shepherd, who not only fed his Flock, but dyed for it.* He was bold; and said, he could never be able to do his Good God such Service at another time, as he was now called to, and therefore went with chearfulness. *Gardiner* received him with his ordinary Civilities, of a Traytor, Villain, Heretick and Knave, which, indeed of right belong'd to one of them. *Gardiner* charged him for denying Mass to be said in his Church, the Dr. answered, *He was, by Law, Parson of* Hadley, *and no Man had Right to come there and defile his Church and People with Idolatry.* Upon which he was commited to the *King's Bench* Prison, and afterwards condemned to be burnt at *Hadley.* When he was brought to the Stake, he told the People, *he had taught them nothing but God's Holy Word, and was now come to seal the Truth of his Doctrine with his Blood.* Whereupon one of the Guard struck him over the Head, and made him give over speaking. Then he went to his Prayers, and so to the Stake, where he was put into a Pitch Barrel. As the Faggots were laying about him, one threw a Faggot at his Head, which broke it, and abundance of Blood followed, but all he said, was, *Friend I have harm enough, what need that:* He repeated the 51st Psalm in *English*, at which one of the Guard struck him over the Mouth, and bid him speak *Latin.* He continued in his Ejaculations to God till the Fire was kindled, and one of the Guard cut on him on the Head with his Halbert, with such a force, that his Brains fell out. This was done on the 9th of *February*, 1555. *Bradford* was also condemned at the same time, but his Execution was respited, and after the Condemnation of these Men, six others were apprehended for Heresy. By this *Gardiner* saw, that what he expected did not follow. He thought a few severe Instances would have turned the whole Nation, but finding himself disappointed, he would act no more in their Condemnation, but left it wholly to *Bonner*, who undertook it chearfully, being naturally savage and brutal, and retaining deep Resentments for what had befallen himself in King *Edward*'s Time.

A. D. 1556.

Dr. Taylor *barbarously abused and burnt.*

Gardiner *weary of Persecuting.*

The whole Nation stood amaz'd at these Proceedings, and the Burning such Men only for their Consciences, without the mixture of any other thing so much as pretended against them; so that now the Spirit of the two Religions shew'd it self. In King *Edward*'s

A. D. 1556. *Edward*'s time Papiſts were only put out of their Benefices, and at moſt impriſon'd, and of thoſe there were very few Inſtances; but now that could not ſerve the Papiſts Turns, but barbarous and Inhuman Cruelties muſt be executed on Innocent Men, only for their Opinions. One piece of Cruelty was taken notice of amongſt the reſt: The Council ſent for thoſe who were to be burnt in the Country, and made them promiſe to make no Speeches at their Executions, otherwiſe, they threatned to cut out their Tongues immediately; ſo, to avoid that Butchery, they promiſed to obey thoſe cruel Orders.

Reflections on Popiſh Cruelties. Now thoſe that favoured the Reformed Religion, were awaken'd into more ſerious Thoughts about it, ſince they ſaw thoſe that had preach'd it dy'd ſo patiently and reſolutely, rather than deny it; and it begot in them a greater Tenderneſs to their Memories, and a more violent Averſion to their cruel Perſecutors. The reſt of the Nation, that neither knew, nor much valued Religion, yet were ſtartled at the Severity and ſtrangeneſs of theſe Proceedings, and being naturally (as *Engliſh* men) of relenting and compaſſionate Tempers, were highly diſſatisfied at the King, from whom they believ'd all this Miſchief came. The Queen had before declar'd, *ſhe would not force Men in theſe Points*; ſo they thought it not reaſonable nor decent to charge her with it. *Gardiner*, with the other Biſhops and Privy Counſellors, had openly in Court purged themſelves of it, *and laid it on the Queen*, ſo it could fall no where but on the King, the Sowerneſs of whoſe Temper, together with his Bigotry for that Religion, made it reaſonable enough to impute it to him. *Philip* knowing this was charged on him, and that conſequently he ſhould be unacceptable to the Nation, he was ſomething concern'd to clear himſelf of theſe imputations. Therefore *Alphonſus*, a *Franciſcan* Fryar, that was his Confeſſor, in a Sermon before him on the 10th of *February*, preached largely *againſt the taking away Men's Lives for Religion*, and, in plain Terms, inveigh'd againſt the Biſhops for doing it. *He ſaid, they had not learned the Scriptures, which taught Biſhops in the ſpirit of Meekneſs, to inſtruct thoſe that oppoſed them, and not to burn them for their Conſciences.* This ſtartled the Biſhops, ſince it was now plain, that the *Spaniards* diſown'd theſe extream Courſes; and hereupon there was a ſtop put for ſeveral Weeks to any further Severities.

K. Philip endeavours to clear himſelf.

But

but the Popiſh Clergy being once engag'd in Blood, have been always obſerv'd to become the moſt brutally cruel of any ſort of Men, ſo that it was not eaſy to restrain them; and therefore they reſolved, rather than the Hereticks ſhould not be proſecuted any farther, to take the Blame of it avowedly upon themſelves. A. D. 1556. *It ſticks upon Popiſh Clergy, who knew it.*

The firſt Intermiſſion being over, on the 16th of *March*, *Thomas Tomkins*, a Weaver of *Shoredich*, was burnt in *Smithfield*, only for denying the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament. *Bonner* kept him many Months in his Houſe, hoping to work upon him by fair means, but that not prevailing, he tore out a great deal of the Hair of his Beard, and to conceal it, made his Beard to be clean ſhav'd. Another time, *he held his Hand in the flame of a Candle till the Sinews and Veins ſhrunk and burſt, and ſpirted in* Harpfield's *Face that ſtood by*; who interpoſing with *Bonner*, got him to give over any farther Cruelty at that time. The next that ſuffered was one *William Blunter* of *Brentwood*, an Apprentice of Nineteen Years old, being accuſed by a Prieſt for denying the Corporal Preſence. His own Father was made to ſearch for him, to bring him to juſtice; but he, to ſave his Father from trouble, render'd himſelf. *Bonner* offer'd him forty Pounds if he would change, *ſo mercenary a thing did he think Conſcience to be*, but that could not tempt him, ſo he was condemned and burnt. On the ſame Day *Cauſton* and *Higbed*, two Gentlemen of good Eſtates, were burnt near their own Houſes in *Eſſex*. On the 28th of *March*, *William Pigot* was burnt at *Braintree*, *Stephen Knight* at *Malden*, and *John Lawrence* at *Colcheſter*. In all theſe Proceſſes, the Biſhops produced no Witneſſes againſt them, only exhibited Articles, according to the method of thoſe Court, called *ex Officio*, and their Anſwers being judged Heretical, they condemned them, ſo that all this was ſingly for their Conſciences, without the pretence of any other Matter. By this way *Ferrar*, late Biſhop of St. *David*'s, was condemned by his Succeſſor *Morgan*, and executed upon the 13th of *March* following. About the ſame time, *Rawlins White*, a poor Fiſherman, was burnt at *Cardiff*, for no other Crime but becauſe he put his Son to School, that he might hear the *Engliſh* Bible read by him. On the 24th of *April*, *George March*, a Prieſt, was burnt at *Cheſter*, being condemned according to the ſame Method of Proceeding;

A. D. 1556.

ceeding; only at his Death there was a new Invention of Cruelty, a Firkin of Pitch was hung over his Head, that the Fire melting it, it might Scald his Head as the Pitch dropt upon it. And now a second ſtop was put to the Execution of Hereticks, for, till the end of *May*, no more Fires were kindled for that purpoſe; People grew generally ſo enraged upon it, that they could not bear it.

On the 28th of *March* the Queen called for the Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Robert Rocheſter*, Comptroller, Sir *William Petre*, Secretary of State, and Sir *Francis Ingleſfield*, Maſter of the Wards, and ſaid, ſhe ſent for them to declare her Conſcience to them, concerning the Church Lands that continued ſtill in the Crown: She thought they were taken away unlawfully, and therefore ſhe could not keep them with a good Conſcience, ſo ſhe did ſurrender, and relinquiſh them. She thanked God that her Husband was of the ſame Mind, and therefore ſhe was reſolved to have them diſpoſed as the Pope, or his Legate, ſhould think fit, and ordered them to attend the Legate about it. Pope *Julius* dy'd ſoon after this, and Cardinal *Marcellus Cervinus* was choſen Pope: A Man of great Gravity and Innocence of Life; who preſently turned all his Thoughts into a Reformation of the Corruption of that See. One Day after a long muſing at Dinner, he ſaid, he remembr'd the Words of *Adrian* the 6th, *That the Pope was the moſt miſerable of all Men, his whole Life was bitterneſs, his Chair was full of Thorns, and his way of Briars*; and then leaning with his Hand upon the Table, he ſaid, *I do not ſee how they can be ſaved, that hold this high Dignity*; which thoughts ſo affected him, that on the 12th day after he was choſen Pope he ſickned, and dy'd ten days after.

The words of Pope Adrian.

Aſſoon as the News of his death arrived in *England*, the Queen writ to *Gardiner*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, who were then at *Calais*, mediating a Peace between the *French* and *Spaniards*, to deal with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and other *French* Commiſſioners, to perſwade their Maſter to ſet up Cardinal *Pool*, that he might ſucceed in that Chair, ſince he ſeem'd every way the fiteſt Perſon for it; adding, that ſhe had done this without his knowledge or conſent; but this could not come time enough to do him any ſervice, for on the 23d of that Month *Caraffa* was choſen Pope, who was called *Paul* the Fourth. He had put on an appearance

Caraffa choſen Pope

pearance of great ſtrictneſs before, but when he came to the Popedom, he aſſumed the greateſt magnificence poſſible, was the higheſt ſpirited, and the bloodieſt Pope, that had been ſince *Julius* the Second's time. When the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors came to him with the ſubmiſſion of the Kingdom, he receiv'd them graciouſly, and pardon'd the whole Nation, and ſaid, *that in Token of his Eſteem of the King and Queen, he gave them the Title of* Ireland (*which King* Henry *had uſurped without Authority from that See*) *by that Supream Power which he had from God over all the Kingdoms of the World.* In his private Conferences with the Ambaſſadors he complain'd that the Church Lands were not reſtored, which could not be kept away without incuring Damnation. He told them alſo, that *Peter's* Pence muſt be paid; for they muſt not expect that St. *Peter* would open Heaven to them, ſo long as they uſurped his Goods upon Earth: Which could not be pleaſant for Viſcount *Mountacute* to hear, whoſe whole Eſtate conſiſted of Abbey Lands. A. D. 1556.

About this time, the whole Kingdom was in expectation of the Queen's Delivery, and on the 3d of *May* the Biſhop of *Norwich* writ a Letter to the Earl of *Suſſex*, that News was brought him from *London*, that the Queen had brought forth a Noble Prince, for which he had *Te Deum* ſolemnly ſung in his Cathedral, and in other Churches thereabouts, and adds in the Poſtſcript, that the News was confirmed by two other Hands. But tho' this report was without any Grounds, the Queen continued ſtill in the opinion that ſhe was with Child; and on the 29th of *May* Letters were written to the Council, to the Lord Treaſurer, to have Money in readineſs, that thoſe who were appointed to carry the joyful News of the Queen's happy delivery might be ſpeedily diſpatched. In the beginning of *June* ſhe was believed to be in Labour, and it flew over *London* again, that ſhe had brought forth a Son. The Prieſts had ſettled all their hopes on that, ſo they did every where ſing *Te Deum*, and were tranſported into no ſmall Extaſies of Joy. One more officious than the reſt, made a Sermon about it, and deſcribed all the Lineaments of their young Prince: But they ſoon found they were abuſed, and now there were no hopes of Iſſue from her. This encreaſed the Sowerneſs of her Humour, and King *Philip* being ſo much younger than ſhe, did not much care for her, but left her ſome Months after.

False Reports of the Queen's delivery.

K. Philip diſcontented.

He

A. D. 1556. He saw no hopes of Children, and finding it impossible to get *England* into his hands, without that, gave over all designs about it; and having lived with her about fifteen Months after their first Marriage, he found it necessary to look more after his Hereditary Crown, and less after his Matrimonial one; and henceforth he consider'd *England* rather as a sure Ally, that was to adhere firmly to his Interests, than as a Nation, which he could ever hope to add to his other Crowns. All these things concur'd to encrease the Queen's melancholly humours, and cast her into an ill state of Health; so that it was not probable she could live long *Gardiner* being but too sensible of that, labour'd much to have the Lady *Elizabeth* put out of the way; but as it was formerly said, King *Philip* preserved her.

Persecution renewed.

I return to the poor Men called Hereticks, who were again, after a small intermission, brought to new Sufferings. *John Cardmaker* that had been Divinity-reader at St. *Paul*'s, and *John Warn*, an Upholsterer, were both burnt in *Smithfield*. On the 4th of *June* there was a piece of Pageantry acted on the Body of one *Tooley*, who being executed for a Robbery, at his death, said something that savoured of Heresy; upon which a Process was formed, and the dead Body was cited to answer, but he, to be sure, neither appearing nor answering, was condemned and burnt. After this, *Thomas Hawke*, a Gentleman in *Essex*, was burnt at *Coxhall*; and on the same day *John Simpson*, and *John Ardley*, Husbandmen, were burnt in *Essex*, *Thomas Watts*, a Linnen Draper, was burnt at *Chelmsford*. *Nicholas Chamberlain* at *Colchester*; *Thomas Osmond* at *Mainingtree*, and *William Bamford* at *Harwich*. After these followed the Execution of *Bradford* in *July*, he was condemned among the first, but not executed till now, and with him one *John Lease*, an Apprentice, of Nineteen years of Age. *Bradford* took a Faggot in his Hands, and kiss'd it and the Stake, expressing a great deal of joy in his Sufferings; but the Sheriff hindring him from Speaking, he embraced his Fellow Sufferer, praying him to be of good comfort, for they should sup with Christ that night. His last words were, *Streight is the way, and narrow is the Gate that leadeth unto Eternal Life, and few there be that find it.*

Many Suffer in Kent.

Now *Bonner* ceased his Persecution; but *Thornton*, Suffragan of *Dover*, and *Harpsfield*, Arch-Deacon of *Canter-*

erbury, took it up in that Dioceſs, and *Bland*, *Fran-* A. D.
keſh, *Sheterden*, and *Middleton*, two Prieſts and two 1556.
Laymen, were burnt at *Canterbury*, and *Margaret Polley* at *Tunbridge*, who was the firſt Woman that ſuffered in this Reign. *Chriſtopher Ward* was burnt at *Dartford*. *Dink Carver* was burnt at *Lewes*, *John Lander* at *Stoning*. And now, as if the Queen would make expiation for all this innocent Blood that was ſhed for Religion, ſhe reſtored all the Church Lands that were in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, which rather encouraged than abated the Perſecutions. In *July* one *Juxon* was burnt at *Chicheſter*, *James Abey* at *Bury* in *Suffolk*, *Denly*, a Gentleman, was burnt at *Uxbridge*, *Robert Smith* at *Waybridge*, *George Tankervil* at St. *Albans*. One *Newman* was burnt at *Saffron Walden* in *Suſſex*, *Robert Samuel*, a Preacher, was burnt at *Ipſwich*. In *Auguſt* ſix were burnt at *Canterbury*, *Elizabeth Warre*, was burnt at *Stratford le Bow*, *Stephen Whorwood* at *Stratford*, *Thomas Fuſt* at *Ware*, *William Hall* at *Barnet*. In *September*, *George Catmer*, and four others were burnt at *Canterbury*, *Robert Glover*, Gentleman, and *Cornelius Bangey*, were burnt at *Coventry*; *William Allen* at *Walſingham*; *Robert Coo* at *Yerford*; *Thomas Cob* in *Thetford*; *Thomas Haywood* and *John Garroway* at *Litchfield*. In *October*, *William Woley* and *Robert Pigot* were burnt at *Ely*. All theſe were burnt by the old Proceedings, *ex officio*; for, being forced either to accuſe themſelves, or elſe to lye, they choſe rather to anſwer plainly thoſe Articles that were miniſtred to them, and ſo were condemned for their anſwers.

In *October*, the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Briſtol* and *Glouceſter*, were ſent to *Oxford* by a ſpecial Commiſſion from Cardinal *Pool*, to proceed againſt *Ridley* and *Latimer*. As ſoon as *Ridley* underſtood they acted by the Pope's Authority, he put on his Cap, being bareheaded before, as refuſing to acknowledge their Powers, ſaying, He ſaw ſuch pots in the Church of *Rome*, that he never would return to her Communion, but proteſted againſt her Uſurpations and Idolatry; and *Latimer* made the like Proteſtations and Anſwers. After that, new Attempts were made on *Ridley*, to perſwade him to accept the Queen's Mercy, but all being to no purpoſe, the Writ was ſent down to burn them. The Night before the Execution, *Ridley* was very joyful, and invited the Mayor and his Wife, in whoſe Houſe he was kept, to be at his Weding next day: At which when the Mayor's Wife

Ridley *and* Latimer *deny the Pope's Authority.*

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A. D. 1558.

The Parliament was now much altered from their former Sentiments: Men's minds were much alienated from the Clergy and the Queen, who minded nothing but to raiſe them again to great Wealth and Power, and therefore with great difficulty they were brought to grant the Queen a Subſidy. In this Parliament a Bill paſs'd for ſuppreſſing the firſt Fruits and Tenths, and for reſigning up all Impropriations that were yet in the Queen's hands, and to be diſpos'd of as the Legate pleas'd, for the Relief of the Clergy; and on the 9th of *December* the Parliament was diſſolv'd. The day following Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, who had been a main ſtickler in it, and had one day taken the Keys of the Houſe from the Serjeant, was ſent to the *Tower*. The ſame day the

A. D. 1556. Biſhop of *Ely* deliver'd to the Lord Treaſurer the Pope's Bull, confirming the King and Queen's Title to *Ireland*. Sir *Anthony Kingſton* lay in the *Tower* till the 23d of the Month, and then upon his ſubmiſſion, and asking Pardon, was diſcharg'd. Nothing elſe but *Pool*'s attempts to reform the Clergy, in which he was oppos'd by Pope *Paul*, who endeavour'd to ſet up an Inquiſition in *England*, paſs'd this Year; but that in the end of *November*, *John Webb*, Gentleman, *George Raper*, and *Gregory Parke*, were all burnt at one Stake in *Canterbury*; and on the 8th of *December*, *Philpot* that had diſputed in the Convocation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. He was kept long in the Stocks in Biſhop *Bonner*'s Cole-Houſe, and many Conferences were had with him, to perſwade him to change, but he continu'd conſtant in his Perſwaſion to Death. So this Year ended, in which were burnt 67 for Religion, of which 4 were Biſhops, and 13 Clergy-Men.

Pool's attempts to reform the Clergy.

In the end of this Year, and the begining of the next, a memorable thing fell out. *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor of *Germany*, having firſt laid down ſome of his Hereditary Dominions in *October*, this Year reſign'd the whole Empire alſo, and ſent the Inſtruments of Reſignation to the Dyet, who thereupon choſe his Brother *Ferdinando* Emperor, to which the Pope made great Exceptions, ſaying the Reſignation ought to have been made to him only, and that being made as it was, it was null, and therefore he would not acknowledge the new Emperor. *Charles* ſtay'd ſome time in *Flanders* in a private Houſe, with but little Company about him; and reſerv'd but 100000 Crowns a Year for his own uſe, and Sixty Servants. Going into *Spain* he found that ſmall Penſion was not readily paid, at which he was obſerv'd to be much diſpleas'd. He retir'd to a place on the Confines of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, where was a good Air, and a pleaſant Situation. There he order'd a little Apartment of ſeven Rooms fourteen foot ſquare to be built for him, where he ſpent his time in Mechanical Curioſities and Study; and at the end of two Years a Conceit took him that he would ſee an *Obit* made for himſelf, and all his Funeral Rites perform'd; to which he came himſelf, with the Monks, and pray'd moſt devoutly, with the reſt, for his Soul; which ſet all the Company a weeping. Two days after he ſicken'd of a Fever, of which he dy'd, on the 21ſt of *September*, 1556. A rare and great inſtance, of a Mind ſurfeited with the Pomps

Charles the Fifth's Abdication.

Pomps and Glories of the World, ſeeking for that Quiet in Retirement, which he had long in vain ſought after in Camps and Palaces. A. D. 1556.

I return to the Affairs of *England*. The 21ſt of *March*, *Cranmer* was brought to the end of his Afflictions, and receiv'd his Crown. On the 12th of *September*, in the former Year, *Brook*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, came to *Oxford* as the Pope's Sub-delegate, and *Martin* and *Story*, Commiſſioners from the King and Queen, ſat with him at St *Mary*'s Church as Judges. *Cranmer* being interrogated by the Court, anſwer'd, *That he would never own the Pope's Authority.* He ſaid, *The Biſhops of* Rome *not only ſet up Pretenſions that were contrary to the Power of Princes, but they had made Laws contrary to the Laws of God, which ſhew'd them to be none of Chriſt's Vicars, but Antichriſt's.* After this meeting he was ſent back to Priſon, where he lay till the 14th of *February*, 1557, and then *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were ſent down to degrade him. *Bonner* deſir'd this employment, as a pleaſant Revenge on *Cranmer*, who had before that depriv'd him; but it was forc'd on the other, who was a good natur'd Man, but very unconſtant, and too apt to change. They cloath'd him with Pontifical Robes, a Mitre, and the other Garments, with a Croſier in his hand; but the Robes were made of Canvas, to make him ſhew the more ridiculous in them. Then *Bonner* made a Speech full of Jeers and Puns, *viz. This is the Man that deſpis'd the Pope, and now is judg'd by him: This is the Man that pull'd down Churches, and now is judg'd in a Church: This is the Man that contemn'd the Sacrament, and now is condemn'd before it*; with a great many other Expreſſions, at which *Thirleby* was much offended, and to ſee him treated with ſo much diſreſpect; but *Bonner* proceeded to degrade him, and all that ludicrous Attire was taken, piece by piece, from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, which are in uſe in the Church of *Rome*. But there were new Engines contriv'd againſt him: He was put in hopes of Life and Preferment, and remov'd out of Priſon to the Dean of *Chriſt-Church*'s Lodgings, where all the Arguments imaginable were uſed, to turn him from his former Perſwaſion: And in concluſion, as St *Peter* himſelf had with Curſes deny'd his Saviour, ſo that he that had now reſiſted almoſt Three Years, was at laſt overcome. Humane Infirmity, the fears of Death, and the hopes that were given him, prevail'd with him to ſet his hand to a Renounciation of his

Cranmer *perſecuted.* 1557

Bonner's *Speech.*

A. D. 1557. former Principles; which Recantation was presently printed, and almost equally occasion'd Insultings on the one hand, and Dejection on the other. But the Queen, who now was forc'd to discover that her private Resentments govern'd her in this Matter, was resolv'd he should be sacrifis'd, for giving the Sentence of Divorce against her Mother; and tho' hitherto she had pretended only a Zeal for Religion, and yet now when that could be no longer alledg'd, yet she persisted in her Resolutions of having him burnt. Hereupon another Writ was issu'd out for his Execution: And he suspecting that all their fair Promises were but Delusions, when they requir'd him to write anew his Recantation, and to rehearse it publickly, he also wrote out secretly a true and sincere Confession of his Faith, and when he was set on a high place in St *Mary*'s Church, and *Cole*, that preach'd, bid him declare his Faith: He first pray'd with many moving Expressions of deep Remorse and inward Horror, and then he came to that, which he said troubl'd his Conscience more than any thing in his whole Life; and that was, *Subscribing to a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience, out of the fear of Death, and the love of Life: And when he came to the Fire, he was resolv'd that Hand that had sign'd it should burn first. He rejected the Pope as an Enemy to Christ, and an Antichristian Usurper; and said, he had the same Belief of the Sacrament, which he had when he publish'd the Book he had writ about it.* Upon this there was a great Confusion in the Assembly: Those who hop'd to have gain'd a great Victory that Day, were in much Disorder: They call'd to him not to dissemble; but, he said, *he had ever lov'd simplicity, and before that time had never dissembl'd in his whole Life*; and going on in his Discourse, with abundance of Tears, they pull'd him down, and led him to the Stake, that was set in the same place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burnt. When he was ty'd to the Stake, as the Fire was kindling, he stretch'd forth his Right Hand towards the Flame, and never moving it, saying that once he wiped his Face with it, till it was burnt away. He expres's'd no Disorder for the pain he was in; sometimes saying *that unworthy Hand*, and often crying, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* He was soon after quite burnt.

The Queen's Mask falls off.

Cranmer burnt.

Thus *Thomas Cranmer* ended his Days, in the Sixty seventh Year of his Age. He was a Man raised of God for great Services, and well fited for them. He was natu-

His Character.

naturally of a milde and gentle Temper, not ſoon heated, nor apt to give his Opinion raſhly of Things or Perſons. He was a Man of great Candour. He was never known to diſſemble his Opinion, or diſown his Friend: Two rare qualities in that Age, in which there was a continu'd courſe of Diſſimulation; both Clergy and Laity, going backward and forward, as the Court was in motion. He was Pious, Devout, and charitable to the Poor and Needy; and gave large Exhibitions to thoſe that fled out of *Germany* into *England*. His laſt fall was the only blemiſh of his Life; but he expiated it with a ſincere Repentance, and a patient Martyrdom. A. D 1557

His Death was follow'd by that of many others. On the 27th of *January*, *Thomas White*, a Prieſt, *Bartlet Green*, a Gentleman, *Thomas Brown*, *John Tudſon*, and *John Went*, three Tradeſmen, *Iſabel Foſter*, and *John Warne*, were all burnt in *Smithfield* at the ſame Stake, for not going to Maſs. On the 31ſt of that Month, *John Lomas*, and four Women, were burnt at *Canterbury* in one Fire. In the begining of *March*, two Women were burnt at *Ipſwich*, and three Tradeſmen at *Salisbury*. On the 29th of *April*, *Robert Drakes*, a Prieſt, *William Tims*, a Deacon, and four Tradeſmen that were ſent out of *Eſſex*, becauſe they would not go to Maſs, were all Six condemn'd, and burnt together in *Smithfield*. *John Hampole*, and *John Boock*, were both burnt at *Rocheſter*, on the 1ſt of *May*, and on the 2d, *John Hallier*, a Prieſt, was burnt at *Canterbury*, and ſix *Eſſex* Tradeſmen were alſo burnt at *Colcheſter*. But *Bonner* gave yet a more aſtoniſhing inſtance of his Barbarity: *Laverock*, an old Cripple, above 68 Years of Age, and *John Ap Price*, a blinde Man, were burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford le Bow*, they comforting one another, that they were now to be freed from their Blindneſs and Lameneſs. The day after Three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*. Another blind Man, with a Tradeſman, were burnt at *Glouceſter*. On the 21ſt of this Month, three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*, five at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*; and on the 27th of *June*, *Bonner* made an inhuman and unheard of Execution, in the burning eleven Men and two Women at *Stratford le Bow*, in one and the ſame Fire. The 30th of *June* three were burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*; and on the 16th of *July* three Men were burnt at *Newberry*. But in this Month, in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, was done an act of as great Inhumanity

Perſecution upon Perſecution.

A. D. 1557.

as ever the Sun beheld. A Mother, and her two Daughters were burnt at the ſame Stake; and one of them being a Marry'd Woman big with Child, when ſhe was in the Fire, the violence of the Flames burſting her Belly, a Boy fell into it, and was ſnatch'd out by one ſomewhat more merciful than the reſt; but after they had a little time conſulted about it, the poor Infant was thrown in again, and there was literally baptis'd with Fire. On the 18th of *July*, two Women and one Man were burnt at *Greenſtead*. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *Joan Weſt* was burnt at *Derby*, another at *Briſtol*, four at *Marfield* in *Suſſex*, two more at *Briſtol*, and one at *Nottingham*: And thus ended the Burning this Year. Thoſe that ſuffer'd were in all Eighty Five, their Crimes were what they then call'd Hereſy. But all thoſe Fires could never extinguiſh the Light of the Reformation, nor yet abate the love of it, but on the contrary, ſpread it more, and verified what was ſaid under the Heathen Perſecution, *viz. That the Blood of Martyrs was the Seed of the Church.*

Another horrible Inſtance of Popiſh Cruelty.

Foreign Affairs were brought to a more quiet ſtate; for by the mediation of *England*, a Truce for five Years was concluded between *France* and *Spain*; and the new King was enclin'd to obſerve it faithfully, that he might be well ſettl'd in his Kingdom, before he engag'd himſelf in War; but the violent Pope broke all their Meaſures. He was offended at the Decree made at *Augsburg* for the Liberty of Religion, and with *Ferdinand* for aſſuming the Title of Emperor without his Approbation. He talk'd in as haughty a ſtile as any of his Predeceſſors, and that he would change Kings, and diſpoſe of Kingdoms at his pleaſure. But after all theſe imperious Rants, which ſome times carry'd him to Exceſſes, that ſcarce differ'd from downright Madneſs, he was heartily troubl'd at the Truce between the *French* and *Spaniards*, and, at laſt, by fair Promiſes, he diſſolv'd the League, and raiſed Forces againſt the *Spaniards*. Upon this, the Duke of *Alva*, then in *Naples*, being himſelf much devoted to the Papacy, did very unwillingly engage in the War. He firſt us'd all ways to avoid it, and made ſeveral Proteſtations of the Indignities his Maſter had receiv'd, and his unwillingneſs to enter into a War with him that ſhould be the common Father of *Chriſtendom*. But theſe Arguments being all to no purpoſe, he fell into *Campania*, and took all the Places in

A Truce between France *and* Spain.

War between the Pope and Spain.

in it, which he declared he would keep for the next Pope, and might alſo have taken *Rome* it ſelf, if the Reverence he bore the Papacy had not reſtrained him. This griev'd the Queen of *England*, and the Cardinal, who ſaw what Advantages thoſe of the Reformation would take, from the Pope's abſolving Princes from the moſt ſacred Ties of humane Societies, ſince the Breach of Faith, and publick Treaties was a thing abhorred by the moſt depraved Nations; and when he, who pretended to be the Vicar of Chriſt, who was the Prince of Peace, was kindling a new flame in *Chriſtendom*; theſe things were ſo ſcandalous, that they knew they would much obſtruct and diſorder all their Deſigns. A. D. 1557.

In the begining of the Year 1557 was the Viſitation of the Univerſities. *Pool* ſent *Scott*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, with his *Italian* Friend *Armineto*, *Watſon* and *Chriſtopherſon* to *Cambridge*, who put the Churches of St. *Mary's* and St. *Michael's* under an Interdict, becauſe the Bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, two Hereticks, were buried in them. Then they cited their dead Bodies to appear, or any that would come in their Names and defend them; and after three Citations, the dead Bodies not riſing to ſpeak for themſelves, and none coming to plead for them, for fear of being ſent after them, *Bucer* and *Fagius* were pronounced obſtinate Hereticks, and their Bodies were taken up, and their Coffins tied to Stakes, with many of their Books, and other Heretical Writings, and were all burnt together. The like Proceedings were at the Viſitation at *Oxford*, where they burnt all the *Engliſh* Bibles, as they had done at *Cambridge*, with ſuch other Heretical Books as could be found; and took up the Body of *Peter Martyr's* Wife, who they ſaid was an Heretick, and lay in one of the Churches, and buried it in a Dunghil. The burning this Year decreaſed, for there was in all but 79. The Severities againſt Hereticks made the Queen ſhew leſs Pity to the Lord *Sturton*, than perhaps might have been otherwiſe expected, he being always a moſt zealous Papiſt. This Lord had ſome Difference the Year before with one *Argol*, and his Son, whom taking at an advantage, he and his Servants *knocked them down with Clubs, cut their Throats, and buried them 15 foot under ground*, thinking by this means to conceal the Murder; but it breaking out, both his Lordſhip, and four of his Servants were apprehended, try'd, found guilty

Two notable pieces of Popiſh Pageantry.

Argol *and his Son murdred*

A. D. 1557.

of the Fact, condemn'd to be hang'd, and accordingly were all hang'd on the 6th of *March* at *Salisbury*; only this difference was made at their Deaths, that the Servants were all hang'd in common Halters, but one of Silk was beſtow'd upon their Lord. Upon this, great advantage was taken by the Papiſts to magnify the ſtrictneſs and impartiality of the Queen's Juſtice, that would not ſpare ſo zealous a Catholick, nor change the Sentence to Beheading, as was commonly done to Perſons of his Quality; and therefore Perſons guilty of higher Crimes, ſuch as Hereſy was accounted, were to look for no Mercy. Indeed as the poor Proteſtants look'd for none, ſo they met with very little, but what the Cardinal ſhew'd them, and he was now brought under Trouble himſelf, for favouring them too much, it being that which the Pope made uſe of to cover his Malice againſt him.

A Quarrel with France.

Now the War broke out again between *France* and *Spain*, and the King endeavour'd by all means to gain the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt him. The Queen had often complain'd to the *French* Court, that the Fugitives who left her Kingdom, were all receiv'd in *France*; and that the Practices of *Wyat*, and ſeveral other of her Rebellious Subjects, were encourag'd from thence; particularly of *Aſhton*, who went often between the two Nations, and had made uſe of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Name to raiſe Seditions; and that one *Strafford* had gone into *France*, and gathered ſome of the *Engliſh* Fugitives together, and with Money and Ships, that were ſecretly given him by that Court, had ſeiz'd on the Caſtle of *Scarborough*, from whence he publiſhes a Manifeſto againſt the Queen, *that by her bringing in the* Spaniards *ſhe had fallen from her Right to the Kingdoms*, of which he declar'd himſelf the Protector. The Earl of *Weſtmorland* took the Caſtle, and *Stafford*, with three of his Accomplices, being taken, ſuffer'd as Traytors; ſo the Queen was ſatisfy'd, notwithſtanding the *French* deny'd it, that they were reſolv'd to begin a War with her as ſoon as they found an opportunity. The 1ſt of *May*, *Thomas Piercy* was firſt made a Night, after a Lord, and the next day Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the Queen gave all the Lands that had been his Anceſtors.

K. Philip *comes to* England.

King *Philip* finding it was not ſo eaſy by Letters or Meſſages to draw her into a War, came himſelf about the 20th of *May*, ſtay'd with her till the begining of

of *July*, and prevailed ſo far with her and the Council, that ſhe denounced War againſt the *French* King, and ſent over 8000 Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, to join the *Spaniſh* Army, which conſiſted of near 50000 Men, and ſat down before St. *Quintin*. The Conſtable of *France* was ſent to raiſe the Siege. When the two Armies were in view of one another, the Conſtable intended to draw back his Army; but by a Miſtake in the way of it, they fell into ſome Diſorder, and the *Spaniards* making uſe of that Advantage, fell upon them, and with the loſs only of fifty Men, gained an entire Victory; 2500 being killed on the place, the whole Army diſperſed, and the Conſtable, with many others, taken Priſoners. *France* was never in greater danger than at that time; for if King *Philip* had known how to make uſe of his Succeſs, and had marched on to *Paris*, he could have met with no reſiſtance. But he ſat down before St. *Quintin*, which *Coligni* kept ſo long, till the firſt Terror was over, and then as the *French* took heart again, ſo the *Spaniards* grew leſs conſiderable, as well in Strength as Reputation, and the *Engliſh* finding themſelves not well uſed, return'd into their own Country. A. D. 1557.

When the Pope heard of theſe Tranſactions, he was ſtrangely enrag'd againſt Cardinal *Pool*, as the Author of theſe Counſels, and therefore revok'd his Legatine Authority; required him to come to *Rome*, to anſwer Accuſations againſt him for favouring Hereticks, and made *Poito* a Cardinal, with Powers to ſucceed him as Legate; but the Queen hearing *Poito* had begun his Journey to *England*, ſent an Order to ſtop him; otherwiſe ſhe would bring him, and all that acknowledged his Authority, under Premunires. So ſhe ſtopt his Journey, and dying in *April* following, enjoy'd his Dignity but a ſhort time; but this ſtorm againſt *Pool* went ſoon over by the Peace that was made between *Philip* and the Pope, by which he was reſtored to his former Authority. War being now proclaim'd between *England* and *France*, the *French* ſent to the *Scotiſh* Queen Regent, to engage *Scotland* in the War againſt *England*: And theſe Wars coming upon *England* when the Queen's Treaſure was quite exhauſted, it was not eaſy to find Money to carry them on, and tho' they try'd to raiſe Money by Privy Seals, yet that way being unlawful, little was got by it; ſo that after all, it was found neceſſary to ſum-

A. D. 1557. summon a Parliament to assemble on the 20th of *January*. In the end of the Year, the Queen had Information from the King, that the *French* had a design on *Calais*; but she, either for want of Money, or that she thought the place secure in the Winter, did not send necessary Supplies; and thus ended the Affairs of *England* this Year.

Calais *besieg'd.* 1558

The begining of the Year 1558, was famous for the loss of *Calais*. The Lord *Wentworth* commanded in it; but the Garrison consisted only of 500 Men, and there were not above 200 of the Townsmen that could be serviceable in the Siege. The Duke of *Guise* having brought his Army out of *Piedmont*, was now in *France*, and being desirous while the Constable was a Prisoner upon his late Miscarriage at St *Quintin*, to do some great Action, which might raise him in Esteem and Reputation above the other, who was his only Competitor in *France*, set his Thoughts on *Calais*, and its neighbouring Territories. There were two Forts on which the Security of the Town depended. The one *Newnam-Bridge*, a Mile from it, that commanded the Avenues to it from the Land, from which to the Town there was a way rais'd through a Marsh, lying on both hands of it. On the other side to the Sea, the Fort of *Risbank*, commanded the Harbour; so that the whole strength of the Place lay in those two Forts. On the 1st of *January* the Duke of *Guise* came and sat down before it. The Governour having but a small Force within, he did not think convenient to weaken it by sending such Supplies as those Forts requir'd, so that they were taken without any opposition. Then the Town being thus shut up, the Enemy press'd it hard, and drew the Water out of its current, by which the Ditches about the Town and Castle were drain'd; and having prepar'd Devices for their Soldiers to pass them, without sticking in the Mire, they made the Assault, after they had first made a great breach with their Ordnance. When the Sea was out, others cross'd on that side, and so carry'd the Castle by Storm; which the Governor look'd upon as impregnable, and so he had brought his chief Force to the defence of the Town. Seeing the Castle thus unexpectedly lost, he did all he could with his small Forces to regain it; but being still repuls'd, and having lost 200 of his ablest and stoutest Men, he was forc'd to surrender the Place upon the 7th of *January*. Thus in one

The Town and Castle lost.

one Weeks time, and in Winter, was so strong a Town lost by the *English*, that had been many Ages in their possession. It was taken 210 Years before by *Edward* the Third after the Battle of *Cressy*; and was still call'd the Key of *France*, as long as it continu'd in *English* Hands; but now in a time of War, was in as ill a condition, as if they had been in the profoundest Peace. A. D 5158.

From *Calais* the Duke of *Guise* march'd to *Guisnes*, which was commanded by the Lord *Gray*, whose Garrison consisted of about 1100 Men, but the loss of *Calais* had much disheartned them. At the first Impression the *French* carried the Town, and the Garrison retired into the Castle; but *Gray* sallying out upon the Soldiers that were plundering, beat them out again, and burnt the Town. The *French* battered the Castle, till they made a Breach in the Out-works of it, which they carried after a long resistance, in which the *English* lost 300 Men, and so the Lord *Gray* surrendered it: he, and all the Officers, being made Prisoners of War. Guisnes *taken by the* French

There was another Castle in that little Country, *Hammes*, which lay in such a Marsh as was thought inaccessible; but the Garrison abandon'd it, without staying till the Enemy came before them. Now the Queen had nothing left of all those Dominions, that her Ancestors had once in *France*, but the Isles of *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, *Alderny* and *Sarke*. The last of these being a naked Place, only inhabited by some Hermits; yet having the advantage of a Harbour, the *French* made themselves Masters of it; but it was taken from them again by the Stratagem of an ingenious *Fleming*. The News of the loss of *Calais* filled *England* with great Discontent. Those who were otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of Affairs took great advantages from it, to disparage the Government, which the Queen had put into the Hands of the Priests, who neither understood War, nor were sensible of the Honour of the Nation. It was said, they had drain'd her Treasury, by the Restitution and Foundations they had perswaded her to make, and being sensible how much the Nation hated them, they put the Queen upon other ways of raising Money, than by Parliament; so that never did the Parliament meet with greater Disorder and Trouble, than at this time. But the Loss of *Calais* affected none so deeply *Great Discontents in* England.

A. D. 1558. deeply, as the Queen herſelf; who was ſo ſenſible of the Diſhonour of it, that it oppreſſed her Spirits ſo much with Melancholly, that ſhe never was chearful after it.

The Parliament was open'd on the 20th of *January*, where the Convocation, to be a good Example to the two Houſes, granted a Subſidy of eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years, and the Lords and Commons taking into conſideration the Defence of the Kingdom, after ſeveral days arguing about it, agreed to give one Subſidy, a Fifteenth, and a Tenth, and the Speaker acquainting the Queen with it, ſhe ſent them her hearty Thanks. Soon after this, the King of *Sweden* ſent a Meſſage ſecretly to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who was then at *Hatfield*, to propoſe a Marriage to her. King *Philip* had once deſign'd to marry her to the Duke of *Savoy*, when he was in hopes of having Children by the Queen, but that hope vaniſhing, he broke it off, and intended to reſerve her for himſelf. How far ſhe entertain'd that Motion does not appear; but this from *Sweden* ſhe rejected, becauſe it came not to her by the Queen's Direction. Upon this, the Queen ſent Sir *Thomas Rope* to her in *April*, to let her know how well ſhe approved her Anſwer, and now there ſeem'd a fair Underſtanding between them: But the Biſhops apprehending ſhe would overthrow what they had been building, and cementing with ſo much Blood, did not ſpare to ſuggeſt the puting her out of the way, and tho' through the kindneſs of King *Philip*, they failed in their Deſigns, yet ſhe paſs'd five Years under no ſmall Fears and Apprehenſions of being deſtroyed; which was perhaps a neceſſary Preparation for that high Degree, to which ſhe was ſoon after advanc'd, and which ſhe held in the greateſt and longeſt courſe of Proſperity and Glory, that ever any of her Sex pretended to.

The King of Sweden Courts Lady Elizabeth.

The Biſhops, when the Parliament was ſiting, did always intermit their Cruelties, but as ſoon as it was over, they fell to them afreſh: And tho' they ſaw the Queen declining ſo faſt, that there was no appearance of her living many Days, yet they abated nothing of their Cruelty. There was nothing done in the War with *France* this Year, but the ſending out a Fleet of one hundred and Twenty Ships, with Seven thouſand Land Men in it, under the Command of

An Enterprize defeated.

of the Lord *Clinton*, who landed at *Port Conquet*, where, after a ſmall Reſiſtance made by the *French*, he burnt the Town; but the Country being gather'd together, the *Engliſh* were forc'd to return to their Ships, having loſt above Six hundred of their Men. The Deſign was to have ſeiz'd upon *Breſt*, and fortified it, which was propoſed by King *Philip*, who had ſent Thirty of his Ships to their Aſſiſtance. This the *French* knowing by ſome of the Priſoners they took, went and fortified *Breſt*, and kept a great Body of Men together to reſiſt, in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould make a ſecond impreſſion. But the Lord *Clinton* ſeeing he could do nothing, return'd, having made a very expenſive and unproſperous Attempt. The *Engliſh* had loſt their Hearts; the Government at Home was ſo little acceptable to them, that they were not much concerned to ſupport it. They began to think Heaven was againſt them. A. D. 1558.

All Things concuring to encreaſe the People's Averſion to the Government, the Queen was willing to hearken to a Treaty of Peace, that was opened at *Cambray* in *October*, to which ſhe ſent the Earl of *Arundel*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton*, as her Plenipotentiaries. The 24th of *April*, the Dauphin of *France* was Married to the Queen of *Scotland*, four Cardinals, *Bourbon*, *Lorrain*, and *Bertrand*, with many of the Princes of the Blood, and the other great Men of *France*, and the Commiſſioners ſent from *Scotland*, being preſent. When the marriage was over, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were deſired to offer the Dauphin the Enſigns of the Regality of *Scotland*, and to acknowledge him their King; but they excuſed themſelves, as having no Commiſſion to do it. Then it was deſired, that they would promote the Buſineſs at their return into their own Country; but ſome of them had expreſſed their Averſion ſo plainly, that it was believ'd they were poyſoned by the Brethren of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. Four of them dy'd in *France*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Caſſils*, and the Lord *Fleming*. The Prior of St. *Andrews* was alſo very ſick, and tho' he recovered at that time, yet he had never any perfect health after it. When the other four returned into *Scotland*, a Convention of the Eſtates were called, to conſult about the Propoſitions they brought; where it was carried, that the Dauphin

The Dauphin married.

A. D. 1558.

phin ſhould be acknowledged their King: Great Aſſurances being given, that this ſhould be only a bare Title, and that he ſhould pretend to no Power over them. So the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who had been the main Sticklers for the *French* Intereſt, upon the Promiſes that the Queen Regent made them, that they ſhould enjoy the free Exerciſe of their Religion, were appointed to carry the Matrimonial Crown into *France*; but as they were preparing for their Journey, a great Revolution of Affairs fell out in *England*.

A Seſſions of Parliament.

The Parliament met on the 5th of *November*. On the 7th the Queen ſent for the Speaker, and ordered him to acquaint the Houſe with the ill ſtate of the Kingdom; for tho' there was a Treaty began at *Cambray*, yet it was neceſſary to put the Kingdom in a poſture of defence, in caſe it ſhould miſcarry; but the Commons were ſo diſſatisfied, that they would come to no Reſolution; and tho' this Meſſage was ſeconded by the coming of ſeveral Lords to the Houſe, who ſhew'd the neceſſity of granting a Subſidy, to defend the Nation againſt the *French* and *Scots*, yet when the Lords were withdrawn, and the Commons debated it two days together, they came to no Iſſue in their Conſultations.

Queen Mary's death.

The Queen had never enjoy'd her Health perfectly ſince ſhe had the falſe Conception; upon which follow'd the Neglect from her Husband, and the Deſpair of Iſſue, that encreas'd her Melancholly, and this receiving a great Addition from the loſs of *Calais*, and the other misfortunes of this Year, ſhe, by a long declination of Health, and decay of her Spirits, was brought ſo low, that it was viſible ſhe had not many Days to live; and a Dropſy coming on her, put a concluſion to her unhappy Reign and unfortunate Life, on the 17th of *November*, in the Forty third Year of her Age, after ſhe had reign'd five Years, four Months, and eleven Days.

Cardinal Pools Death and Character.

At the ſame time, as if one Star had govern'd both their Nativities, Cardinal *Pool* was alſo dying; and his end being haſtened by the Queen's Death, he follow'd her within Sixteen Hours, in the Fifty ninth Year of his Age. He left his whole Eſtate to *Aloiſi Prioli*, a noble *Venetian*, with whom he had lived Six and Twenty Years, in ſo entire a Friendſhip, that as nothing

nothing could break it off, so neither was any thing able to separate them from one another's Company. *Prioli* being invited by Pope *Julius* to come and receive a Cardinal's Hat, he prefer'd *Pool*'s Conversation before it; and as he had supply'd him in his Necessities in *Italy*, so he left his Country now, to live with him in *England*. *Pool* made him his Executor: But *Prioli* was of a more noble Temper, than to enrich himself by his Friend's Wealth; for as he took care to pay all the Legacies he left, so he gave away all that remain'd, reserving nothing to himself but *Pool*'s Breviary and Diary. And, indeed, the Cardinal was not a Man made to raise a Fortune, being by the Greatness of his Birth, and his excellent Vertues, carried far above such mean Designs. He was a learned, modest, humble, and good natured Man; and had, indeed, such qualities, and such a Temper, that if he could have brought the other Bishops to have followed his Measures, or the Pope, and the Queen, to have approv'd them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this Nation to Popery again: *But God designed better things for us*; so he gave up the Queen to the bloody Counsels of *Gardiner*, and the rest of that wicked Clergy. It was the only thing in which she was not led by the Cardinal; but she imputed his Opinion, in that particular, rather to the Sweetness of his Temper, than to his Wisdom and Experience. It is true, he had a vast Superstition to the See of *Rome*, but to do every Man Right, it cannot be deny'd, but that he was a Man of as great Probity and Virtue as most of the Age, if not all of that Church in which he lived. He was buried at *Canterbury*.

A. D. 1558.

A brief Character of Queen Mary.

The Queen's Character has appeared so manifestly in her Reign, that it seems needless to make any further Description of her. It is said, she was a Woman of a strict, and innocent Life, that allowed herself few of the Diversions which Courts abound with: That she was constant at her Devotions; and being given up to follow the Dictates of *Rome*, with a nice Scrupulosity of Conscience, it was no wonder she went on in those Designs very vigorously. She was much addicted to the Humours and Interests of the *Popish* Clergy, and they giving severe Counsels, and the Queen's following them, flow'd from the Principles of their Religion;

A. D. 1558. gion; in which the Sowerneſs of her Temper, made it the more eaſy to perſwade her to a Complaiſance with theſe Courſes, to which her Inclination led her without any ſuch Motives. It is ſaid alſo, that ſhe was a Lady of a good Nature, and a merciful Diſpoſition in herſelf; What then can we expect from the Reign of any *Popiſh* Prince, where the barbarous Zeal, and inhumane Authority of that Church, can ſo far impoſe upon, and over-rule even a merciful Princeſs, to make her guilty of the greateſt Perſecution ſince *Dioclesian*'s Time? in which, beſides unſpeakable Tortures, Two hundred and ſeventy ſeven of the Reformed Chriſtians were burnt to Death? To conclude, this Queen's Death was as little lamented, as any of all our Princes ever was, the *Popiſh* Clergy being almoſt the only Mourners that were among her own People. Her Body was interred in a Chappel in the Minſter of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*, without any Monument, or other Remembrance.



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THE LIFE *and* REIGN OF Q. *ELIZABETH.*

QUEEN *Mary*'s Death was conceal'd for ſome Hours, though for what reaſons, and what the ſecret Conſultations were upon it, does not appear: But about Nine of the Clock the Lord Chancellor went to the Houſe of Lords, and imparted to them the News of the Queen's Deceaſe; which as it ſtruck the Biſhops with no ſmall Fear, ſo thoſe Counſellors who had been ſevere in their Advices about her Siſter, did apprehend ſhe might remember it againſt them: Yet they all agreed to Proclaim her Queen, and by the Zeal they expreſs'd for her coming to the Crown, intended to ballance the Errors they had formerly been led to, rather in complyance to the late Queen's Reſentments, than out of any Ill-will they bore to her ſelf. They ſent for the *Houſe of Commons*; and the Lord Chancellor ſignify'd to them the Queen's death; which, he ſaid, would have been much more ſorrowful to *England*, if they had not had ſuch a Succeſſor, that was the next and indiſputed Heir to the Crown, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of whoſe Right and Title none could make any queſtion; therefore they intended to proclaim her Queen, and deſir'd their Concurrence: Which was ecchoed with repeated Acclamations of *God ſave Queen Elizabeth, Long and Happily may ſhe Reign.* A. D. 1558.

The Parliament being declar'd to be diſſolv'd by the late Queen's death, the Lords proclaim'd *Elizabeth* Queen, firſt at *Weſtminſter*, and then went into *London*,

A. D. 1553. where it was done again by the Lord Mayor, and receiv'd every where with such excessive Joy, that there was no sign of Sorrow expres'd for the death of Queen *Mary*; but what was shew'd by the Priests, who in so Publick and Universal a Joy, were forc'd to betake themselves to secret Groans, since they durst not vent them in publick. Never did any Prince before her come to the Throne with so many good Wishes and Acclamations, which the Horror of the Cruelties, and the Reflection of the Disasters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to see better times.

Her Entry into London.

The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, where having received the News of her Sister's Death, and of her being Proclaimed Queen, she came from thence to *London* On the 19th all the Bishops met her at *High Gate*, whom she receiv'd with great Civility, except *Bonner*, whom she looked upon as defiled with so much Blood, that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her Favour on him. She was received into the City with Throngs much greater than such Occasions used to draw together, and followed with the loudest Shouts of Joy that 'twas possible for so great a Multitude to raise. She lay that Night at the Duke of *Norfolk*'s House in the *Charter-House*, and next Day went to the *Tower*. There at her Entry she kneeled down, and offered up Thanks to God for that great Change in her Condition; that whereas she had been formerly a Prisoner in that place, every hour in fear of her Life, she was now raised to so high a Dignity. She soon cleared all People's Apprehensions, as to the Hardships she had formerly met with, and shewed she had absolutely forgot from whom she had received them: Even *Bennefield* himself not excepted, who had been the chief Instrument of her Sufferings; but she always call'd him her *Jaylor*, which, tho she said in way of Railery, yet it was so sharp, that he avoided coming any more to Court.

She sends abroad Ambassadors.

She presently dispatch'd Messengers to all the Princes of *Christendom*, to give Notice of her Sister's Death, and her Succession In particular she writ to King *Philip*, to acknowledge his kindness in interposing so effectually with her Sister, for her Preservation. She also sent to *Edward Karn*, that had been her Sister's Resident at *Rome*, to give that See the News of her Succession, but the haughty *Pope* received it in his ordinary way, declaring that *England* was held in Fee of the Apostolick See; that she could not

not ſucceed, being Illegitimate, nor could he contradict the Declarations made in that Affair by his Predeceſſors, *Clement* the Seventh, and *Paul* the Third: He ſaid it was a great Boldneſs in her to aſſume the Crown without his Conſent; for which in reaſon ſhe deſerv'd no Favour at his Hands; but if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a Fatherly Affection to her, and do every thing for her that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See. When the Queen heard this, ſhe was much concern'd at it, and recall'd *Karn*'s Powers, and commanded him home. The *Pope* on the other hand, requir'd him to ſtay in *Rome*, and take care of an Hoſpital, over which he had placed him: Which it's thought *Karn* procured, becauſe he was unwilling to return to *England*, apprehending a Change of Religion would follow; for he was zealouſly addicted to the See of *Rome*. A. D. 1558.

As ſoon as King *Philip* heard the News, he ordered the Duke of *Feria*, whom he had ſent over in his Name, to comfort the late Queen in her Sickneſs, to congratulate the new Queen, and, in ſecret, to propoſe Marriage to her, and to aſſure her he would procure a Diſpenſation from *Rome*, and at the ſame time ſent thither to obtain it. But the Queen, tho' very ſenſible of her Obligations to him, had no mind to that Marriage, nor indeed to any other, for tho' upon ſome Occaſions when her Affairs required it, ſhe treated on that Subject, yet ſhe was firmly reſolved never to engage her ſelf in Matrimony. Beſides, ſhe ſaw her People were generally averſe to any Foreigner, and particularly to a *Spaniard*: And ſhe made it the ſteady *Maxim* of her whole Reign, to rule in their Affections, as well as over their Perſons; nor did ſhe regard the *Pope*'s Diſpenſation, as ſufficient to warrant what was otherwiſe forbidden in the Word of God, and the Relation between King *Philip* and her, being the reverſe of that which was between her Father and Queen *Catherine*, it ſeeming to be equally unlawful for one Man to marry two Siſters, as it was for one Woman to be married to two Brothers, ſhe could not conſent to this Marriage, without approving King *Henry*'s with Queen *Catherine*: And if that were a good *Marriage*, then ſhe muſt be Illegitimate, as being born of a Marriage which only the Unlawfulneſs of that could juſtify. So Inclination, Intereſt, and Conſcience, all concur'd to make her reject King *Philip*'s Motion: Yet ſhe did it in terms ſo full of Eſteem and Kindneſs for

King Philip *Courts the Queen in Marriage.*

A. D. 1558.

him, that he still insisted on the Proposition; in which she was not willing to undeceive him so entirely as to put him out of all hopes, while the Treaty of *Cambray* was depending, that so she might tye him more closely to her Interest.

The French set up another Title.

The *French* hearing of Queen *Mary*'s Death, and being alarm'd at *Philip*'s design upon the New Queen, sent to engage the Pope to deny the Dispensation, and to make him declare the Queen of *Scotland* to be the Right Heir to the Crown of *England*, and the pretended Queen to be Illegitimate. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* also prevail'd with the *French* King to order his Daughter in-Law to assume that Title, and to put the Arms of *England* on all her Furniture.

But now to return to *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* continu'd to employ some of the same Counsellors that had serv'd Queen *Mary*: Namely, *Heath*, Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of *Winchester*, Lord Treasurer; the Earl of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Darby* and *Pembrook*; the Lord *Clinton* and *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *William Petree*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Richard Sackvile*, and Dr *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Most of these had comply'd with all the Changes that had been made backward and forward, since the latter end of King *Henry*'s Reign, and were so dexterous at it, that they were still employ'd in every new Revolution. To these, who were all Papists, the Queen added the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parr*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, which last she made Secretary of State, and soon after she sent for Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who were all of the Reform'd Religion. She renew'd all the Commissions to those formerly entrusted, and order'd that such as were imprison'd for Religion should be set at Liberty: Whereupon a Man that us'd to talk pleasantly to her, petition'd her in the behalf of some Prisoners that were not yet set at large: She ask'd who they were. He said they were *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John* that were still shut up, and that the People mightily long'd to see them abroad again: She answer'd him also pleasantly, That *she would first talk with themselves about it, and see whether they desir'd so much Liberty as he requested for them*

The first thing the Queen began with.

Now the two great things under Consultation, were Religion, and Peace; for the former, some were appointed to consider, how it was to be Reformed. *Beal.*

Clar

Clark of the Council, gave advice to *Cecil*, that the Parliaments under Queen *Mary* ſhould be declar'd void, the firſt being under a Force, and the Title of Supreme Head being left out of the Writ that ſummon'd the other, before it was taken away by Law; and therefore the Laws of King *Edward* were ſtill in force; but this was thought too violent a way of proceeding, ſince annuling of Parliaments upon little Errors in Writs, was a Precedent of that conſequence that it would unhinge the whole Conſtitution, and therefore more moderate Courſes were thought upon. The Queen, from her Infancy, had been bred up in Abhorrence of Popery, and in a ſincere Love of the Reformation: But yet as her firſt Impreſſions in her Father's Reign were in favour of ſuch old Rites as he had ſtill retain'd, ſo, in her own Nature, ſhe lov'd State and ſome Magnificence in Religion, as well as in every thing elſe. She thought that in her Brother's Reign they had ſtript it too much of External Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in ſome points; and therefore ſhe intended to have ſome Things explain'd in more general Terms that might invite all to cloſe with them, and none be kept off by too nice an Interpretation of controverted Points. The next thing ſhe had to do, was, to ballance the Dangers that threatned her from abroad and at home. The *Pope* would certainly excommunicate and depoſe her, and ſtir up all Chriſtian Princes againſt her. The *French* King would lay hold of any Opportunity to embroil the Nation, and by the Aſſiſtance of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, might perhaps raiſe Troubles in her Dominions. Thoſe that were in Power in Queen *Mary*'s days, and remain'd firm to the Old Superſtition, would be diſcontented at the Reformation of Religion, the Biſhops and Clergy would generally oppoſe it, and raiſe Seditions among the People on that pretence. To remedy all theſe, it was propoſed, to make Peace with *France*, and to cheriſh thoſe in that Kingdom that deſired the Reformation, and for thoſe that had bore Rule in Queen *Mary*'s days, their Authority and Credit were to be leſſened upon pretence of Danger in truſting them; but thoſe who were known to be well affected to Religion and the Queen's Perſon, were to be ſought out and encouraged. Great care was to be taken of the Univerſities and other Publick Schools, as *Eaton* and *Wincheſter*, that the next Generation might be ſeaſoned with an early Knowledge and Love of

A. D. 1556.

Dangers from abroad and at home.

A. D. 1558. Religion. Some learned Men, as *Bill*, *Parker*, *May*, *Cox*, *Whitehead*, *Grindal*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, were to be ordered to meet, and to consider of the Service Book. In the mean while the People were to be restrained from Innovating without Authority: And the Queen, to give some hopes of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be giveu in both kinds. The Persons that were thought fit to be trusted with the Secret of these Consultations, were the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Grey*. The place that was thought convenient for the Divines to meet in, was Sir *Thomas Smith*'s House in *Cannon Row*, where an Allowance was to be given for their Entertainment.

The Service Book reviewed, and by whom.

As soon as the News of the Queen's coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, those that fled for Shelter return'd into *England*, and those that absconded, during the late Persecution, appeard now, with no small Assurance: And hearing of the Queen's Intentions could not contain themselves, but in many places began to make Alterations; to set up King *Edward*'s Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Popish Priests. Upon this, the Queen, to make some discovery of her own Inclinations, gave Order that the Gospels and Epistles, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany, should be all used in *English*, and forbid the Priest to elevate the Host at Mass. Having done this, on the 27th of *December*, she issued out a Proclamation against all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to use no other Form of Worship, than those which were used in her Chappel, till it should be otherwise appointed by the Parliament, which she summoned to meet on the 23d of *January*. The Writs were issued out by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, to whom she had deliver'd the Broad Seal. On the 5th of *December* she perform'd her Sister's Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at *Westminster*. The Bishop of *Winchester* being appointed to preach, so extolled her and her Government, and so severely charged the Innovators, not without Reflections on the Queen, that he was confined to his House, till the meeting of the Parliament.

Queen Mary's *Funeral.*

1559. In the begining of the Year, 1559, the Queen anew created *William Parr* Marquis of *Northampton*, who lost it by being attainted of Treason in Queen *Mary*'s time.

Edward

Edward Seymour, who by the malice of his Enemies had loſt his Inheritance and his Father's Honours, ſhe made *Baron Beauchamp*, and Earl of *Hertford*; *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son of *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, ſhe made Viſcount *Howard* of *Bindon*; and to *Henry Cary* of *Hunſden*, her Couſin *German* by *Mary Bolein*, and *Oliver* St. *John* of *Bletſo*, ſhe gave the Title of Barons, all which were averſe to the *Popiſh* Religion. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* was by Patent made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, which before had no Dignity belonging to that Office, nor heard Cauſes, nor ſat in Parliament; and *Bacon* was the firſt Lord Keeper that had all the Dignity and Authority of the Lord Chancellor confer'd on him. He was one of the moſt Learned, moſt Pious, and wiſeſt Men of the Nation; Father to the Great Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viſcount St. *Albans*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, who will be always eſteemed one of the greateſt Glories of the *Engliſh* Nation. A. D. 1559. *The firſt Lord Keeper.*

The Queen was now to be Crowned, and having gone on the Twelfth of *January* to the *Tower*, ſhe return'd from thence in State on the Thirteenth. As ſhe went into her Chariot, ſhe lifted up her Eyes to Heaven and *Bleſſed God that had preſerved her to ſee that Joyful Day, and that had ſaved her as he did his Prophet* Daniel, *out of the Mouth of Lyons. She acknowledged her Deliverance was only from him, to whom ſhe offered up the Praiſe of it.* She paſſed through *London* in great Triumph: And having obſerv'd that her Siſter, by the Sullenneſs of her Behaviour to the People loſt much of their Affections; therefore ſhe always uſed, as ſhe paſſed thro' the Crowds, but more eſpecially this Day, to look out of her Coach with a chearful Countenance upon them, and to return the Reſpects they paid her, with great Sweetneſs in her Looks, commonly ſaying, *God bleſs you my People*, which much affected them. But nothing pleaſed the City more, than her Behaviour as ſhe went under one of the *Triumphant Arches*. There was a Rich Bible let down to her as from Heaven, by a Child repreſenting *Truth*. She with great Reverence kiſſed both her Hands, and receiving the *Bible*, *kiſs'd it, and laid it next her Heart*, and profeſſed ſhe was better pleaſed with that Preſent, than all the other Magnificent ones that had been made that Day by the City, which drew Tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes. The day following ſhe was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, by *Oglethrop* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, all the other

A. D. 1559.

ther Biſhops refuſing to aſſiſt at that Solemnity, becauſe they thought ſhe was not of the *Popiſh* Religion.

The Queen's Coronation

On the 25th of *January*, the Parliament was open'd with a long Speech by the Lord *Bacon*, in which he ſhewed them the diſtracted State of the Nation, both in matters of Religion, and other Miſeries, that the Wars and late Calamities had brought upon them. All which he recommended to their Care. For Religion, the Queen deſired they would conſider of it, without Heat or Partial Affection, or uſing any reproachful Term of Papiſt or Heretick, and that they would avoid the Extremes of Idolatry and Superſtition on the one Hand, and Contempt and Irreligion on the other; and ſo ſettle things as might bring the People to an Uniformity and cordial Agreement in them. And for the State of the Nation, and what Supplies were wanting, the Queen left it wholly to them, adding in her Name, that ſhe would deſire no Aid but what they did freely and chearfully offer.

But leaving the Conſultations at *Weſtminſter*, let us go to the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray*. The great Obſtacle was the ſurrendring *Calais* to the *Engliſh*, which the *French* poſitively refuſed. For a conſiderable time *Philip* demanded it with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he would make Peace on no other Terms, ſince he was obliged, in Honour, to ſee the *Engliſh* reſtor'd to the Condition they were in, before they engaged in his Quarrel; but when he ſaw there was no hopes of a Marriage with the Queen, and underſtood ſhe was making Alterations in Religion, he grew leſs careful of her Intereſts, and ſecretly concluded a Peace with the *French*. But that he might have ſome Colour for deſerting her, he told her Ambaſſadors, that the *French* had offer'd him full Satisfactions in all his own Concerns, and the Peace was only obſtructed upon the Conſideration of *Calais*; and therefore unleſs the *Engliſh* would enter into a League with him, for keeping up the War ſix Years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his Affairs. The Queen perceiving that ſhe muſt expect no more Aſſiſtance from the *Spaniard*, who was ſo wedded to the old Superſtition, that he could enter into no ſtrict League with any whom he accounted Hereticks, and that ſhe was not able to carry on the War alone, ſhe was willing to hearken to the Meſſages that were ſent her from *France* by the Conſtable, and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace: And after ſeveral Debates in the Council on this Subject,

Philip deſerts the Queen's Intereſt.

it

it was resolved on, to make a General Peace, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might, with the less Danger, apply themselves to correct what was amiss in *England*, both in Religion and the Civil Government. So a Peace was concluded, that there should be free Commerce between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*; that the *French* should keep *Calais* for eight Years, and at the end of that Term should deliver it up to the *English*, or pay 50000 Crowns; for which they should give good Security by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and Hostages till the Security was given. Many found themselves disturb'd at this Agreement. The Reformed imputed the loss of *Calais* to the *Papists*, and moved that all the late Queen's Council might be question'd for their Misgovernment in that particular: They, on the other hand, cast the Blame of it upon the Lord *Wentworth* that was Governour of *Calais*, and now one of the Reformed; but he put himself on a Tryal by his Peers, which he underwent the 22d of *April*, and clear'd himself so effectually, that all his Peers acquited him. A. D. 1559. *Peace with* France *and* Scotland.

The Queen's Government being thus quieted abroad, she was at more leisure to transact Affairs at home. The first Bill that was put into the House of Lords, to try their Affections and Dispositions to a Change in matters of Religion, was for the Restitution of the Tenths, First-fruits, and other Duties belonging to the Crown, and that being granted, the Lower House Address the Queen, "To marry, that she might leave "Children, which might be the Glory and Strength "of the Kingdom, to which the Queen made Answer, "That she gave them Thanks for the Expressions of "their Good Will towards her, but did not think it "expedient, now she had taken the Government of "the Kingdom upon her, to encumber her self with the "Cares of Marriage, and therefore to satisfy them fur-"ther in this particular, she said, She had already join'd "herself to a Husband, namely, the Kingdom of *Eng-*"*land*, and behold, said she, Here is the Pledge of my "Marriage; *and thereupon drew the Ring from her Finger* "*and shewed it, wherewith she had at her Coronation, in a* "*set Form of Words, solemnly given her self in Marriage* "*to the Kingdom. And here having made a little pause,* "*she said*, And do not upbraid me with the miserable "want of Children, for every one of you, and as ma-ny *The Commons Address, and the Queens Answer.*

A. D. 1559. "ny as are true *Engliſhmen*, are my Children and Kinſ-
"men, of whom if God deprive me not (which God
"forbid) I cannot be reproached with Barrenneſs.
"However I commend you, that you have not appointed
"me a Husband; for that had been unworthy the Ma-
"jeſty of an abſolute Princeſs, and unbeſeeming your
"Wiſdom, that are born Subjects. Nevertheleſs, If
"it pleaſe God that I change my Condition, I will do
"nothing that ſhall be prejudicial to the Common
"Wealth, but will take ſuch a Husband, as near as I
"can, that ſhall take as great Care of the Kingdom as
"I will do my ſelf; but if I continue in my preſent
"State, I doubt not but God will ſo direct mine and
"your Counſels, that you ſhall not want a Succeſſor,
"which may be more beneficial to the Publick, than
"one born of my Body; for often times the Off-ſpring
"of the beſt Princes degenerate from the Virtue of
"their Anceſtors. And, in reſpect of my ſelf, it will
"be an entire Satisfaction, if when I have breathed my
"laſt, it be graven on my Marble Tomb,

Here lieth Elizabeth, *that Reigned and Dyed a Virgin.*

The Reformation advanced. The Parliament being Diſſolved, the *Holy Scriptures*, and the *Liturgy* were forthwith read in Churches, in the *Engliſh* Tongue; *Images* were removed without Noiſe or Tumult; the Oath of Supremacy was offered to the *Popiſh* Biſhops, and as many as refuſed to take it, were deprived of their Eccleſiaſtical Promotions; and the moſt Religious and Learned Proteſtants that could be found, were put into their Places. Thus was Religion changed in *England* without any Commotion, it being done by degrees, and not over raſhly; for the *Romiſh* Religion continu'd a full Month in this Reign, in the ſame State it was in at the death of Queen *Mary*. By this Alteration and ſhaking off the *Popiſh* Yoke, *England* became the Freeſt Kingdom in *Europe*, and more wealthy than in former Ages, a great Maſs of Money being kept at home, which was wont to be tranſported to *Rome* for Firſt-Fruits, Pardons, Appeals, Diſpenſations, Palls, and ſuch kind of Trumpery; which incredibly exhauſted the Treaſure of the Kingdom. And that the Queen might preſerve the Nation in this new acquir'd Happineſs, ſhe would ſuffer no Innovations, and held a conſtant and uniform Courſe in her whole Life and Actions

Actions, agreeable to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, *Always the ſame*. A. D. 1559.

About this time, the Emperor and other *Romiſh* Princes interceded with the Queen that the *Popiſh* Biſhops might be calmly treated, and have Churches allowed them to celebrate Maſs in; to whom ſhe made anſwer, That tho' the *Popiſh* Biſhops behaved themſelves inſolently towards her and the Laws, and rejected the Doctrine they had taught themſelves under the Reigns of *Henry* VIII, and *Edward* VI; yet for the ſakes of ſuch great Princes, ſhe would deal favourably with them; but without Injury to her Honour and Conſcience, ſhe could not allow them Churches to themſelves, for that were to cheriſh Factions and diſtract the People; for which there was no Reaſon, ſince *England* embraced no new and ſtrange Doctrine, but the ſame which Chriſt commanded, the Primitive Catholick Church received, and all the Antient Fathers with one voice had approved. *The Emperor's Requeſt.*

The *Spaniard* having now caſt off all hopes of a Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, he perſwaded his Uncle *Ferdinand*, the Emperor, to recommend his Son *Charles* to Queen *Elizabeth* for a Husband, for fear there might be an Alliance made between the two Crowns of *England* and *France* to his Prejudice. *France* on the other ſide, in favour of his Son the Dauphin, and *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, inſtead of withdrawing his Forces out of *Scotland*, according to his Promiſe, reinforces them with greater Numbers, ſollicites the *Pope* to pronounce the Queen Illegitimate and a Heretick, and declare *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, to be the lawful Queen of *England*. So that Queen *Elizabeth* could not but ſuſpect the Proceedings of the *French* King, who breath'd nothing but Blood and Slaughter againſt Proteſtants; but Heaven cut him off by a ſudden Death in Tilting, to the great Advantage and Quiet of *England*, which he was preparing to inſult both from *France* and *Scotland*. However *Francis* his Succeſſor, and the Queen of *Scots* his Wife, by the Advice of the *Guiſes*, who now, in a manner, bore all the Sway in *France*, call'd themſelves King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, quartered the Queen's Arms with their own; and tho' afterward, upon better Adviee, they left them out, yet this laid the Foundation of thoſe Differences between the two Queens, that could not be extinguiſh'd but by Death. Henry the French King killed.

Now

A. D. 1559. Now the Profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion in *Scotland*, who had given themſelves the Name of the Congregation, being perſwaded by *Knox*, and other importunate Miniſters, to refuſe Obedience to the Regent, the Queen's Mother, had chang'd their Religion, and tumultuouſly ranſack'd and burned many Religious Places, they began to complain to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *William Maitland*, Lord Secretary, that ever ſince the Queen of *Scots* was marry'd to the Dauphin, the Government of the Kingdom was chang'd; Foreign Soldiers tyranniz'd over the natural born Subjects; the higheſt Offices and ſtrongeſt Holds and Caſtles in the Kingdom, were put into the Hands of *French* Men, and gave them opportunity to ſeize the Kingdom, if any Misfortune ſhould attend the Queen. Theſe things were a while but ſlowly deliberated in *England*, becauſe it was of ill Example to protect Rebellious Subjects againſt their Prince; but when the Queen and Council ſaw that *France* was preparing to War with *England*, under pretence of ſubduing a few Seditious *Scots*, and conſidered that it was diſhonourable to abandon thoſe of the ſame Religion to the Cruelty of their *Popiſh* Enemies, and that *France* had always been either a private, or an open Enemy to the Proſperity of *England*, it was at laſt reſolved, that it was Juſt, Honeſt, and abſolutely Neceſſary, to drive the *French* immediately out of *Scotland*. Hereupon *William Winter*, Maſter of the Naval Stores, was ſent with a Fleet into *Bodotria*, now call'd *Edinborough Frith*, who did great Service againſt the *French* Ships that lay upon the Coaſts. Soon after the Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lieutenant General of the North Parts towards *Scotland*: *William*, Lord *Grey*, was made Warden of the Middle and Eaſt Marches, and *Thomas*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was ſent again Deputy into *Ireland*, to keep the *Iriſh*, being a rude and Superſtitious People, from Rebelling upon pretence of Religion. While theſe Affairs were ſettling, *Francis Tabbot*, a great Counſellor, departed this Life, being the firſt Earl of *Shrewsbury* of that Family, leaving his only Son *George*, by *Mary*, Daughter of *Thomas*, Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, his Succeſſor.

The Scots revolt.

1560.

The French deſign upon England.

No ſooner was the Duke of *Norfolk* arriv'd at *Berwick*, but he was preſently attended by *James* the Baſtard, Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Baron of *Rethuen*, and others, who in the Name of the Duke of *Caſtle Herauld*, and the Confederates, make a League, Offenſive and Defen-

Defenſive with him, in the Name of the Queen of *England*; which was no ſooner concluded, but by divers Meſſages from Foreign Princes, and intercepted Letters, it was certainly known that the *French* would invade *England*. And *Sabaſtian Martigues*, of the Houſe of *Luxemburg*, who was ſent into *France* with a Thouſand choice Foot, was ſo hot upon that deſign, that the Wiſe Council of the Queen Regent could hardly reſtrain him from the Enterprize; but that *French* Heat was ſoon cool'd, when he heard of the Marquis of *Elboeuf*, who was ſailing towards *Scotland* with great Forces, having ſtrove with the Violence of a Tempeſt, upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, was with the loſs of ſome of his Ships, driven back to *Diepe*, from whence he had put to Sea. A. D. 1560.

Several Embaſſies and Terms of Accommodation being propounded between the two Crowns of *England* and *France*, and taking no effect, the *Engliſh* Army conſiſting of 1200 Horſe and 6000 Foot, approached near *Leith*, which the *French* had fortified for a Refuge and Receptacle for their Auxiliary Forces, and *Martigues* drawing out his Companies of Foot, charged the *Engliſh* that firſt appeared, to keep them from a Hill where he ſuppos'd they would intrench; but after ſkirmiſhing four Hours, he was driven back into the Town, and ſtraitly beſieged. Much Courage and Bravery was ſhew'd on both ſides, with various Succeſſes, till the *French* King being inform'd that his Forces were ſo cooped up in *Leith*, and all Paſſages ſtopt by Sea and Land, that there was no relieving them, and that Seditions multiply'd at home, he gave Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Valence* to compound the matter with Queen *Elizabeth*'s Commiſſion, who ſent *William Cecil*, and *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*, preſently into *Scotland*: For the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, undervalued their Royal Dignity, in accepting Terms from their own Subjects, where *Murray* propounded ſuch inſolent Demands as *Cecil* ſaid were unfit to be made by Subjects, or to be granted by Princes. During this Treaty, dy'd *Mary* of *Lorrain*, Mother to the Queen of *Scots*, and Regent of the Kingdom, a Prudent and Virtuous Princeſs, who had been baſely treated with reproachful Language, by their unmannerly hot-headed Preachers. This Peace was ſoon concluded and publiſh'd to the general Satisfaction of all Men,

Leith beſieged by the Engliſh.

The Queen Regent dyeth.

A. D. 1560. Men, for they were all weary of the War; the *English* of spoiling the Country, the *French* for want of Victuals, and the *Scotch* for want of Pay; and was accounted a happy Peace for *Brittain*, wherein *Scotland* kept her antient Liberty, *England* preserved its Dignity and Security from the Attempts of *Scotland*, and the Queen had the Thanks of her own Subjects and all the *Scotch* Protestants.

Queens several Suitors.

The Queen out of Affection to her Country, was so employ'd for the Publick Good, that she seem'd wholly regardless of the Love of Potent Princes that solliciting her in Marriage, for at this time she had several Suitors, *viz.* *Charles*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, beforemention'd, by the Mediation of the Count of *Elphenstein*. *James*, Duke of *Arran*, recommended by the Protestants of *Scotland*, in order to a Union of both Nations: *Errick*, King of *Swedeland*, by the Mediation of his Brother, *John*, Duke of *Findland*, who promised himself Success in his Amours, because he and the Queen were both of the same Religion; but they all, tho' kindly received, had the same Answer, *That she could not yet perswade her self to change her single Life, to enter into a State of Marriage.* At home there were also some that pleased themselves with the hopes of Marrying her, namely, Sir *William Pickering*, a Man that had some Noble Blood in his Veins, but of a small Estate, tho' he had acquir'd Honour by his Studies, and Embassies in *France* and *Germany*: *Henry*, Earl of *Arundel*, a Person of very antient Nobility, but declining in years; and *Robert Dudley*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s youngest Son, who was restored in Blood by Queen *Mary*; a Man in the Prime of his Age, and of Comely Features, and a well proportion'd Body; but none of them could perswade her to change her Condition, tho' upon the latter she bestow'd very great Honour.

The King of Spain is angry.

About this time the Lord Viscount *Mountacute*, the Queen's Ambassador in *Spain*, endeavour'd to perswade that King to renew the League of *Burgundy*, but tho' he oppos'd the Practices of the *French* against the Queen in the Court of *Rome*, yet he would not renew the League, but instead of it, deliver'd the Ensigns of the Order of St *George* into the Viscount's Hands, which was a plain Indication that he renounc'd all Friendship with *England*, and that the Queen must expect Trouble from him. The Count of *Feria* also blew the Coals,

Coals, and dealt with *Pope Pius* IV. to excommunicate her; but he, upon what pretence is not known, sent *Vicentio Parpalo*, Abbot of St *Stephens*, with a flattering Letter to her, with large Promises of what he would do, if the Queen would but join her self to the *Romish* Church, which she utterly refus'd. Now the time was come for the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edinborough*, which when Queen *Elizabeth* had confirmed by Solemn Oath, and sent it over to the King and Queen of *France*, that they also, according to Agreement, might raitify it: *Throgmorton* the Lieger Ambassador in *France* by no means could perswade them to it, but while this Affair was transacting, *Francis* the Second, King of *France*, died before he was Eighteen Years of Age, leaving the Queen of *Scots* a Widow, to the Grief of the Papists and Joy of the Protestants. This Accident being an additional Security to the Queen of *England*, gave her leisure to set forth a Proclamation to banish the *Anabaptists*, and another to restrain the *Sacrilegious* Persons from demolishing antient Tombs, and defacing the Epitaphs and Coat Armours of Noble Families, and other Monuments of venerable Antiquity, which remain'd in Churches since *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. which the Rabble were accustom'd to pull down, under pretence of abolishing Superstition.

A. D. 1556.

The French King dyeth.

The *Abbey* of *Westminster* she also, at this time, converted into a Collegiate Church for the Service of God, endowed it with a Maintenance for a Dean and twelve Prebendaries, a School-Master and Usher, Forty Scholars (call'd the Queen's Schollars, whereof six or more are yearly preferred to the Universities) Ministers, Singing-men, and Twelve Alms Men. The erecting this School was a pious and noble Design, and has answer'd the Founder's End in producing many Learned Men for the Service of the Church and State. After this she began by little and little to restore the Current Coin of *England* to its just Purity and Value, which had been debased by *Henry* VIII; and to her Glory only was it ascrib'd, that there was no purer Money in *England* than had been in two hundred Years before, or was elsewhere in any other part of *Europe*; for King *Edward* VI. could not, and Queen *Mary* durst not, attempt to regulate the Coin.

Westminster-Abby made a Collegiate Church.

The Widow Queen of *Scots* still refusing to confirm the Treaty of *Edinborough*, gave the Queen of *England* Suspicion

The Queen of Scots Expostulation.

A. D. 1560. Suſpicion that ſhe intended no good to her Dominions, and therefore deny'd her a free Paſſage from *France* into *Scotland*, and aſſign'd this as the Reaſon of it: At which the Queen of *Scots* being diſturbed, ſhe ſent for *Throgmorton*, and deſir'd him to acquaint her with the Reaſon of the Queen of *England*'s Diſpleaſure to her, whom, ſays ſhe, I have never injured by Word or Deed. To which *Throgmorton* anſwer'd, laying aſide the 1561. Character of an Ambaſſador, I will tell you: "As "ſoon as the Queen, my Miſtreſs, was Crowned, you "Uſurp'd the Arms and Title of the Kingdom of "*England*, which you did not in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, "and whether a greater Injury can be done to a Prince, "I leave your Wiſdom to determine? The Queen of "*Scots* argued, that her Husband's Father and her "Husband himſelf commanded it ſhould be ſo, but "ſince their Deaths ſhe had neither quartered the "Arms nor uſed the Title; but all this would not ſa-tisfy Queen *Elizabeth*, but ſhe would uſe them again, unleſs by confirming the Treaty, and obliging her Conſcience by a ſolemn Oath, ſhe gave her cauſe to believe it.

In the mean time the Queen of *Scots* making uſe of an Opportunity, ſet ſail from *Calais*, and, paſſing by the *Engliſh* Fleet in a Fog, arriv'd ſafe in *Scotland*, where ſhe treated her Subjects with all Gentleneſs, and made no Alteration in Religion, tho' it was introduc'd tumultuouſly. To Queen *Elizabeth* ſhe ſent Letters by *Liddington*, where ſhe expreſſed an earneſt Deſire for the Continuance of Peace between them, for which ſhe ſaid there was no ſurer Expedient, than that Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould, by Authority of Parliament, declare her Heir apparent to the Crown, in caſe ſhe died without Iſſue.

Her Letter to Queen Elizabeth *and her Anſwer.*

This demand ſeemed ſtrange to Queen *Elizabeth*, who expected the Confirmation of the Treaty. However, ſhe made her Anſwer, "That ſhe hop'd ſhe would "not wreſt the Scepter from her and her Children, if "ſhe ſhould have any, tho' ſhe had already uſurp'd the "Arms, for which ſhe ought to make Satisfaction. As to "declaring her Succeſſor, ſhe look'd upon it as unreaſo-"nable and dangerous, ſince it would prompt unſta-"ble and mercenary People to adore the Riſing Sun, "and forſake the Setting, and that deſigned Succeſ-"ſors were not always able to confine their own, and "the wicked Hopes of others, within the Bounds of

"Juſtice

" Juſtice and Reaſon; ſo that if ſhe ſhould confirm " her in the Succeſſion, ſhe ſhould quite cut off her " own Security, prepare her Winding Sheet with her " own Hands, and dig her own Grave while ſhe liv'd " and beheld it. A. D. 1561.

France all this while pretended Friendſhip with *England*, yet took our Merchant's Ships, made them Prizes, and covertly at *Rome* ſollicited an Excommunication to be thunder'd out againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; but Pope *Sixtus* V. thought it more adviſable to treat her mildly, and therefore ſent the Abbot *Martinego* into *England* with Letters to her, full of Reſpect and Kindneſs; but the Council of *England* would not give him Admitance, there being a Law to the contrary, and ſo the Nuncio return'd. Now this Prudent and Provident Queen, having, in a good meaſure, ſettled the Affairs of the Church, ſhe made Proviſion for the Defence of the State, and begun to furniſh her Armory with Proviſions for War. She caſt many great Guns of Braſs and Iron, and, as if Providence had favour'd her deſign, a rich Vein of pure and native Braſs, was diſcover'd near *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, and the Stone call'd *Lapis Calaminaris*, neceſſary for Braſs Works, was now firſt found in *England*, and that in great abundance; and that ſhe might not be obliged to pray and pay her Neighbours, or be ſtinted by them, ſhe was the firſt that procured Gun-powder to be made in *England*. Her Majeſty increaſed the Number of her Soldiers, and made an Addition to their pay. She provided a good Fleet of Ships, and increaſed the Seamen's Wages, and all the Nobility, Gentry and Yeomanry, imitating her Example, furniſh'd themſelves with Arms and Ammunition, and all things concur'd to make the Kingdom happy.

No Admitance to the Pope's Nuncio.

In the midſt of theſe Cares happened a ſad Accident; the beautiful Spire of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, which was 520 Foot from the Ground, and 260 from the ſquare Steeple on which it ſtood, being framed of Timber, and covered with Lead, was fired by the Plumber, who, on his Death-bed, confeſſed that it happened thro' his careleſsneſs in having a Pan of Coals in the Steeple, and it having been Thunder and Lightning the ſame day, he boldly charged it upon the Heavens; which Report went current till his death, and the Papiſts, in this Reign, in their Writings, charged this as a Judgment upon the Refor-

The Spire of S. Pauls Steeple burnt.

A. D. 1561. mers of the Church in having been polluted by a falſe Worſhip. The Fire was ſo violent, that in five hours time it quite conſumed it, and all the Roof of the Church, but the Arches, remained whole. This great Loſs was ſoon repaired by the Queen's Bounty, and the Church-men's and others Charity, who re-edified the Roof and Tower, but the Spire was wanting.

1562. Now were great Commotions in *France*, between the Princes of the Blood, and the *Guiſes*, and both made a Cloak of Religion for the ſtrengthning of their Party; and Queen *Elizabeth*, being in fear leſt *England* ſhould be involved in that War, ſent Sir *Henry Sidney* to perſwade the Chiefs of both Factions to a Peace; but the matter was now grown to that extremity, that neither Party would hearken to an Accommodation, and therefore lying under a Neceſſity to declare for one ſide, ſhe made a League with the Proteſtants of *France*, to aſſiſt them againſt the Tyranny of the *Guiſes*, who began to practiſe barbarous Cruelties againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion, to deprive her of her Right and Title to *Calais*, and had ſeized upon the Harbours and Ports in *Normandy*, that they might invade *England* at their pleaſure. Wherefore in *September* 1562, ſhe ſent into *France* one part of the *Engliſh* Army under the Command of Sir *Adrian Poningſ*, who were joyfully received by the Inhabitants of *Diepe*; and the Earl of *Warwick* coming ſomewhat later to *New-Haven*, they made ſome Excurſions into the Country, and the *Engliſh* Fleet brought in many rich Prizes, which they took out of the Harbours thereabouts. Now *Shan O Neal* came out of *Ireland*, and throwing himſelf at the Queen's Feet, humbly beged Pardon for rebelling againſt her Authority, and having obtain'd it, was ſent home again with Honour, and for a while performed ſtout and faithful Service againſt the *Hebridian* Rovers.

A League with the French *Proteſtants.*

1563. In *January* following, a Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, who, in conſideration that the Queen had reform'd Religion, reſtor'd Peace, freed *England* and *Scotland* from Foreign Enemies, refined the Money, renewed the Royal Navy, and made an Enterprize upon *France* for the Recovery of *Calais*, they granted her one Subſidy and two Fifteenths and Tenths, as an Expreſſion of their Gratitude for the Care ſhe took of *England*. The Queen, in the mean time, acquainted the King of *Spain* by *Chaloner*, her Ambaſſador, that ſhe only

A grateful Parliament.

only held *New-Haven* till *Calais* was delivered to her, and he answered, if *Calais* were all she desir'd, he wish- A. D. 1563.
ed it with all his heart; but If the War was under-taken for Religion, he could not be unconcerned, and from thence forward carry'd himself like an Enemy. The *French* Hostages, who were sent into *England*, to secure the Payment of 500000 Crowns, and the Restoration of *Calais*, seeing all things tending to War, attempted to make their Escape; but were taken and commited to Custody. And now the wavering *French* Protestants, seeing the *English* in possession of *New-Haven*, unanimously protest, unless they would abandon it, they would joyn with the Papists to force them out of it, which compelled the Earl of *Warwick*, for his own Security, to put all the *French*, as well Protestants as Papists, out of *New-Haven*, which so enraged them, that they lay close Siege to it, and the Pestilence sweeping away the Garrison Soldiers, and Two hundred being cast away by Sea, that were sent to relieve them, the *English* were forc'd to capitulate, and at length to surrender the Town to the *French*, after they had held it eleven Months. The Recovery of this little Town caused great joy among the *French*, who made their Brags that the *English* were driven out of *France*, by the help of the same Protestants that call'd them in, and now had forfeited their Claim to *Calais*. The Soldiers that were brought back into *England* sick of the Plague, dispersed the Contagion through the whole Realm, insomuch, that in *London* only there died of that Disease 21530. New-Haven *surrendered.*

The Queen of *Scots*, during the Civil War in *France*, being unkindly treated by the *French*, she apply'd to 1564.
the Queen of *England*, who recommended *Robert Dudley* to her for an Husband, promising if she would marry him, she should by Authority of the Parliament be declared her Sister or Daughter and Heir of *England*, in case she died without Issue; but the Subtilty of the *French* prevented it

France having recovered Peace at Home, and the Queen being neglected by the ungrateful *French* Protestants, resolved no longer to take care of other Men's Estates, to the hazard of her own, and therefore betook her self to thoughts of Peace, and accomplished it in a short time. The *French* received it joyfully, both Princes confirmed it by their respective Oaths, and the Lord *Hunsdon* invested the *French* King with the Order of the Garter.

A. D. 1564. In *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*, the *Engliſh* Merchants were now unkindly treated, by prohibiting *Engliſh* Cloth from being tranſporting into *Spain* and *Flanders*; the Pretence they made uſe of, was, becauſe the Plague had been lately in *England*, but indeed was a Deſign of the Cardinal *Granville*, to rob the *Engliſh* of that beneficial Trade, and to ſet up that Manufacture in the *Netherlands*; which the *Engliſh* Factory reſenting, they removed their Mart or Staple of Cloth to *Embden*, upon the River *Ems*, in *Frieſland*; and on the other ſide the Governours of the *Low Countries*, by an Edict, forbid their People from Trading with the *Engliſh* at *Embden*, or elſewhece, or to bring any Merchandiſe bought of them into the *Netherlands*, under the penalty of Confiſcation: But *Guſman*, who better underſtood the Intereſt of both Countries, compounded the matter, and reſtor'd the Trade between the two Nations. Theſe matters being adjuſted, the Queen took a Progreſs into the Country, and viſiting the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, was entertain'd by the Students with Comedies, Tragedies and Scholaſtical Diſputations to her great ſatisfaction, and after ſhe had view'd every Colledge, in a *Latin* Oration, acknowledg'd their Reſpect and Duty to her; exhorted them to perſevere in the Propagation of good Literature, and promis'd them her Royal Protection and Encouragement.

The Queen's Progreſs.

At her Return, ſhe created *Robert Dudley*, whom ſhe deſigned a Husband for the Queen of *Scots*, Baron of *Denby*, and Earl of *Leiceſter*, and he employ'd all poſſible Endeavours to ingratiate himſelf into the good Opinion of that Queen; but, ſhe to prevent that Match, ſent for *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, out of *England* into *Scotland*, from whence he had been baniſh'd many years. For his Son being a young Man, of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*, and grateful to the *Engliſh*, ſhe thought he might be acceptable to both Nations. The Queen of *England* having notice of this Deſign, endeavour'd to prevent it, by aſſuring the Queen of *Scots* that ſuch a Marriage would be generally diſapprov'd by the *Engliſh*, and therefore again recommended *Leiceſter* to her for a Husband, whom, for that end, ſhe had raiſed to the Honour of an Earl. Commiſſioners being appointed to treat of this mater, and coming to no concluſion, the Lord *Darnly*, with the Queen's leave, goes into *Scotland*, to congratulate his Father, upon his Reſtitution to his Honour and Eſtate. He was a Gentle-

A Marriage propounded.

1565. ma

man of a comely Aſpect, and a ſweet Diſpoſition, and the Queen of *Scots* no ſooner ſaw him, but ſhe fell in Love with him, and deſires the Queen of *England*'s conſent to marry him. Queen *Elizabeth* adviſing with her Council upon this Affair, ſent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to remind her, that a haſty Marriage was always attended with repentance, and again recommended the Earl of *Leiceſter* to her; but the Queen of *Scots* anſwered, that the matter was gone too far to be recall'd, and that Queen *Elizabeth* had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed, ſince the Lord *Darnly* was an *Engliſh* Man, of the Blood Royal of both Kingdoms, and one of the nobleſt and beſt accompliſh'd Man in all *Britain*. The Queen of *England*, to throw an Obſtruction in the way, commandeth *Lenox* and the Lord *Darnly* to return into *England*. The Father modeſtly excuſes himſelf by Letters, and the Son begs the Queen not to be an Enemy to his Preferment, and profeſſes himſelf to be a paſſionate Lover of the Queen of *Scots*; and ſhe, to requite his Love, ſoon after honour'd him with the Dignity of Knighthood, and with the Title of Baron of *Armanack*, Earl of *Roſs*, and Duke of *Rothſay*, and the fifth Month after he came into *Scotland*, with the Conſent of many of the *Scotch* Nobility, made him her Husband. A. D. 1565.

The Queen of Scots Marry'd.

The Queen of *England* having notice of it, carried her ſelf very temperately, and thoſe which ſought the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion and the Safety of *England*, made uſe of it to perſwade the Queen to marry, and very opportunely the Emperor *Maximilian* propounded Honourable Conditions of Marriage with his Brother *Charles*, by *Adam Smircorite*, his Ambaſſador. At which time (for what Cauſe is unknown, unleſs for this Marriage) there aroſe a great Quarrel in the Court between the Earl of *Suſſex*, who favour'd this Marriage, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who, in reſpect of his own hopes, privately oppoſed it; but the Queen reconciled them, and bury'd their Malice rather than extinguiſh'd it. Within a Month or two ſhe ſent *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Privy Chamber, to the Queeu of *Scots*, to expoſtulate with her about her haſty marrying one of her Subjects without her Conſent, and to put her in mind of keeping Peace between the two Crowns; and the Queen of *Sots*, tho' ſhe would not admit the Ambaſſador into her Preſence, yet by Letter promiſed, "That "neither ſhe nor her Husband would attempt any thing "prejudicial to the Queen of *England*, but would glad-

A. D. 1566. "ly contract ſuch a League with her, as might be be-
"neficial and honourable to both Kingdoms, provided
"the Queen would eſtabliſh the Succeſſion upon them.

Henry, Earl of *Arundel* one of the greateſt Peers in *England*, having in a vain hope of marrying the Queen, conſumed a great part of his Eſtate, and now finding his Expectations daſh'd by *Leiceſter*'s Intereſt over-powering him at Court, obtained leave to travel, and many other Perſons of Quality that hated Idleneſs, went to the Wars againſt the *Turks* in *Hungary*. In *June* 1566, the Queen of *Scots* was brought to Bed of her Son *James*, of which ſhe informed Queen *Elizabeth*, by *James Melvin*. The Queen, tho' ſhe was grieved that ſhe was prevented by her Rival, in the Honour of being a Mother, yet ſhe forthwith ſent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her Delivery, and the Birth of her Son; and then took her Progreſs into the Country, for her Recreation; And that ſhe might ſhew her ſelf as gracious to the Muſes at *Oxford*, as ſhe had done at *Cambridge*, went thither alſo, where being magnificently entertained, ſhe continued there Seven days, much delighted with the pleaſantneſs of the Place; the Beautifulneſs of the Colledges; the Wit and moſt exquiſite Learning of the Students, who ſpent a great part of the Nights in Comedies and Tragedies, and the Days in Learned Diſputations: For which ſhe gave them Thanks, in a Latin Oration, and with great Sweetneſs of Speech and Demonſtrations of Reſpect, left that Place, and returned to *London*.

King James Born.

A Parliament being now aſſembled, after they had paſſed a Bill or two, both Houſes fell very hotly upon the Succeſſion, and ſome more haſtily than wiſely, taxed the Queen with neglecting her Country and Poſterity; ſlandered *Cecil* with ſcandalous Libels, and curſed *Huic* her Phiſician, as Perſons that adviſed her to a ſingle Life. In the Lower Houſe things were carried more tumultuouſly by *Bell*, *Munſon*, *Dutton*, *Paul Wentworth* and others, who ſaid if the Queen would neither marry, nor nominate a Succeſſor, ſhe was not to be counted as a Nurſe or a Mother to her Country, but a Step Mother, nay, as a Parricide, who had rather that *England* ſhould expire with her than ſurvive her. That no Princes but Cowards, and ſuch as were hated by their own People, ſtood in fear of their Succeſſors.

The Queen's Marriage diſcourſed in Parliament.

All this Froth Queen *Elizabeth* was acquainted with, and either contemned or concealed it, but finding this

Heat

Heat rather encreaſe than abate, ſhe ſent for thirty Members of both Houſes to come before her, whom with gentle Reprehenſions, and promiſing not only the Care of a Prince, but the Affections of a Mother to her Country, ſhe qualified and reduced them to a more temperate Behaviour; and whereas the Parliament had offered far greater Subſidies than her Occaſions requir'd, upon condition that ſhe would nominate her Succeſſor, ſhe voluntarily refuſed that extraordinary Tender; accepted an ordinary Sum, and freely remited the fourth Payment of the Subſidy which they had granted her, ſaying, that Money in her Subjects Purſes, was as well as in her own. Thus a Woman's Wiſdom ſuppreſſed theſe Commotions, and Time ſo qualified the People, that none but the over timorous or ſedicious were troubled about a Succeſſor. Nevertheleſs, that her Mind might be known, ſhe commited *Thornton* to the *Tower* for calling the Queen of *Scots* undoubted Title into queſtion. A. D. 1566.

About the ſame time, the Day approaching for the Baptizing the Prince of *Scotland*, at whoſe Chriſtening the Queen of *England* being requeſted to be Godmother, ſhe ſent the Earl of *Bedford* with a Font of Gold for a Preſent, to perform that ſolemnity, and expreſly commanded that neither he, nor any *Engliſh* Men in his Company, ſhould give the Title of King to the Lord *Darnly*. The Earl alſo interceded with the Queen of *Scots* to accommodate the Domeſtick Jarrs that were raiſed between herſelf and her Husband. And now being ſick and weak, ſhe recommends her young Son to the Care and Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, promiſing that after this, ſhe would never urge any Declaration of her Title, but with all Love and Affection would eſpouſe her Intereſt againſt all the World. *The Prince of* Scotland *baptized.*

The Queen of *Scots*, alſo promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners to the Queen of *England*, to reform a League between them; but before their Arrival, and about two Months after the Prince was baptized, the King her Husband, to the deteſtation of all Men, in the Twenty firſt year of his Age, in the dead time of the Night, was ſtrangled in his Bed, and his Body thrown into an Orchard, and the Houſe blown up with Gun-powder. This barbarous Fact was charged upon *Morton Murray* and other Confederates, and they lay it upon the Queen; but the truth of the matter is, that *Murray*, the Queen's baſe Brother, and *Liddington* contriv'd it, and *Bothwell* being put in hopes by *Morton* and *Murray* of marrying 1567. *His Father murdered*

A. D. 1567.

the Queen, was the Perſon that murder'd the King, of which afterwards, by another Contrivance, he was acquited, and marry'd to the Queen; but not long after the ſame Confederates accuſe the Queen for murdering her Husband, and having ſeized her Perſon, cloathed her in vile Apparel, and thruſt her into Priſon at *Loth-Leven*, under the Cuſtody of *Murray*'s Mother, who having been *James* the Fifth's Concubine, inſulted over the afflicted Queen, and impudently told her, that ſhe was the lawful Wife of *James* the Fifth, and her Son *Murray*, his lawful Iſſue.

His Mother impriſoned.

As ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had Information of this cruel Uſage of the Queen, by a pack of perfidious Rebels, ſhe ſends Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland*, to expoſtulate with the Confederates about this inſolent and inhumane Treatment of the Queen, and to contrive ſome way to procure her Liberty, to puniſh the King's Murderers, and to ſend the young Prince for his Safety into *England*; but all the Arguments her Ambaſſador employed to thoſe purpoſes were wholly ineffectual: And at length by threatning the poor Queen with Death, they compelled her to ſet her hand to three Writings: The firſt was to reſign the Kingdom to her Son, who was ſcarce thirteen Months old. By the ſecond, ſhe conſtituted *Murray* to be Vice-Roy during his Minority, and by the third, if *Murray* ſhould refuſe the Charge, ſhe named eight other Governours, and forthwith ſignified all this to the Queen of *England* by *Throgmorton*, who had told her, that all Acts done in Priſon were of no effect.

King James Crowned.

Five Days after the Queen's Reſignation, *James* the Queen's young Son was Anointed and Crowned King, *Knox* preaching the Coronation Sermon. Fifteen days after, *Murray* returns out of *France* into *Scotland*, takes upon him the Regency, puts ſome of *Bothwell*'s Servants, which aſſiſted at the murdering the King, to Death; and they (which he little expected) proteſted at the Gallows, before God and his Holy Angels, that they underſtood from *Bothwell*, that *Murray* and *Morton* were the Authors of it, as *Bothwell* himſelf, being Priſoner in *Denmark*, confeſſed, who all cleared the Queen from Suſpicion of being concerned in it; and ſo did *Morton* alſo, when he ſuffer'd Death, Fourteen years after. However, notwithſtanding all the Sollicitations of the Queen of *England*, and the *French* King, they could not procure her Liberty.

Eight

Eight Years limited for the Delivery of *Calais* to the *Engliſh* were now expir'd, and Sir *Thomas Smith* and Sir *William Winter* were ſent into *France* to demand it, but they ſo delay'd, and adjourn'd the Debate about it, from time to time, that by degrees it expir'd in ſilence, by means of Civil Wars ariſing in *France*; and without doubt the *French* never intended to reſtore it, for as ſoon as ever it was taken, they threw down the old Forts and built new ones, let out the Houſes and Lands for Fifty Years, and ſome they gave away for ever. A. D. 1567. Calais *demanded.*

While theſe things were negotiating in *France*, Count *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of a Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles*; about which the Queen had a little before ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* to the Emperor; in which Service the Duke uſed his utmoſt endeavours, that the Queen might be marry'd to a Prince, and *Leiceſter* be diſappointed of his Hopes. Nothing was more frequent in *Suſſex*'s Mouth, than that a Foreign Prince was to be preferred before the nobleſt *Engliſh* Man, whether we reſpect Honour, Power, or Riches: Inſomuch as one who was of a contrary Opinion, ſaid merrily in his Preſence, that where thoſe three were only regarded in Marriage, the World and the Devil were the Marriage Brokers. *Suſſex* ſtayed in *Auſtria* five Months, and was Honourably entertained at the Emperor's Charge; but difficulties ariſing about Religion, Titles, and the Succeſſion, Time wore out thoſe Propoſals that had been ſeven Years making by honourable Mediators.

About this time Ambaſſadors came from *Muſcovy* with rich Furs of Sable, *&c.* and made large Offers to the Queen, which were accepted, thence the Company of the *Ruſſia* Merchants were ſetled. 1568.

Now was the Peace of the Church diſturbed by a twofold Enemy: *Thomas Harden*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and other fugitive Prieſts, take upon them by Authority from the See of *Rome*, to grant Abſolution to the Queen's Enemies, and to corrupt her Subjects in point of Religion, and Allegiance; and on the other ſide, *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham* and *Benſon*, openly call in queſtion the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and endeavour to reform it after the *Geneva* Pattern; and this Sect increaſed every where, through their own Obſtinacy, the Negligence of our Biſhops, and the Favour of ſome Noblemen, that were gaping after the Church's Patrimony; which Sect was ſoon known, by the Name of *Puritans*; *Church diſturbed by Papiſts and Puritans.*

A. D. 1568. The ſecond of *May*, 1568. the Captive Queen of *Scots*, made an Eſcape out of Priſon to *Hamilton Caſtle*, by the help of *George Douglas*, to whoſe Brother's Cuſtody ſhe was commited. Here within a day or two ſo great a Multitude flocked to her from all Parts, that ſhe levy'd an Army of Six thouſand Men; who notwithſtanding when they came to fight, for want of Diſcipline, were eaſily defeated by *Murray*. The fearful Queen being terrified with this ill ſucceſs, was forced to ſave her Life by Flight, and choſe rather to commit her ſelf to the Mercy of the Sea, and the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, than to the Fidelity of her own People. Accordingly the Queen, with the Lords *Herris* and *Fleming*, and a few others, took Boat, and on the 17th of *May* 1568. arrived at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland*, and the ſame day writ a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, deſiring her Protection: Who return'd an Anſwer by Sir *Robert Knolls*, in a comfortable ſtile, but deny'd her Acceſs to her Perſon, and commanded her to be convey'd by *Lowder* to *Carliſle*, as a place of ſafety, if her Enemies ſhould attempt any thing againſt her. Receiving this Anſwer, and Denial of Acceſs, ſhe wrote again to the Queen upon the ſame ſubject; by which Queen *Elizabeth* ſeem'd to commiſerate this afflicted Princeſs her Kinſwoman; but whatſoever Queen *Elizabeth*'s Intentions were towards her, the Council of *England* enter into ſerious conſideration what to do in the matter, and after long Debates, whether to keep her in *England*, to ſend her into *France*, or return her to *Scotland*, was ſafeſt, came to this Concluſion, That ſhe ſhould be detained by Right of War, and not be deliver'd till ſhe gave ſatisfaction for uſurping the Title of *England*, and had anſwer'd for the death of the Lord *Darnly* her Husband. In the mean time, *Murray* calls a Parliament in *Scotland*, in the King's Name, and proſcribed ſome which took part with the Queen, and ſeized upon their Lands and Houſes. At which the Queen of *England* being highly diſpleaſed, ſharply reprimanded *Murray*, and told him by *Middlemore*, "That ſhe could not endure to ſee the "Sacred Authority of Princes ſhould be had in ſuch "Contempt, and trodden under Foot at the Will of "Factious and Rebellious People, and tho' they forgot "the Duty of Subjects, and their Fidelity to their Queen, "yet ſhe could not be unmindful of any Office, either "of Piety or Kindneſs, to the Queen her Siſter and Neighbour,

The Queen of Scots *coming into* England.

She is confined.

" Neighbour, and therefore commanded him to appear " before her, and give an Account of his Actions. A. D. 1568.

Murray having no Means to maintain his Regency in *Scotland*, but what depended upon *England*, obeyed the Summons, and came to *York*, the place appointed to determine this matter; but after two ſets of Commiſſioners had heard the Cauſe, it came to nothing. And now there growing a Suſpicion that the Duke of *Norfolk* would marry the Queen of *Scots*, ſhe was removed from *Bolton* (where all the Neighbourhood were *Papiſts*) to *Tutbury*, and commited to the Cuſtody of *George*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

Perſecution raiſed against Proteſtants.

Now the *Guiſes* in *France*, and the Duke *d' Alva* in the *Netherlands*, breathing nothing but Blood and Slaughter againſt the Proteſtants, the Queen of *England* took them into her Protection, liberally ſent them a Hundred thouſand Angels, and Ammunition of War, and kindly entertained all *French* People, that, to avoid Perſecution, fled into *England*. The like ſhe did by the *Hollanders*, and permited them to ſettle at *Norwich Colcheſter*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone*, and *Southampton*, to the great Advantage of the *Engliſh*; for they were the firſt that brought into *England* the Art of making ſlight Stuffs, whereof the *Engliſh* are now the great Manufacturers. And now I am neceſſiated to touch upon the begining of the Wars in the *Netherlands*, that are ſo twiſted with the *Engliſh* Affairs, that they cannot be omited.

Cauſes of War in the Low Countries.

When the *Spaniard* could by no Intreaty be perſwaded to deſiſt from his bloody proceedings in the *Low-Countries*, in matters of Religion, but ſtill exerciſed Cruelties over Men's Conſciences, by ſetting up the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, a few of the Rabble rais'd a Tumult, and pull'd down Images in Churches; tho' this Commotion was ſoon quieted, yet the *Spaniard* charged the whole People with Rebellion, and ſent *Don Ferdinando Alvaraz*, Duke of *Alva*, a ſtern and cruel Man, to govern that Country, who made it his whole Deſign to enſlave and ruin the People, which uſhered in a long and dangerous War.

When the Rumour of the Marriage between the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Queen of *Scots* was communicated to Queen of *Elizabeth*, ſhe chid him ſeverely for attempting it without her Approbation; but after *Murray* had aggravated the matter, and put Queen *Elizabeth* in fear that he would diſturb her Government, he 1569.

was

A. D. 1569. was impriſoned in the *Tower*, with the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and *Robert Riddolph*, the *Florentine*, was commited into Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s Cuſtody. Now aroſe a Rebellion in the North, which at firſt was neglected, till the frequent Meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and others gave too much reaſon to believe it. The Queen ſent for the Earls to appear before her in *London*, but they refuſed to appear, and, under pretence of reſtoring the *Romiſh* Religion, ruſh into open Rebellion, and were the firſt that diſturbed the Peace of the Kingdom after it had been Eleven Years in quiet, under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Nicholas Morton*, a Prieſt, who was ſent from the *Pope*, to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* a Heretick, and conſequently that ſhe had forfeited her Right to the Crown, was the great Incendiary; who marching with them to *Durham*, tore and trampled under feet all the *Engliſh* Bibles, and Common Prayer Books, which they found in that Cathedral, and other Churches; and when they underſtood, that the Queen of *Scots*, for whoſe Deliverance they took up Arms, was conveyed from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*, that *Suſſex* had raiſed a powerful Army againſt them, that Sir *Robert Bowes* had a ſelect Party on their Backs, and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had ſtrengthned *Carliſle*, they returned to *Bernard* Caſtle, beſieged and took it by compoſition. The very day they were proclaimed Traytors, *Suſſex* marched againſt them with Seven thouſand Men accompany'd with *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Eurers*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. When *Suſſex* was advanced to *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in great fear to *Hexham*, and afterwards through by-ways to *Naworth* Caſtle; where hearing that the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Clinten*, Lord Admiral, purſued them with Twelve thouſand Men from the South parts of *England*, the two Earls with a ſmall Company, and unknown to the Confederates withdrew themſelves into *Scotland*. *Northumberland* was deliver'd into *Murray*'s Hands, *Weſtmorland* eſcaped into the *Netherlands*, where he led a very poor Life, even to Old Age, living upon a ſlender Penſion from the *Spaniard*. The reſt being diſperſed, ſaved themſelves, ſome by flight, and ſome by lurking in ſecret places. Threeſcore and ſix for a Terror to others, were hanged at *Durham*, and many at *York* and other places. *Charles*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ann*, his Wife, and about fifty more of

The firſt Rebellion.

The Rebels Routed.

of noble Birth were convicted of Treaſon, and proſcribed; the reſt which had no Eſtates, nor had fled the Land were pardoned. A. D. 1569.

But out of the Aſhes of this Rebellion broke out another Fire at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, Son of *William*, Lord *Dacres* of *Gileſland*, to deliver the Queen of *Scots* out of Cuſtody; to which end he fortified *Naworth* Caſtle as his own Inheritance, and gathered together Three thouſand that were well affected to his Family, which was, at that time, in great Reputation in the North. Againſt theſe Rebels marched, the Lord *Hunſdon*, with the old Garriſon Soldiers of *Berwick*. And *Dacres* not truſting his ſtrong holds, met and encountred the Lord *Hunſdon* with great Bravery; but being overcome, he fled into *Scotland*, from thence croſſed the Sea into *Flanders*, died in a miſerable poor condition at *Louvain*, and ſeemed to inherit his Father's Curſe, which he laid upon him on his Death Bed for his Diſobedience. The Lord *Hunſdon* having taken in the Caſtles, commited the Charge of them to the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Servants, and the Queen, by publick Proclamation, pardoned the Rabble, whom their Leader had excited to Rebellion. *Another Rebellion.*

The Queen, tho' her Affairs were embroiled with one Rebellion after another, never failed to relieve the *French* Proteſtants, who were now ſo diſtreſſed that their Condition was almoſt deſperate, and therefore ſhe ſupplied the Queen of *Navarre* with Money and Soldiers, and encouraged other Proteſtant Princes to defend the common Cauſe of Religion. The *French* King to exhauſt the Treaſure of *England*, and force it to run in ſome other Channel, reſolv'd to raiſe a new War in *Scotland* againſt the Queen, aud intended to ſend *Sebaſtian Martigues* with an Army thither; but he being killed at the Siege of St. *John d' Angeli*, that Deſign vaniſhed into nothing. Nor was *Ireland* at this time free from Rebellions, for *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*, being aſſiſted by the *Pope* and the *Spaniard*, endeavour'd to re-eſtabliſh the *Popiſh* Religion, and to diſpoſſeſs Queen *Elizabeth* of her Kingdom of *Ireland*. To ſtrengthen this Rebellion, *Juan Mendoza* was ſent privately out of *Spain*; and to put an end of it, the Earl of *Ormond* went out of *England* thither, who perſwaded his Brothers to lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Queen's Mercy, who, at his requeſt, granted their Pardons. *The Queen relieves the* French *Proteſtants.*

The

A. D. 1570. 1570.

The Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* being extinguiſhed, *Murray* earneſtly requeſted, that the Queen of *Scots* might be delivered into his hands, and therefore to ingratiate himſelf with Queen *Elizabeth*, by ſome meritorious Exploit, he marched into the Borders of *Scotland* in queſt of the *Engliſh* Rebels, of whom he took ſome; but when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure, was ſhot in the Bowels as he rode through the Streets in *Lithgow*, by one *Hamilton*, in a private Revenge for Injuries that *Murray* had done him, and preſently eſcap'd into *France* to avoid the Puniſhment. Various were the Cenſures of *Murray*'s Life and Conduct; thoſe of his own Party commended him, *Buchanan* eſpecially; and by the other he was reprobated under the worſt Character imaginable, as a treacherous, ungrateful and perfidious Diſſembler.

Murray *the* Scotch *Regent's Death.*

Soon after the Regent's Murther, *Thomas Carr* of *Fernihurſt*, and *Walter Scot* of *Buchuly*, with other Confederates, in Revenge of the Queen of *Scot*'s Confinement, enter'd the *Engliſh* Borders with Fire and Sword, and made great Deſolation till they were vanquiſh'd by the *Engliſh*; then the Lords of *Scotland* elected *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, Regent of *Scotland*, Queen *Elizabeth* not oppoſing it. In the mean time *Huntley*, the Duke of *Caſtle Herault* and *Argyle*, by the Queen of *Scot*'s Advice and Conſent, diſpach'd *George*, Lord *Seaton*, on an Ambaſſy to the Duke *d'Alva*, to perſwade that the Ten thouſand Ducats aſſign'd the Queen of *Scots* might be paid, and that he would aſſiſt her with Forces for the Recovery of her Liberty. The Duke *d' Alva* anſwered, That he would aſſiſt the Buſineſs, and ſend them Soldiers, but Troubles encreaſing upon him in *Flanders*, put him out of capacity of ſending any Men into *Scotland*. This Project failing, *France* and *Spain* ſollicit Queen *Elizabeth*, by their Ambaſſadors, to deliver the Queen of *Scots*; to whom the Queen made Anſwer, That in Prudence and Safety ſhe could not comply with their Requeſts, and grant her liberty; who by encouraging domeſtick Rebellions, aſpired to the Kingdom of *England*. All other means hitherto proving ineffectual, put the whole *Popiſh* Party into a Rage, and therefore, as their laſt and ſtrongeſt Effort, *Pope Pius* V. having the laſt Year Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and excited her Subjects to Rebellion, now cauſeth the Sentence to be fixed upon the Gates of the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, under this Title.

The Scots *beg aſſiſtance of Duke of* Alva.

A

A. D. 1570.

A Sentence Declaratory of our holy Lord Pope Pius Quintus, *againſt* Elizabeth, *Queen of* England, *and the Hereticks adhering to her, wherein alſo all her Subjects are declared to be abſolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and whatever other Duty they owe her; and they which from henceforth ſhall obey her, are involv'd in the ſame Curſe or Anathema.* *The Pope's Bull.*

This Sentence begot a Rebellion amongſt the hot-headed Papiſts in *Norfolk*, under pretence of delivering their Duke from Impriſonment, who was highly eſteemed among them; but their Deſigns were diſcovered and prevented before they came to maturity. Many were condemned, but only three were executed; the Principal of which was *John Throgmorton*, who, tho' he ſtood mute at the Bar, confeſſed at the Gallows, that he was Author of it. Not long after *John Felton*, that ſet up the Pope's Bull upon the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace Gate, was taken, (for he would not fly) and being arraigned, undauntedly confeſs'd the Fact, but would not acknowledge it to be a Fault, and was hang'd near the Place where he commited the Treaſon, and by his ſuffering obtained the Reputation of a Martyr; tho' the more moderate ſort of Papiſts diſapproved the Pope's whole Proceedings, as Unjuſt and Illegal. The ſame day that *Edron* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon his Confeſſion of having acted imprudently, and engaging, under his hand, not to meddle farther in the Marriage without Queen *Elizabeth*'s Approbation, was diſcharged from Impriſonment. Felton *Condemn'd and Executed.*

Queen *Elizabeth*, who was now ſuſpicious that ſome ill Deſign was forming, ſent Secretary *Cecil*, and Sir *William Mildmay* to *Chatſworth* to the Queen of *Scots*, to conſult with her how the diſſentions in *Scotland* might be compoſed, her ſelf reſtor'd, and the Security of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Safety of the King of *Scots*, might be provided for; and after long Debates, to little purpoſe, they return'd without effecting any thing; upon which the Biſhop of *Roſs* ſent to the Pope, the *French* King and the *Spaniard*, to aſſiſt the Queen of *Scots* with an Army, to accompliſh her Deliverance but all in vain, for they were employed in other Buſineſs.

Queen *Elizabeth* went now to ſee a ſtately Building in *London*, which Sir *Thomas Greſham* had erected for the Uſe of the Merchants, and gave it the name of the *Royal Exchange*, and after that, created *William Cecil*, her *The* Royal Exchange *named.*

A. D. 1571. her Secretary, *Baron* of *Burleigh*. Several Overtures were again made for freeing the Queen of *Scots*; but not succeeding, the Biſhop of *Roſs* lays a Plot, that the 1571. Duke of *Norfolk*, with other ſelect Confederates, ſhould ſurprize Queen *Elizabeth*, marry the Queen of *Scots*, and reſtore the *Popiſh* Religion; but the Duke being a Man of innate Goodneſs and Honour, abhorred and rejected the deſign, as wicked and full of Danger.

In *France*, a Marriage was ſolemnized between *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the Emperor, *Maximilian*, and at the ſame time a Marriage was propounded by the Queen Mother of *France*, between Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Articles were ſent into *England* from the Queen Mother, by her ſpecial Favourite, *Guido Cavalcanto*, a *Florentine*, and from the *French*, by his Ambaſſadors, who jointly and ſeverally ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth*'s Conſent a whole Year together; but many difficulties ariſing, by little and little it grew very cold. But the *French* King took not more pains for accompliſhing this Marriage, than ſome *Engliſh* did to haſten a Marriage between the Queen of *Scots* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom they had drawn again into the Snare; which being diſcovered, and *Higford*, the Duke's Secretary, apprehended, he confeſſed the whole matter, and told him in what places he had hid the Cyphers, and Letters of Correſpondence between the Queen of *Scots* and his Maſter: Which when the Council had received and read, as likewiſe Letters from the *Pope*, and *Barker* being alſo apprehended, had confeſs'd, the Duke himſelf was examined by the Council; who not knowing his Servants had confeſſed, but believing the Letters had been burnt, denyed all that they had confeſſed, and therefore was again commited to the *Tower* of *London*; and afterward, *Baniſter*, the Duke's Lawyer, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Henry Pierey*, *Louder*, *Powel*, *Goodyear*, and others, were commited to Priſon, and every one of them, in hopes of Pardon, confeſſed all they knew.

A Match propounded to Queen Elizabeth

The Duke of Norfolk *commited.*

Not long after, the Duke was again brought before the Council, and theſe Men's Confeſſions, the Queen of *Scots*, and the Biſhop of *Roſs*'s Letters, being produced and read to him, he was utterly confounded, and broke out into theſe words, *I am betray'd and undone by my own Confidents, whom I was unwilling to miſtruſt*, and therefore humbly

humbly beg'd the Council to intercede with the Queen for his Pardon. The Biſhop of *Roſs*, by the Confeſſion of all the Criminals, and of the Duke himſelf, being charg'd as the Contriver of the whole Conſpiracy, it caus'd great Debates what ſhould be done with him being an Ambaſſador; but the Learned Civilians having determin'd that he had forfeited the Priviledge of an Ambaſſador, he was brought before the Council, told that he had forfeited his Character, and ſhould be puniſh'd according to his Deſerts. The Biſhop anſwer'd, *That he was an Ambaſſador of an abſolute Queen, whoſe Priviledges were not to be violated*. *Burleigh*, in a grave Reply, ſhewed him that the Priviledge of an Ambaſſador could not protect him in Offences againſt the publick Majeſty of a Prince, but that he was liable to Puniſhment, or elſe every lewd Ambaſſador might attempt againſt the Lives of Princes without Controul. When they began to urge him with *Engliſh* Evidences, he prayed them that they would not do it, ſince by a conſtant receiv'd Cuſtom which had now obtain'd the Force of a Law, *The Teſtimony of an* Engliſhman *againſt a* Scot, *or of a* Scot *againſt an* Engliſhman, *was not to be admited*; however, he was commited to the *Tower*. At this very time, *Matthew Steward*, Earl of *Lenox* and Regent of *Scotland*, being ſurpriz'd by the Nobility of the adverſe Party, was murder'd by *Bell* and *Caulder*, after he had diligently and carefully govern'd the Kingdom about fourteen Months; and was ſucceeded in the Regency by *John Areskin*, Earl of *Marr*, who being a Man of a milde Temper, and now harraſs'd between the two different Counſels of his Friends, and the Inſults of his Enemies, he ended his days with Grief, after he had govern'd thirteen Months.

A. D. 1571.

The Biſhop of Roſs *accuſed, and commited*

The Regent of Scotland *murdered.*

This Year began with the Arraignment of the Duke of *Norfolk* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before *George*, Lord *Talbot*, of *Shrewsbury*, Conſtituted Lord High Steward upon that occaſion. His Peers were *Reginald*, Lord *Grey*, Earl of *Kent*, *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suſſex*; *Henry Haſtings*, Earl of *Huntingdon*; *Francis Ruſſel*, Earl of *Bedford*; *Henry Herbert*, Earl of *Pembrook*; *Edward Seymor* or *St Maur*, Earl of *Hertford*; *Ambroſe Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leiceſter*; *Walter d' Evreux*, Viſcount *Hereford*; *Edward*, Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admiral; *William*, Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlain; *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*; *Arthur*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*; *James Blount*, Lord *Mountjoy*; *William*, Lord *Sands*; *Thomas*, Lord *Wentworth*;

1572.

The Duke's Tryal.

A. D. 1572. *William*, Lord *Burough*; *Lewis*, Lord *Mordaunt*; *John Pawlet*, Lord *St John* of *Basing*; *Robert*, Lord *Rich*; *Roger*, Lord *North*; *Edmund Bruges*, Lord *Chandois*, *Oliver*, Lord St. *John* of *Bletso*; *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst*; and *William West*, Lord *de la Ware*.

The Heads of the Duke's Indictment were, "That "he had Traiterously consulted about deposing the "Queen, and taking away her Life; for contracting "Marriage with *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, against the "Queen's Consent; for assisting Rebels against the "Queen, and for craving Forces from *Pope Pius* V. the "*Spaniard*, and the Duke *d' Alva*, to set the Queen of "*Scots* at liberty, and to restore the *Popish* Religion "in *England*. *Of all which Crimes being found guilty by his Peers, the sentence of Death was pronounced against him; and about four Months after*, viz. *on* June *the* 2*d* 1572, *he was brought to the Scaffold on* Tower-Hill, *accompanied by* Alexander Nowel, *Dean of St.* Paul's, *where, as soon as silence was obtained, the Duke deliver'd himself as followeth*, "It is no new thing for Men to suffer death "in this Place, tho' since the begining of our most "Gracious Queen's Reign, I am the first, and God "grant I may be the last; to which the People answer'd, "*Amen*. I acknowledge, saith he, that my Peers "have justly judged me worthy of death, nor is it "my meaning to excuse my self. That I have trea-"ted with the Queen of *Scots*, I freely confess, and that "in matters of great consequence, without acquaint-"ing my Sovereign; which I ought not to have done, "for which I was cast into the *Tower*. I was after-"wards set free upon my humble Submission, and giv-"ing my Faith that I would have no more to do with "her; yet I confess, I did the contrary, and that "troubles my Conscience; but at the Communion "Table, as it is commonly reported, I neither promised "nor swore it. *Ridolpho* I never talk'd with but once, "and that not to the Queen's Prejudice. Two letters "from the Bishop of *Rome* I saw, to which I assented "not, nor to the Rebellion in the North. I have not "been addicted to Popery since I had any Taste of Reli-"gion; but have always been averse to *Popish* Doctrines, "and embraced the true Religion of Jesus Christ, and "have put my whole Trust in the Blood of Christ, my "Redeemer and Blessed Saviour. Yet can I not deny "but I have had among my Servants and Familiars "some that have been addicted to the *Popish* Religion

His Condemnation

His Speech.

" If I have thereby offended God, the Church, or the " Proteſtants, I beſeech them and God to forgive me. *Then, after the Recital of one or Two Pſalms, he ſaid with a loud Voice,* " Into thy Hands, Lord, I commend " my Spirit. Then, embracing Sir *Henry Leigh*, he whiſpered ſomething in his and Dean *Nowel*'s Ear, who turning to the People ſaid, the Duke deſires you all to pray to God to have mercy on him: and when one reached him a Handkerchief to cover his Eyes, he refuſed it, ſaying, I fear not Death. So falling upon his Knees, and fixing his Mind upon God, he laid his Neck upon the Block, and at one ſtroke his Head was cut off, which the Executioner ſhewed as a lamentable Object to the weeping ſorrowful Spectators; which was augmented at the remembrance that his Father died the ſame death, in the ſame place, Five and twenty Years before, only for Quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confeſſor* with his own, which the *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, from whence he drew his Deſcent, did always bear, by permiſſion of King *Richard* II.

A. D. 1572.

His Execution.

The Liberty of the Queen of *Scots* was now more particularly the earneſt Endeavours of *Spain* and *France*, but ſhe enclining rather to the *Spaniard* than the *French*, that King, by degrees, grew very remiſs and cold in the matter. Now after a gallant Muſter of the *Londoners*, and Exerciſing before the Queen at *Greenwich*, ſeveral Military Men, who ſpent their time in Idleneſs at home, began to flock into the *Low-Countries*, and, according as they ſtood affected, choſe their ſide. Some went to the Duke *d' Alva*, and the greater number went to the Prince of *Orange*, who took up Arms in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of his Country. In *France* the Proteſtants had now a ſhew of better uſage. *Montmorency* ſollicits the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou* upon new Terms; but ſince they could not agree about the Exerciſe of Religion, he returned into *France*, leaving that Affair under utter improbabilities of ever being accompliſhed. In the mean time, a Marriage was preparing, with great Solemnity, between *Henry* of *Navarre* and Madam *Margaret* the *French* King's Siſter. To this Marriage, by flattering Promiſes and credulous Hopes of a perpetual Peace, the Queen of *Navarre* and all the chief of the Proteſtant Party were drawn to it. *Leiceſter* and *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, the Elector *Palatine*'s Son out of *Germa-*

A. D. 1572.

ny; that being thus brought together, both they and the Evangelical Religion might at one ſtroke have their Throats cut, or at leaſt be mortally wounded; for no ſooner was the Marriage ſolemnized, but the *Maſſacre* of *Paris*, and the Butchering of the Proteſtants, followed throughout all the Cities of *France* upon Men of all Qualities and Degrees whatſoever. Two days before this *Maſſacre*, the Queen Mother of *France* had commanded *La Mothe Fenellon* to propound a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth* and her youngeſt Son *Francis*, Duke of *Alenſon*, which he did at *Kenelworth*; but Queen *Elizabeth* modeſtly excuſed her ſelf, upon the difference of Religion and inequality of Age, he being ſcarce Seventeen, and ſhe Thirty Eight; but *Alenſon* did not give over his Suit, but proſecuted it with vigour by the Mediation of *Flerie*.

The Maſſacre of Paris

The Queen's extraordinary Care.

The Queen, who had hitherto enjoyed perfect Health, fell ſick of the Small Pox at *Hampton* Court, but perfectly recovered before it was known abroad that ſhe had been ill, and immediately betook her ſelf to the Care of the Realm; commanded *Portſmouth* to be new and ſtrongly fortified, increaſed the number of her Ships; made Muſters of the Trained Bands in every Country, and cauſed the Youth to be taught the Exerciſe of Arms, and all this in a time of perfect Peace. In *Ireland* were ſome Commotions, occaſioned by the too vigorous Conduct of Sir *Edward Fitton*, Governour of *Connaught*, and therefore the Queen removed him out of that Poſt, and made him Treaſurer of *Ireland*. In *Lemſter* alſo the *O Moors*, a Seditious kind of People, raiſed an Inſurrection; but being proclaimed Traytors, returned to their Duty at the Perſwaſion of the Earl of *Kildare*.

1573.

Now the *Spaniſh* Affairs were very much perplex'd in the *Low-Countries*: *Fluſhing* was loſt, *Holland* revolted, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was overthrown by the *Zealanders*; which made the Duke *d' Alva* more favourable to the *Engliſh*, and permited them to Trade with the *Netherlanders* as formerly. At home, the Queen and the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate were much afflicted with the new Sect call'd *Puritans*, who endeavour'd, under pretence of greater Purity in Doctrine and Diſcipline, to eradicate things that were well eſtabliſhed, to make way for their own Novelties; therefore, and to prevent a Schiſm in the Church, the Queen commanded the Law concerning

Trouble from the Puritans.

cerning Uniformity of Publick Prayers, to be every where put in Execution. A. D. 1573.

Brian Mac Phelim now making Tumults and Insurrections in *Ulster*, *Walter d' Evereux*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* had lately created Earl of *Essex*, desired the Queen's leave to undertake an Expedition against him, in which he was guided by the advice of those, who desired above all things to have him further off, and to plunge him into dangers, under pretence of procuring him greater Honour. This he was not altogether insensible of, yet being of undaunted Courage, and not unacquainted in Military Affairs from his very Youth, he held his Resolution, and made an Agreement with the Queen, that if he drove the Rebels out of *Clandeby*, one half of it should be given to him and his Soldiers; in consideration whereof, for the defence of it, he would maintain Two hundred Horse, and Four hundred Foot at his own charge, and to equip them he borrowed of the Queen Ten thousand Pounds, and mortgaged his Lands in *Essex* to her for security. At the Earl's arrival in *Ireland*, *Mac Phelim* drove all his Cattel into the inner parts of the Country. In his Stock consisted all his Wealth, which was very considerable, for besides Sheep and Hogs he had Thirty thousand Cows. At first he congratulated the Earl, and offered him great kindnesses, and so did *Mac Galespic*, *Mac Guiller*, *Hugh Baron*, of *Dunganon*, and other great Lords round about; but shortly after he revolted, and joined with his Friend *Turlogh Lenigh*, upon which followed many skirmishes with the *English*, which with his Friends deserting him and returning into *England*, caused *Essex* to make great Complaints to the Queen, that the Expedition was undertaken too late, Victuals too long ere they came to them, and those tainted; that he was unable to bear the Charge of the War, and therefore prayed the Queen to carry on the War at her own Charge; but all Ears at Court were deaf to any Proposal for the Earl's Honour or Advantage. While he was providing against these apparent Difficulties, he narrowly escaped being slain by the *Irish*; for *Brian Mac Phelim*, who had lately treacherously killed one Captain *Moore*, conspired with *Turlogh* and the *Hebredian Scots* to cut him off. Which as soon as *Essex* understood, he thought it not advisable to stay for their coming, and therefore began with them, and set upon them with so much Resolution, that with the slaughter of Two hundred *Irish*,

Essex's *Expedition in to* Ireland

A. D. 1574.

he took *Brian*, and *Rory Oge* his half Brother, and *Brian*'s Wife; and so the Year ended with great damage and Charge to the Earl of *Essex*.

Alenson *revives his Pretensions.*

Francis, Duke of *Alenson*, by Letters, and *Du Maurier*, the *French* Ambassador, now revived his Suit to Queen *Elizabeth*, and beg'd leave he might come into *England* to prosecute his Amours; and the Queen having a kindness for him, and, at present, some inclinations to marry, she granted him safe conduct, with demonstrations of great Respect for his Person; but before her answer came to him, he was suspected by the Queen Mother, that he and *Navarre*. would remove her from the Government, and therefore they had Keepers set over them, and were commited to Custody; but *Thomas Wilkes* and *Dales* go privately to them, and comforted them in the Queen of *England*'s Name, with assurance that she would omit no opportunity to help and relieve them. To that end, Queen *Elizabeth* sent *Thomas Randulph* into *France* to the Queen Mother, but before he arrived there, *Charles*, the *French* King, died. Now *Henry* the IIId. succeeding to the Crown of *France*, the Queen sent *Roger*, Lord *North*, to congratulate his return out of *Poland* to his own Inheritance, and desired him to restore *Alenson* into favour, but the Ambassador effected nothing; for *France*, push'd on by its Destiny, run desperately into a Civil War. Nevertheless the King and his Mother sent *La Garde* into *England* to promote the Marriage for her Son *Alenson*, on purpose to be rid of him.

The Earl of *Essex* in *Ireland* having resigned up his Command in *Ulster* to the Lord Deputy, as not being able to prosecute his Intentions with so small a number of Men as were allowed him, he was commanded to re-assume it; but scarce had he marched against *Turlogh*, but other Orders came, that he should give over the War, and make as Honourable a Peace as he could. Which being soon done, he marched against the *Hebredian Scots*, who had seized upon *Clandeby*, drove them into their Lurking Places, and by the skillful Conduct of *Norris*, attempted the Isle of *Rachlin*, put Four hundred of the Islanders to the Sword, forced the Castle, and Garisoned it with *English*. But now in the midst of his Victories and Successes, he was again, contrary to expectation, commanded to resign his Authority; only as an ordinary Captain he had the command of Three hundred Men given him, and by the contrivance

Essex *crossed in all his purposes.*

contrivance of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, was croſſed in all his good purpoſes. A. D. 1575.

All things now run into confuſion in the *Low Countries*, by the Cruelty and Oppreſſion of the *Spaniards*: The ſtately City of *Antwerp* was miſerably ſacked; the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Merchants there was plundered, and they forced to redeem their Perſons by paying a great Sum of Gold to the *Spaniſh* Soldiers. Upon this and the coming of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, who was the Natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* the Vth. to govern the *Netherlands*, the States took up Arms, and at 1576. the requeſt and importunity of *Swevingham*, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent them Twenty thouſand Pounds, upon condition they ſhould neither change their Religion, nor receive the *French*, nor refuſe a Peace, if *Don John* would condeſcend to reaſonable Conditions; ſo careful was this good Queen to keep the wavering Provinces in obedience with the *Spaniard*. About this time, the Emperor *Maximilian* and *Frederick* the Elector Palatine both died, and ſo did alſo *Walter d' Evereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, whom all agree to be an extraordinary Perſon, and as truly Honeſt as Honourable; yet could not withſtand the effects of *Leiceſter*'s Envy, and the Intriegues of his Court Faction; for having waſted a great part of his Eſtate in doing good Service in *Ireland*, and returning into *England*, was ſent back again with the empty and inſignificant Title of *Earl Marſhal* of *Ireland*, and pining away with Grief and Diſſatisfaction, he died of the Bloody-flux, after he had deſired the Standers-by to admoniſh his Son, who was then ſcarce ten Years old, to have always in his thoughts the Six and thirtieth year of his Age, as the utmoſt boundary of his Life, which neither he nor his Father had paſſed, and which his Son never lived to ſee, as will be ſhewed in its proper Place. The Death of this noble Man was attended with the ſuſpicion of being poiſoned, and the Rumour encreaſed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s puting away *Douglas Sheffield* with a round Sum of Money, by whom he had a Son; (but whether ſhe was his Wife, or his Miſtreſs, is unknown) and immediately making Love to *Lettice* the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Widow, to whom not long after he was married.

The Queen aſſiſts the Hollanders.

Eſſex's *Death and Premonition.*

Don John of *Auſtria* finding himſelf too weak to effect his deſigns upon the *Netherlands*, makes great ſhew of Friendſhip to Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſhe inclining to Peace, ſends an Ambaſſador to promote it; but the 1577.

A. D. 1577. Prince of *Orange* having intimated to her by *Famier*, that *Don John* was projecting to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and to conquer *England* and *Scotland*, ſhe made a firm League, Offenſive and Defenſive, with the States of *Holland*, and that ſhe might not be ſlandered with aſſiſting Rebels againſt their Prince, aſſign'd *Don John*'s Cruelty to the Proteſtants of *Holland*, and his Conſpiracy againſt her and her Kingdom as the Cauſe of it. And now ſhe might have employed her Fathers's ſaying, *Cui adhæro, Præeſt, to whom I adhere they ſucceeded*; for her Majeſty was now the Umpire between *Spain*, *France* and *Holland*, and held in her own hand the Ballance of *Chriſtendom*; which was a ſore Affliction to *Don John*, who now in the Flower of his Age and Height of his Ambition died of Grief, or the Peſtilence, for both are aſſigned as the Cauſe of it.

Don John's Death.

1578. The Duke of *Anjou*, though employed in War, proſecuted his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, which he had begun when he was Duke of *Alenſon*. Firſt *Baſquerville*, who was ſent on purpoſe, came to the Queen in her Progreſs at *Milford*, after him *Rambolette*, and laſt of all the Spruce Courtier *Semeire*, well accompanied with the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen entertained ſo kindly at *Richmond*, that *Leiceſter* could not forbear ſhewing his Reſentments, being now quite diſappointed of his long hop'd for Marriage with the Queen; which he might have known ſooner, for when *Ally*, one of the Queen's Bedchamber, ſlily recommended *Leiceſter* to her for a Husband, ſhe anſwered him in great diſpleaſure: *How canſt thou think me ſo unlike my ſelf, and ſo unmindful of Royal Majeſty, that I ſhould prefer my Servant, whom I have raiſed from nothing, before the greateſt Princes in* Chriſtendom, *in chuſing me a Husband?* The King of *Scots* now takes upon him the Government of the Kingdom, and makes a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours Queen *Elizabeth* had ſhewed him. But *Morton*, who could ſuffer none above him, kept the King within his own Power, in the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, and would admit none to him but whom he pleaſed; for which the Nobility roſe in Arms againſt him.

Anjou pro ſecutes his Amours.

1579. In the mean while *Semiere*, on *Anjou*'s behalf, lays ſtrong Siege to the Queen's Affections, and finding *Leiceſter* to be the main Obſtruction, he told the Queen of his being married to *Eſſex*'s Widow, which put her into ſuch a chafing, that ſhe commanded *Leiceſter* not to ſtir out of *Greenwich* Caſtle. Some few days after, the Duke

of

of *Anjou* came privately into *England*, and unexpectedly addreſſed to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where they had ſome private Diſcourſes together, and then without being known but to a very few, returned again into *France*. After a Month or two the Queen commanded *Burleigh*, Lord Treaſurer, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham*, to conſider of the Dangers and Advantages that would accrue by this Marriage, which being reckoned up, the Ballance was ſo even that nothing was determined by them. A. D. 1579. *He came incognito to* Greenwich.

About this time, *Francis Drake* having ſailed round the World, and next to *Magellan*, who died in his Voyage, was the firſt that could juſtly claim the Glory of that noble Enterprize, returned into *England* with great Wealth, and deſerved Honour. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonſhire*, bound Apprentice to a Maſter of a ſmall Veſſel, that carried Merchandize into *France* and *Zealand*. The Youth by his pains and diligence ſo pleaſed his Maſter, that at his death he gave him his Veſſel for a Legacy; with this having got a little Money, and hearing that Sir *John Hawkins* was fiting out Ships at *Plymouth*, and intended a Voyage to *America*, which in thoſe days was called the *New World*, he ſold his Bark, and fited out himſelf for that Expedition, which proved very unſucceſsful to him. Five years after, in the year 1572, in a Man of War called the *Dragon*, with two little Tenders, he ſailed again for *America*, acquainting only his Companions with the deſign of the Voyage. *Nombre de Dios*, a Town in the Iſthmus of *Darien*, he preſently took, and as ſoon loſt it. Afterwards being informed by certain Fugitive *Negroes*, that great quantities of Gold and Silver was bringing from *Panama* by the *Muletiers*, he met them by the way, robbed them of it, and brought the Gold to his Ships; but the Silver, for want of help to carry it o'er the Mountains, he left behind, and buried ſome of it under-ground. Roving ſome time up and down the Mountains and parts adjoyning, he eſpied the South-Sea, and being blown up with Ambition and hopes of Wealth, from that very moment took up a Reſolution to Navigate that Ocean. 1580. Drake's *return into* England.

Accordingly in *December*, 1577, he ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, for the South-Sea, with five Ships, and 163 Seamen, of which ſcarce a Man knew his Intentions. At St. *Jago*, he took a *Portugal* Ship laden with Wine, let the Men go, but took the Ship; and *Nomnius de*

Sylva

A. D. 1580.

Sylva the Pilot along with him, who might be uſeful to him on the Coaſts of *Brazil*, with which he was well acquainted. Drawing near the *Equator*, *Drake* let all his Men blood with his own hands, to prevent Fevers and Calentures, and five and fifty days after ſaw no Land till he diſcovered *Brazil*. In *Auguſt* he entred the Streight of *Magellan*, from thence into the *Pacifick Sea*, but found it ſo rough and tempeſtuous that it carried the Fleet a hundred Leagues Weſtward, and ſeparated them. In *September* he came to *Mouch*, where meeting with a Fiſherman, he told him a great *Spaniſh* Ship lay laden at *Villa Parizo*, and directed them thither. The *Spaniard*, who took them for their Countrymen, were glad to ſee them; but *Drake* claps them aboard to rights, and puting the *Spaniards* under the Hatches, plundered the Town of St. *Jago*, together with the Chappel which fell to *Fletcher* his Chaplain's ſhare, and having ſet the *Spaniards* aſhoar, carried away the Ship, wherein was Four hundred Pound Weight of the fineſt Gold, and the Maſter, who was a *Grecian*. Then he went aſhoar, where he found a *Spaniard* ſleeping, and by him lay thirteen Wedges of Silver, valued at four Hundred thouſand Ducats, which he carried away, without being ſo rude as to wake the *Spaniard*.

At *Arica* he found three Ships without a Man in them, out of which he took, beſides other Merchandize fifty ſeven Wedges of Silver, each weighing twenty Pound. At *Lina* he found twelve Ships, and in them ſtore of Silks, and a Cheſt of Money ready coined, but not ſo much as a Boy aboard them. Having ſent theſe Ships to Sea, he chaſed a very rich Ship, called the *Cacafuogo*, or *Shite-Fire*, and in his way took a *Brigantine* with fourſcore Pound Weight of Gold in her, and ſoon after the *Cacafuogo*, out of which, beſides Pearls and Precious Stones, he took fourſcore Pound Weight of Gold, thirteen Cheſts of coined Silver, and as much other Silver as would balaſt a Ship. Now he began to think of returning; and becauſe the Streight of *Magellan* was very dangerous, and that he thought the *Spaniards* would lay wait for him, as in truth they did, he ſteered his courſe Northward to 42 degrees of Latitude, in hopes to diſcover a Streight that might lead him homeward; but finding nothing there but thick Clouds, ſevere Cold, and naked Shoars covered only with Snow, he fell to thirty eight degrees, and there

meeting

meeting with a convenient Harbour he ſtaid a while. From thence he came to the *Molucca* Iſlands, thence to *Java Major*, from that place ſteered for the *Cape* of *Good-hope*, and from thence with a proſperous Gale into *England*, and came to an Anchor in *Plymouth Sound*, the 3d. of *September* 1580, three years after he ſet Sail from thence, to the Admiration of all Men! A D. 1580.

Drake's *return into* England.

The Queen receiv'd him very graciouſly, and laid up the Treaſure he brought by way of Sequeſtration, that it might be forth-coming if the *Spaniard* ſhould demand it. His Ship he cauſed to be drawn up into a little Creek near *Deptford*; in which her Majeſty was treated, and at the ſame time conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *Drake*. A great Sum of this Money was afterwards paid to *Pedro Sebrua*, a *Spaniard*, which he never paid to the right Owners, but employed it againſt the Queen in paying the *Spaniards* that ſerved in the *Netherlands*, which was diſcovered when it was too late to redreſs it.

New Commotions aroſe about this time in *Ireland*, by the *O Conors*; but this Conſpiracy was timely cruſh'd by the great Care of *Arthur*, Lord *Grey*, Deputy of *Ireland*, who by terrifying others, brought *Tutlough Lenigh* to Terms of Peace, who had raiſed diſturbances in *Ulſter*, and reduced the *O Brians* and *O Moors* to Submiſſion. Great Feuds were alſo amongſt the *Scotch* Nobility, one Party did accuſe *Lenox* of dangerous Deſigns againſt the King and Kingdom, and others accuſe *Morton*: Who was afterwards found guilty of being acceſſary to the Murder of the King's Father, for which he was beheaded. Collonel *Norris*, with his *Engliſh* Soldiers raiſed the Siege of *Steenwick*, and put *Reneberg*'s Men to flight. The *Engliſh*, who of all the Northern Nations, were counted the Sobereſt People, now learned of the *Netherlands*, the ſcandalous Vice of Debauchery, and immoderate Drinking, which had now ſo diffuſed it ſelf over the whole Nation, that it was forced to be reſtrained by ſevere Laws. 1581.

Commotions in Ireland, *and Feuds in* Scotland.

The *Engliſh* and *French* Commiſſioners, appointed to treat of the Marriage betwixt the Queen and the Duke of *Anjou*, at length agreed upon a Matrimonial Inſtrument to that purpoſe, *viz.* "That the Duke of "*Anjou*, and the Queen of *England*, ſhould contract "Marriage within ſix Weeks after the Ratification of "theſe Articles in *England*. That the Duke and all "his Retainers (provided they are not Subjects to

Articles of Marriage.

"*Eng-*

A. D. 1581. "*England*) ſhould freely enjoy the Exerciſe of their own Religion. That the Duke ſhould enjoy the Title of King, but the Adminiſtration of the Government to be entirely in the Queen. Letters Patents, Writs, *&c.* ſhould run in both their Names, as in the time of *Philip* and *Mary*. The Queen ſhould aſſign him a Yearly Penſion, and the Duke ſhould ſettle the Queen a Dowry, to the value of Forty thouſand Crowns a Year out of his Dukedom of *Berry*. The Education and Diſpoſal of their Children, as to their Inheritances and Succeſſion, ſhould be left to the Parliament. The Duke ſhould prefer no Foreigner in any Office in *England*, nor alter any thing in the Laws. *To which a Reſervation was added apart by it ſelf*. That Queen *Elizabeth* was not bound to conſummate the Marriage till ſhe and the Duke had ſatisfied one another in ſome particulars. Not long after the Duke came into *England* in Perſon, was received with as great Reſpect as he could hope for, and no demonſtration of Honour and Affection was omitted by the Queen; inſomuch, that as ſoon as ſhe had magnificently celebrated the Anniverſary of her Coronation, ſhe drew off a Ring from her own Finger and put it upon the Duke's, upon certain Conditions known only to themſelves; but the Spectators concluded it was a Confirmation of a Promiſe of Marriage. The Courtiers were diverſly affected, ſome rejoiced, and others were dejected with ſorrow. *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham* ſtormed at it, as if the Queen, the whole Realm and Religion were ruined. The Queen's Gentlewomen, with whom ſhe uſed to be familiar, grieved and lamented at ſuch an extraordinary rate, that it terrified the Queen, broke her Reſt, and ſo diſcompoſed her Mind, that the next day ſhe ſent for the Duke of *Anjou*, and after they had long diſcourſed privately, the Duke return'd in paſſion to his Chamber, threw down the Ring and took it up again, bitterly inveighing againſt the Levity of Women, and the Inconſtancy of Iſlanders, with two or three biting Reflections.

The Duke of Anjou *comes into* England.

1582. The Queen alſo having ſeriouſly weighed the Inconveniency that might attend the Breach of this Marriage, and the Advantages that might accrue by conſummating it, ſhe rather inclined to think that ſhe might better provide for the Common Weal, and her own Glory by living a ſingle Life, than by entring into a ſtate of Marriage; and yet carried it reſpectfully to the Duke

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of *Anjou*, who having ſtaid three Months in *England*, returned into the *Netherlands*, where he was made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lorraign*, *&c.* for the States had before declared, that the King of *Spain* had forfeited his Soveraignty by violating their Laws, and therefore they broke his Seals in pieces, threw down his Arms in all Places, abſolv'd the People from their Oaths of Allegiance, and ſaid they were at liberty to chuſe another Prince. And the Duke of *Anjou* having ſoon ſpent and conſumed a great Maſs of Money in the *Netherlands*, which he received from the Queen of *England*, and that without Succeſs; and now finding that they gave him nothing but bare and empty Titles, whilſt the Government and Management of all Affairs was wholly in the hands of the Eſtates, he raſhly attempted to force *Antwerp* and other Cities, not without great Loſs of his own Men to no purpoſe, and then diſhonourably left the *Netherlands* without doing any thing worthy of Memory. A. D. 1582. *He returns diſcontened.*

Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſtrengthen her ſelf abroad againſt the *Spaniard*, whom ſhe knew was exaſperated againſt her, without hope of Reconciliation, choſe *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*, into the Society of the Order of St. *George*: And for her better Security at home, thought of compounding Matters with the Queen of *Scots*, but was prevented by the Artifice of the *Guiſes*, who ſought to deliver her by force of Stratagem, and had underhand encouraged *Lenox* to detain the King in *Ruthen* Caſtle againſt his Will, and ſo frighted and terrified him that he durſt not ſtir abroad: Of which the Queen of *Scots* ſadly complaining to the Queen of *England*, a ſerious Conſultation was held in the Council-Chamber of *England*, upon what Terms that Queen might be ſet at liberty; but the *Scots* of the *Engliſh* Faction ſo far oppoſed all Methods for her Deliverance, that their debates had no effect. About this time dyed *Edmund Grindal*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a grave and religious Prelate. In his room ſucceeded *John Whitgift*, a very Pious and Learned Man, who finding that the *Puritans* had made a Schiſm in the Church, that the Papiſts were pleas'd at the diviſion, and by that means drew many to their Party, this good Man to take way theſe differences, and reſtore the Church to Unity, propounded theſe Articles to be ſubſcribed by the Miniſters. Firſt, *That the Queen had Supreme Power over all Perſons born in her Dominions, of what condition* 1583. *The Queen's Policy.* *A Union endeavoured.*

A. D. 1583.

dition ſoever, and that no Foreign Prince or Prelate ha or ought to have, any Power Civil or Eccleſiaſtical with her Dominions. Secondly, *That the Book of* Commo Prayer, *and that other Book of Ordaining Biſhops, Prieſts a Deacons, contained nothing in them contrary to God's Wor but might be lawfully uſed; and that they ſhould uſe tha and no other Form, either of Prayer or Adminiſtration the Sacraments.* Thirdly, *That they approved the Articl of the Synod at* London, *publiſhed by the Queen's Auth rity in the Year 1562, and believed the ſame to be conſona to God's Word.* It's almoſt incredible to believe wh Controverſies and Diſputes, what Hatred and reproac ful Speeches he underwent from ſome Factious Min ſters, and what Troubles and Injuries he ſuffered fro ſome Noblemen, who by promoting undeſerving Pe ſons, cauſed Diſtraction in the Church, or by gapin after its Revenues, ſought to divide and deſtroy it. Ne vertheleſs by his Conſtancy, Courage and Patience he overcame all Difficulties, and at laſt reſtored th Church to Peace and Uniformity. The Papiſts bot abroad and at home were very buſy in ſlandering th Queen's Government, and forming Plots to take awa her Life. Hereupon, as alſo upon Rumours from a Parts, that great dangers were at hand, to preven the wicked deſigns and treacherous Practices of Sediti ous People, and to provide effectually for the Queen' Safety, upon which the Welfare of Religion and th Kingdom depended, many men of all Qualities, De grees and Conditions, throughout *England*, by *Leice-*

The Aſſociation for the Queen's Safety.

ſter's means, and out of their own Care, and Love bound themſelves in an Aſſociation by mutual Oaths Subſcriptions and Seals, as far as lay in their Power to proſecute to death all thoſe that ſhould attempt a ny thing againſt the Queen. The Queen of *Scots*, wh eaſily perceived that her deſtruction was aimed at i this Aſſociation, being weary of Impriſonment, and fearing harder meaſure, ſent theſe Propoſitions to the Queen and Council by her Secretary *Nawe*.

1584.

Propoſals for the Queen of Scots Liberty.

That if her Liberty might be granted, and ſhe aſſured of Queen Elizabeth's *Love, ſhe would enter into a cloſer Amity with the Queen, officiouſly love and obſerve her above all other Princes in* Chriſtendom, *forget all paſt Diſpleaſures, acknowledge her to be the true and rightful Queen of* England, *forbear any Claim to the Crown during her Life, renounce the Arms of* England, *and the Pope's Bull for depoſing her, and confirm all this by Hoſtages. Moreover that*

ſhe

A. D. 1584.

ſhe would alter nothing in Scotland, *provided ſhe and her Family might be allowed the exerciſe of their own Religion. That ſhe would bury in Oblivion all Injuries that had been done her in* Scotland, *upon Condition, That what had been Enacted to her Diſgrace might be repealed. That ſhe would recommend ſuch Counſellors to the King as were well affected to Peace with* England, *and as far as lay in her Power, reconcile ſuch of the Nobility as were fled. That ſhe would do nothing about her Son's Marriage without acquainting the Queen: And as ſhe would do nothing without the advice of her Son, ſo ſhe deſired that her Son might be included in this Treaty, that ſo it might be more ſtrongly and ſolidly confirmed. She doubted not but the King of* France *would be her Surety in the buſineſs, and paſs his word together with the Princes of the Houſe of* Lorrain *for performance of Covenants.* She prayed a ſpeedy anſwer to prevent Inconveniences; and laſtly, That ſhe might be kept in freer Cuſtody, that thereby the Queen's Love towards her might be more plainly manifeſted.

Queen Elizabeth *inclined to free her.*

Theſe Propoſals carrying a Face of much Reſpect and Honour, Queen *Elizabeth* ſeemed to be extremely pleaſed with them, and it was believed by all, that ſhe really intended to ſet her at Liberty; but when the Buſineſs was upon the very point of concluding, it was daſh'd by the *Scots* of the contrary Faction; who cried out, *If ſhe was ſet at Liberty, there was no hope of the Queen of* England's *Safety, and if ſhe were admited into Partnerſhip with her Son in the Kingdom, that the true Religion in* Britain *was ruined, and both the Kingdoms undone:* Not content with this, the *Scotch* Pulpits roared againſt the Queen, and audaciouſly beſpattered the King and Council; for which being ſummoned to appear before them, they peremptorily refuſed, as if the *Scotch* Clergy were exempted from the Authority of the Prince, and only Subject to the *Presbytery.*

She is removed to other Keepers.

But new Suſpicions being laid hold on, ſhe was removed out of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s cuſtody, and committed to the care of Sir *Amias Pawlett*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that purpoſely as ſome imagined, that being thereby driven to deſpair, ſhe might take raſh Counſels, and be the eaſier enſnared: For the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had kept her fifteen Years with ſo much prudence and circumſpection, that he prevented all ways of attempting any thing either for or againſt her; but now ſhe importunes the Pope and the King of *Spain* by Sir *Francis Inglefield* to haſten her deliverance whatever ſhould become

A. D. 1584. become of her. *Leiceſter* alſo, who People thought ſtudied to prevent her Succeſſion, privately ſent Murderers (as ſome report) to take away her Life; but *Drury*, being a ſincere honeſt Man, and one that abhorred ſo foul a Crime, would not admit them to ſee her; tho' privately Letters, as well counterfeit as true, were ſent to her, that puſhed her to Deſtruction.

1585. This Year died, in *France*, *Francis*, Duke of *Anjou*, of a Sickneſs which he contracted through Grief and Diſappointments; and in *Holland* died, *William*, Prince of *Orange*, being treacherouſly ſhot with three Bullets out of a Gun by *Balthazar*, a *Burgundian*: The loſs of both which gave the Queen a real Sorrow and Affliction.

At this time a Parliament was aſſembled, and *William Parry*, by Nation a *Welſhman*, of obſcure Parents and a mean Eſtate, by Title a Doctor of Law, though but indifferently learned; when a Bill was offered in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Jeſuits he was the only Man that ſpoke againſt it, ſaying, *The Law was cruel, deſperate, and of pernicious Conſequence to the* Engliſh *Nation*. Being required to give his Reaſons, he refuſed, unleſs it were before the Queen and Council, upon which he was commited to Cuſtody; but his Reaſons being heard, and Submiſſion made, he was ſet at Liberty. Shortly after the ſame *Parry* was accuſed by *Edmund Nevil*, for being engaged in a deſign to take away the Queen's Life, which at firſt he confidently denied, but being confronted by *Nevil* and ſent to the *Tower*, he voluntarily confeſs'd the Fact, and ſaid, The reading of *Allen*'s Book againſt the *Juſtice of Britain*, wherein he taught, that Princes Excommunicated for Hereſy might be deprived of Life, put him upon it. Some few Days after he was arraigned at the King's Bench Bar, and pleading Guilty to his Indictment, received the Sentence of Death. Five Days after he was laid upon an Hurdle, drawn through the Streets of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, and without ſo much ſhew of Piety as to recommend himſelf to God, ſuffered the Death of a Traytor in the Court-yard of the Great Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where was then a full Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realm met in Parliament.

Parry *Executed for Treaſon.*

The States of *Holland* being now in great diſtreſs, fly to the Queen of *England* for Protection; upon which a Conſultation was held, whether they were to be protected or not? Some were of opinion, that they ſhould be immediately relieved and aſſiſted, leſt the *Spaniards* having

having ſubdued them ſhould from thence endanger *England*. Others alledged, that they were to be accounted *Rebels*, and unworthy of Succour, having caſt off their Allegiance to their Prince; but thoſe that were of this opinion, were reproached as inclining to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, degenerated *Engliſhmen*, and faint-hearted Cowards. The Queen, with great deliberation, conſidered, that if they ſhould put themſelves under the Protection of the *French*, it might be prejudicial to the Kingdom, therefore ſhe reſolved to take them into her Protection; whilſt all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* admir'd at her Courage, which durſt engage in a War againſt ſo Potent a Monarchy as *Spain* was; and the King of *Sweden* ſaid, *That Queen* Elizabeth *had now taken the Crown from her Head, adventured it upon the doubtful Chance of War.* A. D. 1585.

War was now proclaimed, and that the Queen might not by delaying expect the War at her own Doors, but give the *Spaniard* diverſion in his own Territories, ſhe ſent Sir *Francis Drake* as Admiral, and *Chriſtopher Carliſle* as General of her Land Forces, to the *Weſt Indies* with a Fleet of 21 Ships and 2300 Voluntier Soldiers, beſides Seamen; who on a ſudden ſurprized and took the Town of St. *Jago*. Not long after they took St. *Domingo*, which the Citizens redeemed, by paying 25000 Ducats, which they could hardly make up among them. From hence they ſailed to the Continent of *America*, and with great difficulty took the City of *Carthagena*. Here they continued ſix Weeks, compounding at laſt to ſpare the Town for 110000 Ducats, which were preſently paid down, and equally ſhared among the Seamen and Soldiers which had moſt need, and beſides this they got little Booty; for the Citizens having notice of their coming from *Hiſpaniola*, they had conveyed away their Richeſt Treaſure into remote Places, and the *Calenture* raging among them, and leſſening their Numbers, forced them to lay aſide their deſign of taking *Nombre de Dios*, and to ſail homewards. Then coaſting along the Shore of *Florida*, they took two Towns, St. *Anthony*'s and Sir *Helen*'s, and burnt them. Holding their Courſe, they found certain *Engliſhmen*, who had ſeated themſelves in *Virginia*, ſo named in Honour of Queen *Elizabeth*, by that excellent Man, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who being in great want, Sir *Francis Drake* brought them back to their own Country; and theſe were the Men that firſt brought Tobacco into *England*.

War between the Engliſh *and* Spaniards.

A. D. 1585. Leiceſter *made General.*

At the latter end of this Year, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ambitious of Command and Glory, croſſed the Sea into *Holland*, with the Title of *General of the Queen of* England's *Auxiliary Forces*, and was accompanied by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, and other Knights, beſides a ſelect Troop of Five hundred Gentlemen. *Leiceſter* arriving at *Fluſhing*, was entertained by his Nephew, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Governour of that Place, and afterwards by the Cities of *Zealand* and *Holland*, with all manner of Honour, Acclamations, Triumphal Arches, and Feaſting; and at the *Hague* had the Title of *Governour and Captain General of* Holland, Zealand, *and the United and Confederated Provinces*, given him in Writing by the States General. And now being attended by a Noble Guard, ſaluted by all Men with the Title of *Your Excellency*, and blown up with Flattery, he began to take upon him as if he were a King; which the Queen ill reſenting, both in the Givers and the Takers, check'd his ſwelling Pride in this ſhort Letter.

1586. *The Queen's angry Letter.*

"How contemptibly have you carried your ſelf towards Us, you will underſtand by this Meſſenger, "whom we ſend to you for this purpoſe. We little "thought one that We had raiſed out of the Duſt, "would with ſo great Contempt have ſlighted and "broken our Commands, in a matter of ſo great Conſequence, and ſo highly concerning Us and Our Honour: Whereof though you have but ſmall regard, "contrary to what you ought by your Allegiance to "ſhew Us, yet think not that We are ſo careleſs of "repairing it, that we can bury ſuch an Injury in Obliviion. We therefore command you, all Excuſes apart, that forthwith upon the Allegiance you owe Us, "you do whatſoever *Heneage*, Our Vice Chamberlain, "ſhall make known unto you in our Name, upon pain "of farther Peril.

In another Letter to the States General, ſhe thus expoſtulated with them: "That they had to her Diſgrace "and without her Knowledge, confer'd the Abſolute "Government of the *Confederated Provinces* upon *Leiceſter* her Subject, when ſhe had abſolutely refuſed it "her ſelf, and by a Publick Manifeſto had declared "to all the World, that ſhe intended only to relieve and "ſuccour her diſtreſſed Neighbours, and not to take "the Soveraignty over them. She admoniſhed them

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A. D. 1586. an Epitaph; both the Universities condoled his Loss in mournful Dirges, and New Colledge in *Oxford* published an elegant Description of his Atchievements. These and far greater Honours his great Vertue, Excellent Wit, Exquisite Learning, Profound Judgment, and Sweet Conditions deserved, and will be remembred with Love and Admiration till Time shall be no more.

Leicester *returns into* England,

Leicester, though full of Sorrow for the loss of his Nephew, vigorously assaulted the *Sconces* near *Zutphen*; and the better to take the Town, he took the Island in the River, and in it the principal Fort: Then seting upon the lesser Fort, he took it by the valour of *Edward Stanley*, who laying hold on a *Spaniard*'s Pike that was thrust at him, held it so fast that he was drawn up into to the *Sconce* by it, which so terrified the *Spaniards* that they quited it. *Leicester* Knighted *Stanley* for his Courage, and gave him Forty Pounds *English* in hand, and a yearly Pension of a Hundred Marks during Life. And now *Leicester* having blocked up *Zutphen*, and put his Men into Winter Quarters, he returned to the *Hague*, where he was but indifferently received by the States General, and instead of Congratulations, heard nothing but Complaints of his ill Conduct, misapplying their Money, and many other matters, which he pacified with good words, and promising Redress for the future, took his leave and returned into *England*.

A Conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth.

Now the long desired League betwixt *England* and *Scotland* was agreed upon and mutually confirmed, and the same Month a dangerous Conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. Some Fugitive Priests in the *Seminaries* at *Rheims* had perswaded one *Savage*, a Bastard born, and a Person fit to undertake any Villiany, that it was a meritorious Act to kill Queen *Elizabeth*, and he readily engaged to do it. But that so great a matter might not be intrusted in one hand, several others, as *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Edward Windsor*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Charles Tilney*, *Chidiock Tichburn*, *Edward Abington*, *Robert Gage of Surrey*, *John Travers*, *John Charnock*, *John Jones*, ——*Barnwell*, *Henry Dun*, and the Queen of *Scot*'s two Secretaries. One *Polly* also insinuated himself into their Company, a Man who perfectly understood all the Queen of *Scot*'s Affairs, a cunning Counterfeit, who was thought to have revealed all their Consultations to Secretary *Walsingham*, and to have wheedled the young Gentleman into this desperate Conspiracy,

ſpiracy, though *Nawe*, the Queen of *Scot*'s Secretary, had given them notice to beware of him. To theſe Men *Babington* breaks the deſign, but not all the parts to every one of them. The Conſpirators often met at Taverns, where they every day conſulted Expedients, and drank and feaſted merrily, pleaſing themſelves with the Expectation of great Honours, and were grown to ſuch an height of Vanity, that thoſe Men who were appointed to be the Aſſaſſins, were Pictured to the Life, and *Babington* in the midſt of them, with this Verſe: A. D. 1588.

Hi mihi ſunt Comites, quos ipſa pericula ducunt.
Theſe Men are my Companions, invited by real dangers:

This being too eaſily underſtood, they laid it aſide, and put in *Quorſum hæc alio properantibus*, To what purpoſe are theſe things to Men that are haſtening to another end? But whilſt they thought Heaven was a ſtranger to their deſign, *Walſingham* had wrought himſelf into a glimmering knowledge of it, and afterwards by the means of one *Gifford*, whoſe Conſcience check'd him in the Proſecution of ſuch a barbarous deſign, and therefore voluntarily diſcover'd the whole matter to him, all their Letters of Foreign Correſpondence, and alſo with the Queen of *Scots* were brought to *Walſingham*, who open'd them, copy'd them, found out the Cypher, and ſeal'd them up again ſo artificially, that no Man could imagine they had been opened, and then cauſed them to be delivered as directed. Thus were intercepted the Letters between the Queen of *Scots* and *Babington*, and between her and *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. *Traytors betrayed.*

As ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* underſtood by theſe Letters the dreadful Storm that hover'd over her both at Home and Abroad, ſhe cauſed *Ballard* to be apprehended, upon which *Babington*, *Gage*, *Charnock*, *Tichburn* and *Dun* abſconded at *Bellamies*, at *Harrow on the Hill*, where at length they were all taken, brought up to *London*, and cut one anothers Throats by their open Confeſſions. All this while the Queen of *Scots*, and her Servants were ſo ſtrictly watched by *Pawlet*, that ſhe was utterly ignorant of theſe Occurrences, tho' they were known to all *England* beſides. When the Conſpirators were all apprehended, Sir *Thomas Gorges* was ſent to give her notice of it, to amuſe her as ſhe was taking Horſe to ride a Hunting; nor was ſhe ſuffered to return, but was carried from one Gentleman's Houſe to another,

A. D. 1586. under pretence of doing her Honour, while Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aſton*, Sir *Richard Bagot* and Mr. *William Ward* commited *Nawe* and *Curl*, her two Secretaries to ſeveral Keepers, that they might have no Conference with the Queen or one another. Then breaking open the Doors of her Privy Cloſet, they ſent all the Cabinets, wherein her Letters were kept, to the Court, which being ſearched before Queen *Elizabeth*, there were found many Letters from Perſons beyond the Seas, about ſixty Indexes of private Cyphers, Characters, and Letters from *Engliſh* Noblemen full of Expreſſions of Love, Reſpect and Kindneſs, which Queen *Elizabeth* concealed in ſilence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, *I ſee but ſay nothing*.

The Queen of Scots *Papers ſeized.*

The Conſpirators convicted and executed.

On *September* the 17th, 1586, ſeven of the Conſpirators were Arraigned, and pleading Guilty were Condemned to dye. Two days after ſeven more of them pleading not Guilty, were Tryed, Convicted, and Condemned to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, and on the twentieth of the ſame Month a Gallows, being ſet up in St. *Giles*'s in the Fields, near the place where they uſed to meet; the firſt ſeven were all Executed as Traytors. *Ballard*, the firſt Conſpirator, asked Pardon of God and the Queen, if he had ſined againſt her. *Babington*, who beheld *Ballard*'s Execution without any kind of concern, ingenuouſly acknowledged his Offence. *Savage* broke the Rope, and fell down from the Gallows, but was ſeized by the Executioner, his Privities cut off, and his Bowels taken out alive. *Barnwell* extenuated his Offence upon the account of Religion and Conſcience. *Tichburn* humbly acknowledged his Crime, and moved the Spectators to commiſerate his Condition; but *Abington*, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, menaced the Nation with Bloody Revenge. The next day the other ſeven were Executed at the ſame place, but by the Queen's Command with leſs ſeverity; for they all hung till they were dead before they were Bowelled. *Salisbury* died very penitent, and ſo did *Dun* that followed him; *Jones* laid the blame upon *Babington*. *Charnock* and *Travers* employed their time in Prayer, and recommended themſelves to God and his Saints. *Gage* extoll'd the Queen's Bounty to his Father, and reproach'd himſelf as Perfidious and Ungrateful to his Princeſs, to whom he was ſo infinitely obliged. *Hierom Bellany*, who concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor, died in a deep ſilence and confuſion.

Nawe,

Nawe, a *French* Man, and *Curl* a *Scotch* Man, who were Secretaries to the Queen of *Scots*, having voluntarily confeſſed, that the Letters, Copies of Letters, Notes and Cyphers found in the Queen's Cloſet, were of their own hand Writings, as they were dictated from the Queen's Mouth in *French* to *Nawe*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Curl*, and ſo wrote in Cyphers: The next Queſtion was what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots*. The Council were divided in their Opinions about it; ſome were for treating her with Mildeneſs, and only confine her to ſtricter Cuſtody, becauſe ſhe was not the Author of the Miſchief, but only an Acceſſary to it, and being ſickly and not likely to live long, it was pity to add to her Afflictions. Others were of Opinion, that for the Security of Religion, ſhe was forthwith to be put to death by Law, and to that end Commiſſioners were appointed to try her by an Act made the laſt Year, againſt all that ſhould raiſe Rebellion, invade the Realm, or attempt any Violence againſt the Queen. A. D. 1586. *The Queen of* Scots *accuſed.*

The greateſt part of the Commiſſioners met at *Fotheringhay* Caſtle in *Northamptonſhire*, upon the 11th of *October*, 1586, where the Queen of *Scots* was taken in Cuſtody. The next day Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letters were ſent to her, which ſhe read with a compoſed Countenance, without any ſign of Grief or Fear, ſaying, *It grieves me, that the Queen my dear Siſter is miſinform'd concerning me and that after ſo many years Impriſonment, by which I am grown lame of my Limbs, and have been wholly neglected, and after I have offered ſo many reaſonable Conditions for my Liberty, the Queen ſhould command me as a Subject to ſubmit to a Tryal. I am an abſolute Queen, and will do nothing that ſhall be prejudicial to Royal Majeſty. My Mind is not ſo far dejected, nor will I faint or ſink under this Calamity. I refer my ſelf to what I formerly proteſted before* Bromley, *now Chancellor, and the Lord* Le War. *I am a ſtranger to the Laws and Statutes of* England, *deſtitute of Counſellors, and who ſhall be my Peers, I cannot tell. My Papers and Notes are taken from me, and no Man dares to be my Advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any thing againſt the Queen, I have raiſed no Commotions, and am not to be charged but upon my own Words or Writings, which I am ſure cannot be produced againſt me. Yet can I not deny but that I have recommended myſelf and my Condition to Foreign Princes.* *Her Anſwer to the Queen's Letters.*

The next day *Pawlet* and *Barker* went to her again from the Commiſſioners, to let her know that her An-

A. D. 1586.

swer was put into Writing, and to enquire whether she pleased to stand to it: To which she answer'd she would; but this said she, I had quite forgotten, and desire it may be added, *That whereas the Queen writes that I am subject to the Laws of* England, *and liable to be Tryed and Judged by them, because I have lived under the Protection of them. I answer, that I came into* England *to crave her Aid and Assistance, and ever since I have been detained in Prison, so that I could not enjoy the Protection or Benefit of the Laws of* England; *nay, I could never yet understand from any Man what manner of Laws they were.* In the Afternoon, some came to her that were deputed from the Commissioners, with Men Learned in the Civil and Cannon Law, to shew her, that neither her Imprisonment, nor her Prerogative of Royal Majesty, could extempt her from answering in this Kingdom, and therefore advis'd her to hear what should be objected against her: Otherwise they threatned that by Authority of the Law, they could and must proceed against her, tho' she was absent.

An additional Answer.

Her Reply to the Commissioners.

To which she answer'd, *That she was no Subject, and would dye a thousand Deaths before she would acknowledge her self to be one, for by so doing, she should both injure the Majesty of Princes, and subject her self to the Laws, and even to the Religion of* England. *Nevertheless she was ready to answer in a full and free Parliament; but as for this meeting, it was, for ought she knew, devised against her, to give some colour to a legal Proceeding; but let them,* says she, *look to their Consciences, and remember that the Theatre of the whole World is larger than the Kingdom of* England. After this, several Messages pass'd between her and the Commissioners, and also several personal Conferences, which at last induc'd her to submit to a Tryal, wherein she was charged with Designs to invade the Realm, to depose the Queen and take away her Life. The Facts were prov'd out of the Confessions and Letters of *Ballard* and *Babington*; all which she deny'd, and with great Presence of Mind and Modesty of Behaviour, vindicated her own Innocency. The Court sat three several times, only reiterating the same Charge, and the same Defences. Then the Court was adjourned till the 25th of *October* to the Star Chamber at *Westminster*.

Sentence pronounced against her

On that day all the Commissioners met, except the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, which were both of them sick: And after *Nawe* and *Curl* had upon Oath, *Viva Voce*, voluntarily avowed, affirm'd and justified, all

all and every the Letters and Copies of Letters before produced, to be true and real, Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt the Queen of *Scots*, confirmed under the Seals and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners, and the Reaſons for it Recorded in theſe Words, "By "their unanimous Aſſents and Conſents, they do pro- "nounce and deliver this their Sentence and Judg- "ment for that ſince the firſt day of *June*, in the 27th "year aforeſaid! divers matters have been compaſſed "and imagined within this Realm of *England*, by "*Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privity of "the ſaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of "this Realm of *England*, tending to the Hurt, Death "and Deſtruction of our ſaid Lady the Queen. And "alſo, that ſince the firſt day of *June*, the aforeſaid "*Mary* pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm "of *England*, hath compoſed and imagined divers "Matters tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtructi- "on of the Royal Perſon of our Soveraign Lady the "Queen, contrary to the Statutes in the Commiſſion a- "foreſaid ſpecified. A. D. 1586.

This Sentence which depended ſolely upon the Credit of the Queen of *Scot's* two Secretaries, occaſion'd variety of Diſcourſes, while ſome People thought them worthy of Credit, and others as a couple of Fellows not to be believed. However, the ſame day a Declaration was publiſh'd by the Commiſſioners and Judges of the Land, *That the ſaid Sentence did not prejudice* James, *King of* Scots, *in his Title or Honour; but that he was in the ſame Place, Degree and Right, as if the ſaid Sentence had never been pronounced.* After this followed a Parliamentary Proſcription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chidiock Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney* and the Confiſcation of their Eſtates. *The King of* Scots *cajol'd.*

The Parliament having in their Votes approved and confirmed the Sentence given againſt the Queen of *Scots*, preſented their Petition to the Queen by the Hands of the Lord Chancellor, wherein they deſire, for the Preſervation of Chriſt's true Religion, the Security of the Realm, and the Preſervation of the Queen's Perſon, and the Safety of themſelves and their Poſterities, that the Sentence given againſt *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, according to the Law, might be publiſhed and executed. *The Parliaments Addreſs.*

The Queen with great Majeſty in her Speech and Countenance, after ſhe had commemorated the Good- *The Queens*

neſs *Anſwer.*

A. D. 1586.

ness of God, and the extraordinary Love and Care of her Subjects in her Preservation, was pleased to tell them, "That since the Matter before her was of great Conse-"quence, and that there were few or no Examples to "direct her Judgment, she hoped they did not expect "a present Resolution from her, whose Custom in Mat-"ters of far less importance is to be long in deliberat-"ting, where it can be but once determined. In the "mean time she desired God to illuminate her Under-"standing and direct her Heart, that she might re-"solve upon what was most to God's Glory, and the "Good of his Church and People; and that, says she, "delay may breed no danger, we will signifie our Re-"solutions to you with all Conveniency. And what-"ever the best of Subjects may expect from the best of "Princes, that you may always expect to receive from "me.

She is in great perplexity.

Twelve days after, having seriously considered the whole Affair, and being in conflict with her self, what to determine in so nice and important a business, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords, and *Pickering* to the House of Commons, requiring them to *consult again on this weighty matter, and if it were possible to find out some more grateful Expedient, whereby the Queen of* Scots *Life might be spared, and provision be made for hers and their own Safety.* But the Lords and Commons returned the same Reply that their Address contain'd, *viz.* That there could be no Expedient thought of, for the Preservation of Religion, the Queen, and the Realm, but by puting the Sentence against the Queen of *Stot's* in Execution. The Queen being harass'd with various Thoughts, about the Consequence of what was requested by both Houses, and the Reflections that would be made upon her, if she should suffer the Life of a Queen and her nearest Kinswoman to be taken away by the bloody hands of an Executioner, scarce knew whether to speak or to be silent, and therefore desired them *to accept an Answer without an Answer. Your Judgments*

An answer without an Answer.

says the Queen, *I don't condemn, nor mistake your Rea-sons; but I must desire you to excuse those Doubts that almost distract my Mind, and rest contented with my thankful Es-teem of your Kindness, and the Answer I have given, if you will allow it to be one. If I should say I will not an-swer your Desires, peradventure I might say more than I in-tend; and if I should say I will do it, I might throw my self into as great Inconveniencies as those you endeavour to pre-*

vent

vent, which I am confident your Wiſdom will not deſire, when all Circumſtances are conſidered. After this the Parliament was prorogued. A. D. 1586.

About this time the Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beale* were ſent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her know that Sentence was pronounc'd againſt her; that it was approved and confirmed by Authority of Parliament as Juſt and Lawful; and Execution immediately deſired, ſince as long as ſhe lived the Religion of *England* could not be ſecured. At this ſhe rejoyced exceedingly, and gave God thanks that ſhe was taken to be an Inſtrument for the re-eſtabliſhing the Popiſh Religion in *England*, earneſtly deſiring that ſhe might have a *Romiſh* Prieſt allowed her, to direct her Conſcience, and prepare her for Death, and ſmartly retorted upon the *Engliſh* Nation, *That they were accuſtom'd to put their Kings to death upon every trivial occaſion, no wonder therefore if they exerciſed their Cruelty upon her, who was of the ſame Royal Blood,* The Publication of the Sentence being made known to her, ſhe was ſo far from being diſmay'd at the News, that, lifting up her Eyes and Hands to Heaven, ſhe gave thanks to God for delivering her from a miſerable Life, into a ſtate of Glory. *A ſmart Repartee.*

In the mean time the King of *Scots* her Son labour'd all he could to ſave her Life, and omited nothing that became a Dutiful Son, and a Wiſe and Prudent King; but without any kind of Succeſs, for the *Scots* were ſo torn by inteſtine Quarrels, and ſo divided into Factions, that ſome of them ſollicited Queen *Elizabeth* to haſten her Execution. The *French* King alſo by ſpecial Ambaſſadors interceded for her Life, but it had the ſame Effect with the former, and therefore the *French* Ambaſſador *L' Auboſpine*, a Man wholly devoted to the *Guiſes*, practiſed to take away the Queen's Life by Poyſon, or by conveying a Bag of Gun-powder under her Bed, and giving Fire to it. By theſe Attempts, thoſe that hated the Queen of *Scots* took occaſion to haſten her Death, and to terrifie the Queen they cauſed Reports to be ſpread all over *England*, That the *Spaniſh Fleet was already in* Milford-Haven, That the *Scots* were *broke into* England, That the Duke of *Guiſe* was landed with an Army in *Suſſex*, and, *That there was a new Conſpiracy on foot to kill the Queen, and to burn the City of* London, with other ſuch ridiculous Stories, which crafty Politicians and timerous Fools, are wont to impoſe upon the credulous Mobility; which coming thick upon the neck 1587. *Rumours raiſed to fright the Queen.*

A. D. 1587.

neck of one another, the Queen was over perſwaded to ſign a Warrant for her Execution, and one of the Perſons that puſh'd her upon this Extremity, was ſaid to be *Patrick Gray*, a *Scot*, who was ſent on purpoſe by the King of *Scots* to diſſwade her from it, and yet was always buzzing in the Queen's Ear, *Mortua non mordet The Dead never bite*. The Courtiers were alſo continually urging the ſame Point; ſome Preachers more tartly than became their Functions, aggravated the matter, and the vulgar Fry, either out of Hope or Fear, ſawcily exerciſe their Wits at pleaſure upon the ſame deplorable Subject.

A Warrant for Execution.

In the midſt of theſe doubtful and perplexed thoughts the Queen gave her ſelf wholly up to a ſolitary and melancholly Life, ſiting ſilently, and frequently ſighing out, *Aut fer, aut feri, Either bear with her or puniſh her*: At laſt from theſe Words, *Ne feriare feri, Strike leſt thou be ſtricken*, ſhe deliver'd a Writing to *Daviſon*, one of her Secretaries, commanding a Warrant to be drawn up for her Execution, to lie in readineſs if any Commotion ſhould happen; and commanded him to acquaint no Man with it. The next day her Mind changed, and ſhe commanded *Daviſon*, by *William Killigrew*, that the Warrant ſhould not be drawn; but *Daviſon* came to the Queen and told her it was drawn and under Seal already. The Queen ſeem'd to be exceedingly troubled, and blam'd him for making ſo much haſte: Notwithſtanding, he acquainted the Council with the Warrant and whole Matter, and eaſily perſwaded them, who were apt to believe what they ſo much deſir'd, that the Queen had commanded it ſhould be Executed. Hereupon *Beale*, who in reſpect of Religion, of all others was the Queen of *Scots* moſt deadly Enemy, was without delay ſent down with a Warrant (and one or two Executioners) wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others to ſee her Executed: And all this without the Queen's Knowledge, nay, expreſly againſt her Order, for ſhe had told *Daviſon* that ſhe would take another Courſe with the Queen of *Scots*, and yet he would not command *Beale* to deſiſt and come back again.

Daviſon's Execution.

As ſoon as the Earls came to *Fotheringhay*, they, together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whoſe Cuſtody ſhe was commited, went to the Queen, told her the end of their coming, read the Warrant to her, and in few words admoniſhed her to prepare

her

her ſelf, for ſhe was to die the next Morning. The Queen undauntedly, and with a noble Courage and Reſolution above her Sex, made this Anſwer: *I did not think the Queen my Siſter would have conſented to my death, who am not ſubject to her Laws; but ſeeing it is her Pleaſure, Death is moſt welcome to me; for I account that Soul unworthy of everlaſting Joys, whoſe Body cannot contentedly ſuffer the Stroke of an Executioner.* She deſired to have Conference with her Almoner, her Confeſſor, and *Melvin*, the Maſter of her Houſhold. Her Confeſſor was poſitively denied her, and the Biſhop or Dean of *Peterborough* was recommended to comfort her, but ſhe refuſed their Aſſiſtance. When the Earls had took their leaves, ſhe went to Supper, and ſeeing all her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and lamenting exceſſively, ſhe comforted them with great Piety and Magnanimity of Spirit, and commanded them rather to rejoice. that ſhe was quickly to be freed from a World of Miſeries. A. D. 1587.

The Queen of Scots *Treachery.*

The fatal day, *February* the Eighth, being come, ſhe dreſſed her ſelf in as much State as ſhe us'd to do at Feſtivals, and calling her Servants, commanded her Will to be read, praying their Acceptance of the ſmall Legacies ſhe had given them, having no Ability to extend her kindneſs in greater matters. Then retiring to her Oratory, ſhe continued in Sighs, Groans, and Prayers, till *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her, that ſhe ſhould come out to Suffer. And forth ſhe came in State, with a Majeſtick and compoſed Countenance, a chearful Look, and in modeſt Habit. Her Head covered with a linen Veil hanging down to the Ground, her *Beads* at her Girdle, and carrying an Ivory *Crucifix* in her Hand. In the Porch ſhe was met by the Noblemen, where *Melvin*, her Servant, falling on his Knees, and pouring out abundance of Tears, bitterly lamented his Misfortune, that he muſt be the unhappy Meſſenger to *Scotland* of the woeful Fate and unhappy Death of his Queen and Miſtreſs. She comforted him, and bid him rejoice, for by and by he ſhould ſee *Mary Stuart* freed from all her Cares and Troubles, bid him commend her to her Son, and be a faithful Servant to him.

Her requeſt for her Servants,

Then returning to the Lords, ſhe deſired that her Servants might be uſed civilly, and quietly enjoy the Legacies ſhe had given them; that they might ſtand by her at her Death, and afterwards be ſafely conveyed into their

A. D. 1587. their own Country. The former Requeſts were granted, but the Earl of *Kent* ſcrupled their being preſent at her Death, for fear of acting ſome Superſtitious Ceremony. Fear it not, ſaid the Queen, theſe harmleſs Souls only deſire to take their laſt Farewel of their Miſtreſs, and I know my Siſter *Elizabeth* would not deny that my Women ſhould be preſent, for the Honour and Decency of her Sex. I am her near Kinſwoman, deſcended from *Henry* the Seventh, Queen *Dowager* of *France*, and the Anointed Queen of *Scotland*. Then it was granted that ſuch of her Servants ſhould be preſent, whom ſhe ſhould pleaſe to name, which were *Melvin*, *Burgoign*, her Phyſician, her Apothecary, her Chirurgeon, two of her Women, and others, among which *Melvin* carried up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County going before her, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was built at the upper end of the Hall, on which was placed a Chair, a Cuſhion and a Block covered with black Cloth. *Beale* read the Warrant, and *Fletcher*, Dean of *Peterborough*, began a long Speech of her Life, paſt, preſent, and to come. The Queen interrupted him once or twice, deſired him to give himſelf no further trouble proteſting ſhe was immovably fixt in the Roman Catholick Religion, and now come to ſhed her Blood for it. When the Dean perſwaded her to a ſincere Repentance, and by Faith to rely upon the Merits of Chriſt; ſhe anſwered, that in that Religion ſhe was born and bred, and now was ready to die for it. The Lords ſaid they would pray for her, to whom ſhe replied, *That ſhe would give them hearty Thanks, if they would pray with her*; *But*, ſaid the Queen, *to join in Prayer with you who are of another Perſwaſion, would be a henions Sin.* Then the Lords ordered the Dean to pray, with whom while the Multitude that ſtood round about were praying, ſhe fell upon her Knees, and holding the Crucifix before her, prayed in *Latin* with her Servants, out of a Book call'd the Office of the *Bleſſed Virgin Mary*.

Her Averſion to the Proteſtant Religion.

When the Dean had made an end of praying, ſhe in *Engliſh* recommended the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth* to God's Protection and Bleſſing, forgave all her Enemies, and kiſſing the Crucifix, and ſigning herſelf with the Croſs, ſhe ſaid, *As thy Arms, O Chriſt, were extended upon the Croſs, ſo, Lord, receive me with thy outſtretched Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive me my Sins.* While her Women with Floods of Tears, were taking off her upper Garment, ſhe kiſſed them affectionately, ſigned

Her Pious Death and Burial.

signed them with the Cross, and with a pleasant Countenance bid them forbear their Womanish Lamentations, for now she should rest from all her Sorrows. Now having covered her Face, and laying her self down to the Block, she repeated the Psalm, *In thee, O Lord do I put my Trust, let me never be confounded*; then stretching forth her Body, she said many times, *Into thy Hand, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*; and at two Strokes her Head was severed from her Body: The Dean crying out, so let the Enemies of Queen *Elizabeth* perish, and the Earl of *Kent* answering *Amen*, and the Multitude sighing and sorrowing. Her Body was embalmed, and with a Royal Funeral interr'd in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*. A. D. 1587.

Her Descent and Character in little.

This deplorable End had *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, Great Grand-daughter to *Henry* VII. King of *England*, by his eldest Daughter, in the Six and fortieth Year of her Age, and the Eighteenth of her Imprisonment. A Lady constant to her own Religion, of singular Piety towards God, of many rare and exemplary Virtues, but still cross'd with the frowns of Fortune, which never any bore with greater Courage and Magnanimity to the last. Her Death was lamented by many, and some particular Friend had the Courage to shew it in affixing near her Sepulchre the following Inscription. '*Mary, Queen of* Scotland, *Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of* France, *Kinswoman, and next Heir to the Queen of* England, *adorned with Royal Virtues and a Princely Spirit; having often, but in vain, implored to have the Right done her that was due to a Prince, the Ornament of our Age and Mirror of Princes, by a barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty is cut off; and by one and the same infamous Judgment, both* Mary, *Queen of* Scotland *is punished with Death, and all Kings living made liable to the same Stroke. A strange kind of Grave is this, wherein the living are included with the dead; for with the Ashes of this blessed* Mary *thou shalt know, that the Majesty of all Kings and Princes lies here depressed and violated. But because the Regal Secret admonishes all Kings of their Duty, Traveller, I will say no more.* The Author hereof being unknown, and not to be found, it was taken down.

Queen Elizabeth *troubled at it.*

As soon as the Report of her Death reached Queen *Elizabeth*'s Knowledge, who little thought such a piece of Cruelty had been acted, she heard it with such a Mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew Pale and Sorrowful, her Speech faultred, her

A. D. 1587. her Spirits failing her, and she was under so great an Astonishment and Confusion, that she had no Enjoyment of her Life; Company seemed a Burden, and her whole Mein was discomposed; insomuch that she gave her self up to Grief and Melancholly, put on close Mourning, shed abundance of Tears, severely rebuked her Council, commanded them out of her Presence, and ordered *Davison* to be tried in the Star-Chamber. Thus she continued for some time, but as soon as Grief would give her leave, she wrote as follows to the King of *Scots*, and sent it by Mr. *Robert Cary*, a Son of the Lord *Hunsdon*.

Her Letter to the King of Scots.

My dearest Brother, "I would to God thou knewest, but not that thou feltest the incomparable Grief "my Mind is perplexed with upon this lamentable Accident, which is happened contrary to my Meaning "and Intention, which since my Pen trembles to mention, you will fully understand by this my Kinsman. "I request you, that as God and many others can "witness my Innocency in this Matter, so you will "also believe that if I had commanded it, I would "never deny it, for as I know it has deservedly happened to her, so if I had intended it I would not "have laid it upon others, but I will never charge "my self with that which I had not so much as "thought of. God preserve you long in Health and "Safety.

When Mr. *Cary* arrived in *Scotland*, the King refused to give him Audience, or receive his Letter, which he acquainting the Queen with, she directed him to apply himself to the Council, for possibly the King might take Information from them, tho' he denied her Agent access to his Person; which after some delay had effect, and with the Queen's Letter he also delivered the following Writing. "Whereas the Queen's Majesty, my "Mistress, desires to have your Majesty truly informed "of the Death of the Queen your Mother, and how it "came to pass, and has commanded me since I am "denied your Presence, to declare my Message to some "of your Council, I have thought fit to put it into "Writing, because Words may be mistaken, and my "Charge may be better performed by this Method. "First, she commanded me to assure your Majesty, "that it never entred her Thoughts to put your Mother to Death, notwithstanding the the daily Perswa-"sions of her Council, the Supplications of the Nobility

Mr Cary's Mission.

" lity, Knights and Gentlemen, and the daily Out- A. D.
" cries of her poor People and Commonalty, where- 1587.
" with ſhe was wearied, and, out of meaſure, grieved
" to ſee their Determinations fixed that way. And
" that upon Advertiſements coming every day unto her,
" that Ships and Men were preparing in *France* and
" *Spain*; to invade her Realm, and Reports of break-
" ing open *Fotheringhay* Caſtle, and the Queen your Mo-
" ther's eſcape: Now, leſt ſhe ſhould be unprovided
" in any ſuch Extremity, ſhe ſigned a Warrant to her
" Council to do what they thought beſt with your Mo-
" ther: Which Warrant ſhe delivered to her Secretary,
" Mr. *Daviſon*, to be kept, not intending he ſhould
" deliver it out of his Hands, unleſs ſome Invaſion
" from Abroad, or Inſurrection of Rebels at Home,
" were made to procure her Liberty. But her Secre-
" tary, contrary to her Commands, having ſhewed
" the Warrant to two or three of the Council, they
" call'd the whole together, and preſently ſent a Man-
" date for her Execution; which was done, ſhe pro-
" teſts to God, before ſhe knew of it. Hereupon the
" Secretary is commited, and will not eſcape her
" high Diſpleaſure. This is the effect of my Meſſage,
" which if I could expreſs ſo dolefully as a heavy
" Heart made her utter it, I believe your Majeſty would
" rather pity her for her extream Grief, than blame
" her for an Act which ſhe never conſented to.

This Declaration gave the King no Satisfaction, for 'twas a Jeſt to think the Council would preſume to take away his Mother's Life, without the Queen's Knowledge; and for the Proſecution of the Secretary he accounted it but a ſham, which could no way repair the Injury he had ſuffered. Nor wanted he ſome Male-contents about him to encourage him to revenge it, as an Indignity put upon the whole Nation: Which the Queen underſtanding, ſhe laboured by her able Miniſters, of which ſhe was never unprovided, to appeaſe his Mind, and divert him from the War he intended. Theſe working privately with the King of *Scot*'s chiefeſt Counſellors, and thoſe of his Chamber, which he was known to affect, they kept off things from breaking out into open Hoſtility, which was every day expected. Firſt Secretary *Walſingham* by a long Letter to the Lord *Thirlſtane*, who was then moſt in Credit, and had the chief Adminiſtration of Affairs, propoſed divers weighty and important Conſiderations to keep the King from

A. D. 1587.

such Resolutions, and because his Letter contained the true Reasons that in the end perswaded his Majesty to forbear any violent Course, and take more calm and prudent Measures, I thought fit to present the Reader with the principal Contents of it.

Secretary Walsingham's Letter.

" Sir, Being absent from Court at the late Execution " of the Queen your Sovereign's Mother, at my return " I wrote to Mr. *Douglass*, what Course the King's best " Friends here, thought was fit for him to take in this " remediless Accident, for Continuance of Peace and " Amity between the two Crowns; but finding him " unwilling to concern himself, I thought good to " write to you for the same purpose. And the rather, " because I hear your King seems inclined to War, to " revenge his Mother's Death, which as I am sorry to " hear, so I have reason to hope that his Majesty being " of such an excellent Judgment himself, by the good " Advice of such as you are, in Credit and Authority " about him, Men of Wisdom and Experience, whom " he will hear, this Mischief may be prevented, if all " things are duly considered. For not to stand upon " the Justness of the Quarrel, consider how your Sove- " reign will be able to go through with such an Enter- " prize if he undertake it, since the Forces of his own " Kingdom are far inferiour to those in *England*, and " to expect Assistance from *Spain* or *France* is a meer " Chimera; for considering the accustomed Delays, " and after long Sollicitation the simple Supplies that " are commonly found at these Princes hands, as also " how doubtful the Success of War may prove, *Eng-* " *land*, God be thanked, being so well able to defend " it self, and being assisted by Sea with *Holland* and " *Zealand*, need not fear what all the Potentates of " *Europe* can do to annoy her. This being thought of, " your Sovereign will scarce embark himself and Estate " in such an unnecessary War: But much more if you " consider what a Train of Dangers it carries along with " it; for if he should escape being slain in the Field, " yet if he should be taken Prisoner, or be forced to " fly the Kingdom, for such things have often happen- " ed, having insensed all *England* against him, he " will be put by any Right in the Succession of this " Crown, (as Authority is given to do it by the same " Statute whereby they proceeded against the Mother) " for attempting to invade this Kingdom, what Ex- " tremity would he be reduced to? Besides the Nobi-

lity

" lity, by whoſe Judgment the late Queen was condem- A. D.
" ned, and the Gentry that confirmed it in Parliament, 1587.
" would adventure any thing, even to the marching
" over their Bellies, rather than yield to his Covernment;
" who being ſo vindictive, they might doubt would
" one day call their Lives and Honours in queſtion.

" For theſe Reaſons it will appear moſt reaſonable
" to all Men of Judgment, not tranſported with Paſ-
" ſion, or byaſſed by private Reſpects, that your So-
" vereign ſhould treat the Queen with a Princely Mo-
" deration on this unhappy Occaſion, and ſeek to
" win the good Will of the *Engliſh* Nation, as his
" beſt Aſſurance of their future Reſpects. To depend
" either upon the *French* King or the King of *Spain*,
" to gain the poſſeſſion of this Crown, would be a
" very deſperate Courſe; for 'tis unſafe for any Prince
" to repoſe his Strength upon their Aſſiſtance and Fa-
" vours, whoſe Greatneſs may impeach their own De-
" ſigns, and 'tis againſt common reaſon to expect they
" will aſſiſt him farther than conſiſts with their own
" Pretenſions, whereof neither of the two Princes can
" join with your Sovereign for his Good.

" Firſt, Becauſe his Religion is odious to them both,
" and likely to prove moſt prejudicial to the Popiſh In-
" tereſt, when he ſhall be ſo great as the Union of
" the two Crowns will make him. Next, it is wholly
" repugnant to the Intereſt and Policy of *France* to ſuf-
" fer the uniting of *England* and *Scotland*, were it but
" meerly out of Conſideration of the Antient Claim
" that *England* makes to that Crown, wherein much
" *Scotiſh* Blood has been formerly ſpent in *French*
" Quarrels about it. As for the King of *Spain*, the
" Donation of this Crown made him by the late Queen
" of *Scots* in her Letters, with a Promiſe to confirm
" it by her Teſtament, ought to breed Suſpicions in
" your Sovereign's Head, and gave him opportunity
" to conſider how he would be treated by ſuch an As-
" ſiſtant. Auxiliary Forces have always been reputed
" dangerous, if either in Number, or Policy, they were
" ſuperiour to them that call'd them in. The Aſſi-
" ſtance therefore of *Spain* and *France* being directly
" of this Nature, as your Sovereign ſtands in need of
" neither, ſo for his own eaſe he would do well to for-
" bear them both.

" It may be ſome will pretend, that by changing his
" Religion your Sovereign will be in a better conditi-

A. D. 1587. " on, in regard of thoſe Foreign Princes, beſides a " great Party within this Realm, that will thereby " be drawn to depend wholly on his Fortune: But " the poor diſtreſſed *don Antonio* being a Romiſh Prince, " ſpoiled by a Papiſt, and receiving ſo little Succour " at Popiſh Princes hands, is a ſufficient Bar to all " that can be alledged in that behalf. And as to the " *Engliſh* Papiſts, they never could be brought to draw " all in one Line in his Mother's time, much leſs " will they be brought ſuddenly to rely upon him, if " he ſhould alter his Religion (which God forbid); but " would utterly ruin him with both the Parties, nei- " ther of them having cauſe to repoſe any Confidence " in him, but to forſake him, for diſſembling with " God and Man. And whereas ſome inſinuate that " your Sovereign is obliged in Honour, to give ſome " remarkable Teſtimony to the World of his Duty to his " Mother, in revenging her Death; but your King " cannot be ignorant, that Paſſion and Fury often u- " ſurps that Name, and therefore ought to conſider, " whether the Attempt be within the Limits of Poſſibi- " lity, Decency and Juſtice. If the late Queen had " been Innocent, Revenge had been neceſſarily Juſt, " and Honourable; but being culpable, that Conſide- " ration diſcharges the Duty of a Son from hazard- " ing his own Ruin unjuſtly. Others, I hear, per- " ſwade the King, that by meditating for his Mo- " ther againſt the Mind of the Parliament, he has al- " ready ſo diſtaſted the Nobility and People of *England*, " that he muſt be forced to procure Foreign Aid; but " theſe Incendiaries groſly abuſe both his Highneſs and " this Realm; for as they were not unſenſible, what " Nature might require of him, ſo long as his Mother " was alive, and there was any hope of Life; ſo they " doubt not but that Reaſon will induce him to leave " ſorrowing in due time. Thus have I troubled you " with a long Diſcourſe, to which my deſire of conti- " nuing Friendſhip between the two Crowns has car- " ried me, unawares, farther than I intended, which " I refer to your good Conſideration, not doubting but " you will readily contribute all good Offices, that may " tend to the common Good of both Iſlands; and ſo I " commit you to God.

From the Court at Greenwich, *the 4th of* March, 1586.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured Friend

Walſingham

Whilſt Mr. *Cary* was in *Scotland*, *Daviſon* was brought into the Star Chamber before certain Commiſſioners choſen to that purpoſe, where he was charged with cauſing the Queen of *Scots* to be executed againſt, or without the Queen's Knowledge. *Daviſon* anſwered, That if he ſhould confeſs himſelf Guilty of the Crimes objected againſt him, he ſhould injure his own Reputation, which was dearer than his Life, and if he ſhould conteſt with the Queen in his own Defence, he ſhould do what was unbecoming the Obedience of a Subject, the Behaviour of a Servant, and the Faith and Office of a Secretary. He proteſted before God and the Commiſſioners, that he had done nothing in this Matter but what he had perſwaded himſelf was the Queen's Will and Pleaſure, wherein if he had wronged himſelf, either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly troubled, and patiently undergo the Commiſſioners Cenſures. A. D. 1587. Daviſon *try'd for it.*

The Commiſſioners were all agreed that *Daviſon* was an honeſt Man, and that in this Act he had done the Nation great Service; but for the manner of doing it without the Queen's Knowledge, they fined him Ten thouſand Pounds, and Impriſonment during the Queen's Pleaſure.

Thus was *Daviſon*, an Ingenious Man, but a Stranger to the Artifices of Courts and Courtiers, brought upon the Stage on purpoſe (as ſome thought) to ſerve a Turn, but miſcarrying in the laſt Act, was thruſt off again, and tho' not without the Pity of many good and thinking Men, kept a long time in Priſon, which, if you believe his private Apologetical Diſcourſe to *Walſingham*, you will alſo think he had very hard meaſure. " The Queen, ſaith he, after the Departure " of the *French* and *Scotch* Ambaſſadors, commanded " me to deliver her the Warrant for Executing the " Sentence upon *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*: When I had " deliver'd it, ſhe readily ſigned it with her own hand, " and commanded it to be ſealed with the Great Seal " of *England*, and jeſtingly ſaid, Go tell all this to *Wal-* " *ſingham*, who is now Sick, tho' I fear he will die for " Sorrow when he hears it. She added alſo the Reaſons " for defering it ſo long, namely, that ſhe might not " be ſuſpected to do it out of Malice, tho' ſhe was not " ignorant there was a neceſſity for the doing it. More- " over ſhe blamed *Powlet* and *Drury*, that they had " not eaſed her of this Care and Trouble, and wiſhed Daviſon's *private Apology.*

A. D. 1587. " that *Walſingham* would feel their Pulſes about it. The " next day after it was under the Great Seal, ſhe com- " manded me by *Killigrew* that it ſhould not be done, " and when I told her it was done already, ſhe found " fault with making ſuch great haſte, telling me that " in the Judgment of ſome wiſe Men, another Courſe " might be taken. I told her that Courſe was beſt and " ſafeſt which was moſt Juſt; but fearing ſhe ſhould " lay the Fault on me (as ſhe had laid the puting the " Duke of *Norfolk* to Death upon *Burleigh*) I acquain- " ted *Hatton* with the whole Matter, proteſting I would " plunge my ſelf no deeper in ſo great a Buſineſs. He " preſently imparted it to *Burleigh*, and the Lord *Bur-* " *leigh* to the reſt of the Council, who all agreed the " Execution ſhould be haſtened, and every one of " them vowed to bear an equal Share in the Blame, and " ſent *Beale* away with the Warrant and Letters. " The third day after, when by a Dream which ſhe " told of the Queen of *Scot*'s Death, I perceived that " ſhe wavered in her Reſolutions, I asked her, Whether " ſhe had changed her Mind? ſhe anſwered, No; but " another Courſe, ſaid ſhe, might be taken, and with- " al, asked me, Whether I had received any Anſwer " from *Powlet*: Whoſe Letter when I had ſhewed her, " wherein he flatly refuſed to undertake that which " ſtood not with Juſtice and Honour; ſhe growing an- " gry, accuſed him and others (who had bound them- " ſelves by the Aſſociation) of Perjury, and Breach of " their Vow, as thoſe that had promiſed great matters " for their Prince's Safety, but would perform nothing. " Yet there are thoſe, ſays ſhe, that will do it for my " ſake. But I ſhewed her how diſhonourable and un- " juſt a thing this would be, and withal into how " great Danger ſhe would bring *Powlet* and *Drury* by " it: For if ſhe approved the Fact ſhe would draw " Danger and Diſhonour upon her ſelf, beſides being " accuſed of Injuſtice: And if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe " would utterly undo men of great Deſert, and their " whole Poſterity. And afterward ſhe gave me a light " Check the ſame day, becauſe the Queen of *Scots* was " not Executed.

The K. of Scots reſentments.

Now though the King of *Scots* took no notice of the Diſpleaſure againſt *Daviſon*, nor how great Grief Queen *Elizabeth* conceived or pretended for the Death of the Queen of *Scots*, nor would ſuffer *Robert Cary*, the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Son, who was ſent to excuſe the Queen, and

and lay the Blame upon her Council, and *Daviſon*, to enter into *Scotland*, nor ſcarce give him the hearing by another, nor, without much ado, receive the Queen's Letter, but called home his Ambaſſador out of *England*, and threatned nothing but a direful Revenge, for the Death of his Mother: Yet he was ſo well ſatisfied with *Walſingham*'s Reaſons, and the Queens lulling him a ſleep with fair Promiſes, and the Hopes of being her Succeſſor, which conſidering his preſent Circumſtances among a divided Nobility, a Factious Clergy, a Diſcontented People, and a Barren Country, was an unanſwerable Argument to induce that King to conſult his own Intereſt, and to compound the matter without Blows, ſince he was no great Admirer of Fighting. A. D. 1587.

Whilſt with theſe important Suggeſtions ſhe cool'd the Heat and Anger of the King of *Scots*, to prevent a War threatned by the *Spaniard*, ſhe ſent Sir *Francis Drake*, with four of her own Ships, and others to the Coaſt of *Spain*, to ſurprize and deſtroy his Shiping in his Harbours, and intercept his Proviſions: In which he had ſuch Succeſs, by burning about a Hundred Veſſels at *Cadiz*, taking two Galleons, richly laden, a great Ship, called the St. *Philip*, and a Carrack at the *Azores*, that from this ſhort Voyage great Advantages redounded to the *Engliſh*; for the *Spaniards* ſuffered ſo great a Loſs, that they were conſtrained for this Year, to give over their Deſign of invading *England*. And by taking the Merchants Books and Papers in the *Indies*, the *Engliſh* were made ſo ſenſible of the Advantages of Trading thither, that they afterwards ſet up a Company of *Eaſt India* Merchants. No leſs Succeſs had *Thomas Cavendiſh* of *Suffolk* againſt the *Spaniard*, upon the Coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru* and *New-Spain*, who this Year brought home the Plunder of Nineteen Merchant Ships, and was the ſecond after *Magellan*, who ſailed round the World. Drake's *Exploits.*

Sluys being beſieged by the Prince of *Parma*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was ſent for out of *England*, by the States to relieve it. This Town being furiouſly batter'd with 17000 great Shot, which made a wide Breach, was bravely defended a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere* and Captain *Nicholas Baſquerville*, with a Garriſon of *Engliſh* and *Walloons*, but was at laſt ſurrendred, when *Leiceſter* who was drawing near to ſuccour them, being too weak to encounter the Enemy, was

A. D. 1587. forced to retire, which was the States Fault, who would not allow him such a sufficient Force. The Earl afterwards attempting to bring *Leiden* and other Cities under his own Power, was complained of by the States, called home, and *Grave Maurice*, of *Nassau*, Son to the Prince of *Orange*, being Twenty Years of Age, was in *Leicester*'s room, made Governour of the United and Confederate Provinces by the States, and *Peregrine*, Lord *Willoughby*, was made General of the *English* Forces in the Low-Countries, by the Queen.

Leicester call'd home

1588. Now we are come to the memorable Year 1588, wherein the King of *Spain*, by the Instigation of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, and others, provided a Fleet and an Army to invade *England*, which was so vaste and formidable, in the Opinion of all the World, that they gave it the arrogant Name of the *Invincible Armada*. To these Preparations in *Spain*, the Prince of *Parma* in the *Netherlands* assisted, by building many Ships and flat bottom'd Boats, big enough to carry Thirty Horse, and having an Army in readiness of One hundred and three Companies of Foot, and Four thousand Horse, to be transported into *England*, and join the Land Forces that were to be brought for the same purpose out of *Spain*, and which was valued of greatest Force, a Consecrated Standard and Benediction of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who thought by employing the *Spanish* Arms Abroad, to get the advantage of wresting the City of *Naples* out of their possession, and lay it to the Churche's Demeasns.

The Spanish preparations.

The Queen provides against them.

Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might not be surprized, imployed her utmost Care in providing as strong a Fleet as she could, and all other Necessaries for War. The Command of the Navy she gave to *Charles*, Lord *Howard*, of *Effingham*, as Lord Admiral of *England*, and sent him early to the Western Parts of *England*, where *Drake*, whom she made his Vice-Admiral, was to join him. The Lord *Henry Seymour*, Son to the Duke of *Somerset*, she commanded to lie upon the Coasts of *Holland* with Forty Ships, to prevent the Prince of *Parma* from puting to Sea with his Forces to join the *Spaniards*. For Land Service Twenty thousand Men were appointed to attend the Southern Coast, besides two Armies of well disciplined Soldiers. The one commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*, consisting of a Thousand Horse, and Two and twenty thousand Foot, which Encamped at *Tilbury*: The other under the Command of the Lord *Hudson*, consisting of Thirty four thousand Foot, and

Two

Two thouſand Horſe, to guard the Queen's Perſon. A. D. 1588.

However, in the midſt of theſe Preparations for War, Projects for Peace were not quite neglected, and to that end, *Henry*, Earl of *Derby*, *William Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, Comptrouler of the Queen's Houſhold, *Valentine Dale* and *John Rogers*, Doctors of Law, were ſent Commiſſioners into *Flanders*, to treat with the Prince of *Parma*'s Commiſſioners. They met in Tents near *Oſtend*, and dallied ſo long with the *Engliſh* about a Truce and other Preliminaries, till the *Spaniſh* Fleet were upon the Coaſts of *England*, and the thundring Cannons were heard from the Ocean. Thus this Treaty came to nothing, which was firſt began by the Queen to divert the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and continu'd by the *Spaniards* that they might ſurprize *England* at unawares and unprovided, both Parties ſewing the Foxe's Tail to the Lion's Skin.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet conſiſted of 130 Ships, in which were 19290 Soldiers, 8350 Seamen, 2080 Gally-ſlaves, and 2630 great Guns. *Don Alphonſo Perez de Guſman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia* commanded in Chief, and under him *Juan Martinez de Recalde* an experienced Navigator. *The* Spaniſh *great Numbers.*

On the 29th of *May* they put to Sea out of the River *Tayo*, and ſteering their Courſe toward the *Croyn* in *Galicia*, they were diſpers'd by a Tempeſt, and ſo ſhatter'd and Weather-beaten, that the *Engliſh* concluded the Deſign was at an end for this Year; but the Lord Admiral would not truſt to ſuch Opinions; and therefore kept his Fleet together. *July* the 12th, the *Spaniards* put to Sea again, and met with another Storm, which ſo ſcattered them that they could hardly reſemble their Fleet, till they came within ſight of *England*. The Lord Admiral having certain Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was in the Channel, and was ſeen off the Lizard Point, he Towed his Fleet out of Harbour and put to Sea. The next day the *Engliſh* ſpyed them, and ſuffered them to paſs by, that they might chaſe them before the Wind. The next day the Lord Admiral with his own Ship, (fell as he thought) upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral, tho' it proved to be *Alphonſo de Levah*'s Ship. Soon after, *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher* engaged their Rear Squadron commanded by *Recalde*, and ſo ſcattered them that they were forced to fly into the headmoſt Fleet for ſhelter, and now a ſmart Fight continued for two hours, which the Lord Admiral thought fit to hold no longer, forty of his Ships *The firſt Engagement.*

A. D. 1588. Ships being not yet come into him. The 23d, betimes in the Morning, the *Spaniard* tacked about upon the *Engliſh*, and each Fleet ſtriving for the Weather-gage, they fought ſmartly, but in great confuſion, and what Advantage there was, fell to the *Engliſh*, for the *Spaniſh* Fleet being huge, heavy, unwildy, high Ships, they ſhot over their Enemies, while the *Engliſh* low and light Frigots, ſorely gauled and wounded the *Spaniſh* moving Caſtles.

On the 27th, the *Spaniſh* Fleet came to Anchor before *Calais*, and the Lord Admiral with two other Squadrons within Cannon ſhot of them. From hence they ſent to the Prince of *Parma* to ſend them forty Fly-Boats, and deſired him to put to Sea with his Army, and Land it in *England*; but he was ſo ſtrictly watched by the *Holland* and *Zealand* Fleets, that he could not come out without throwing his Fleet and Land Army upon certain Deſtruction. The *Engliſh* Squadrons being now reinforced by the young Gentry, who out of Love to their Queen and Country, had hired Ships at their own proper Charges, in conſiderable numbers; among others, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Charles Blount*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Georges*, and others of good Quality, and ſeeing the *Spaniards* were unwilling to hazard a Fight at Sea, the Admiral, in the dead of the Night, ſent Eight Fire-Ships, under the Command of *Young* and *Prowſe* into the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which the *Spaniards* eſpying, raiſed a hideous Outcry, weighed Anchor, cut their Cables, and in a terrible Fright and great Confuſion put to Sea. A great Galleon having broken her Rudder, after a ſharp Fight, wherein the Captain *Don Hugo de Moncado* was killed, fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, with a conſiderable quantity of Gold, which was ſhared among the Sailors. *Drake* and *Fenner* chaſed the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and fell upon them as they were gathering together at *Gravelin*, with whom quickly joyned *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Breſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and not long after the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*. The Duke *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Recalde* and others, having got clear of the Shallows, endured their Shot to their great damage; but the Galleon St. *Matthew*, commanded by *Don Diego Piementelli*, which was ſorely raked and battered by *Seymour* and *Wintour*, drove

The Invention of Fire-Ships

drove near *Oſtend*, and was taken by the *Fluſhingers*. A. D. 1588.

The laſt day of the Month, the Wind blowing hard at Weſt North Weſt, drove the whole *Spaniſh* Fleet towards *Zealand*, and the *Engliſh* ſeeing them hurrying ſo faſt to their own Ruin, upon the Sands and Shelves of *Zealand*, they gave over the Chace; but the Wind ſhifting to the Southward, they eſcaped that danger, and holding a Council of War, reſolved to return into *Spain* through the Northern Sea; but ſome being of Opinion that they would return, Queen *Elizabeth* came to *Tilbury*, and with a Maſculine Bravery, with a Leader's Truncheon in her Hand, rid from Rank to Rank among the Army, where it was a pleaſant ſight to ſee how her Preſence encouraged both her Officers and Soldiers, who made the Heavens eccho their joyful Acclamations. The *Spaniards* having now thrown off all hopes of coming back again, and placing their Saftety in their flight, made no ſtay till they arrived in *Spain*. Thus this great and falſly called *Invincible Armada*, which was at a vaſt Charge, three whole Years, fiting out, was in a Months time totally overthrown: Upon which Medals were Coined in *England* in memory of this ſignal Victory: A Fleet of Ships flying, with this Inſcription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit*; *It came, It ſaw, it fled.* Other Medals with Fire Ships and a Fleet in confuſion, Inſcribed, *Dux fœmina facti*, *A Woman's Conduct acompliſhed it.* The *Spaniards* that through great Difficulties got home, imputed their Misfortunes to the Prince of *Parma*'s Negligence, and their own too obſequious obeying Orders, which left them no liberty to act by their own Prudence, as unthought of Emergencies might intervene. The King of *Spain* took his Loſs patiently, and the Queen of *England* joyfully, and both of them cauſed publick Thanks to be given to God in all their Churches: Queen *Elizabeth* becauſe it was ſo well, and King *Philip* becauſe it was no worſe. Nor was the Joy leſs in *Scotland*, for that King hearing the News, ſaid merrily, That he expected no other Favour from the *Spaniard*, than that *Polyphemus* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, That he ſhould have the honour being laſt devoured.

The Spaniards *defeated.*

Medal's Coined.

Now died the Earl of *Leiceſter*, which the Queen laid much to heart, he being her ſpecial Favourite. He was firſt Son to *John*, Duke of *Northumberland*, Privy Counſellor to *Edward* VI. Maſter of the Ordinance to Queen *Mary*, Maſter of the Horſe to Queen *Elizabeth*, who,

The Earl of Leiceſter's *Death.*

as

A. D. 1588. as it was reported, loved him dearly; Knight of the Orders of St. *George* and St. *Michael*, of the Queen's Privy Council, Lord Steward of her Houſhold, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, Juſtice in *Eyre*, Lieutenant and Captain General of the *Engliſh* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, Governour and Captain General of the United Provinces, and this year General of the *Engliſh* Army againſt the *Spaniards*. He was eſteem'd an exquiſite Courtier, but his Character is ſo divided between Extreams of Good and Evil, that I ſhall not meddle with it. He died in the Queen's Debt, and his Goods were ſold to diſcharge it; for the Queen, tho' ſhe was otherwiſe kind enough to her Subjects, ſhe would abate no Debt due to her Treaſury.

1589. The *Spaniards* meeting with this Diſappointment, they have another Plot upon *England*, and intend to infeſt it by the way of *Scotland*. In this Affair they imployed *Bruce* a Prieſt, and *Chreiton* and *Hays* Jeſuits, who eaſily inveigled into their Party the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arrol* and *Crawford*, who were bigoted to the *Popiſh* Religion, and *Bothwel*, a Man of an unſteady and diſloyal Temper; the Sum of their Deſign was to ſeize upon the King's Perſon, to let in Foreign Troops, to reſtore Popery, and to invade *England*, and revenge the Death of the Queen of *Scots*; but the King, by a ſpeedy March againſt them, overthrew that Deſign in *Scotland*; and the Queen by Apprehending, Trying and Condemning *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, who favour'd the *Spaniſh* Party, tho' ſhe gave him his Life, put an end to the whole Enterprize.

The Earl of Arundel condemned

This being done at home, the Queen ſent out a Fleet, wherein were 11000 Soldiers, and 1500 Mariners, under the command of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*, who took the lower Town at the *Groyn*, and plunder'd all the Villages about it, and ſlaughtered the flying *Spaniards* three Miles together. At this time, *Robert*, Earl of *Eſſex*, a young Gentleman, ambitious of Military Glory, deſpiſing the Eaſe and Pleaſures of the Court, at his own Charge put himſelf (againſt the Queen's Conſent) to Sea, and came to them. The next day they all ſailed to *Penicha*, a Town in *Portugal*, and took it, and from thence the Land Army marched to *Lisbon*, upon whom the *Spaniſh* Garriſon ſallied, and *Bret* with his Men ſuſtained the charge with great Courage, till they were reinforced by more *Engliſh* and *Portuguſe*, and then the Earl of *Eſſex* drove them back and

and ſlaughter'd them to the Gates of the City. In the mean time *Drake* took *Caſcaies*, afterwards *Vigo*, and then a deadly ſickneſs falling among the *Engliſh*, they returned home. A. D. 1589.

The French Holy League.

Now began the Holy League in *France*, againſt the King and the Proteſtants, whereof the Duke of *Guiſe* was the Head, with deſign to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and his Couſin *Conde* from the Succeſſion.. *Guiſe* coming to *Paris* raiſed ſuch a Tumult, that the *French* King was forced to ſummon a Meeting of Parliament at *Blois*; and now finding the Duke of *Guiſe* too big to be queſtioned by Laws, and ſuſpecting that the Duke had laid a Plot to take away his Life, he cauſed him treacherouſly and unawares to be ſtabb'd in the Court, and ſoon after his Brother the Cardinal to be ſtrangled; in requital whereof, the Leaguers ſeeing the King adhere to the Proteſtants, procured him to be barbarouſly murdered by *James Clement* a Monk, excluded the King of *Navarre* from ſucceeding to the Crown, tho' it was his undoubted Right, and proclaim'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, King of *France*. The Queen gave the King of *Navarre* what Aſſiſtance ſhe could, and to ſtrengthen the Alliance among the Proteſtants, propoſeth the King of *Scots* to marry with the Lady *Catherine* his Siſter; but that King having a greater Affection for *Ann*, Daughter of *Frederick* the Second, King of *Denmark*, he ſailed thither, and conſummated a Marriage with her in *October* 1589.

1590. *Sir* Francis Walſingham's *Death.*

In this Year happen'd little of moment, and is moſt conſiderable for the Loſs of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Principal Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and of the Order of the Garter. He was a Wiſe and Vigilant States-man, had performed ſeveral Honourable Embaſſies, was a reſolute Maintainer of the Proteſtant Religion, and had a peculiar Talent in diſcovering Conſpiraces, and ſecret Practices againſt Religion, his Prince and Country, by which he preſerved his Miſtreſs's Life from daily Attempts, and Plots againſt her, and by a refined piece of Policy, defeated for a whole Year together the Meaſures *Spain* had taken for fiting out their *Armada* to invade *England*. He had his Spies in moſt Courts in *Chriſtendom*, and allowed them a liberal Maintenance. The Court of *England* had reaſon to have an Eye upon the King of *Scots*, as being the next Heir to the Crown, and therefore he planted one *Wigmore* there, that gave him a full Account

A. D 1590. count of all his Publick and private Tranſactions, and yet lived nine Years in the greateſt Favour aud Familiarity with King *James*, without the leaſt Suſpicion of being a Spy upon him. *Walſingham* alſo laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars in *France* and in the *Low-Countries*, which put a final Stop to the vaſt Deſigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Upon which Occaſion he told the Queen at his return from his Embaſſy into *France*, "That ſhe had no reaſon to fear the *Spaniard*, for tho' "ſhe had a ſtrong Appetite and a good Digeſtion, he "had given him ſuch a Bone to pick, as would take "him up twenty Years at leaſt and break his Teeth "at laſt: So that her Majeſty had no more to do, but "to throw from time to time, ſome *Engliſh* Fuel into "the Fire he had kindled, to keep it burning. This great Man, after all the Services he had performed for his Queen and Country, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death, how far he had prefer'd the publick Intereſt before his own; for he died ſo poor that his Friends were obliged to bury him privately in the Night, for fear his Body ſhould be arreſted for Debt. A fault which few Stateſmen, ſince his time, have been guilty of. He left behind him only one Daughter, famous for having three Husbands, the greateſt Men of Note in their time. The firſt was Sir *Philip Sidney*, the ſecond *Robert*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and the third Earl of *Clanrickard*, who was by King *Charles* made Earl of St. *Albans*.

1591. *Hacket the blaſphemer.* About this time appear'd a great Blaſphemer named *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, who with *Wiggington*, *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*, laboured to introduce the Presbyterian Diſcipline of *Geneva* into *England*, and to that end declared, that he was divinely inſpired, nay, was the Meſſias himſelf: Alſo that *Hacket* was the Supreme Monarch of the World; that he only was to be obeyed, and the Queen depoſed. Shortly after being apprehended, he was indicted of Treaſon, confeſſed himſelf Guilty, and by his Blaſphemous Anſwers ſtruck the Auditors into Horrour and Aſtoniſhment. Being condemned, he was laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn thro' the Principal Places of the City, inceſſantly roaring out, *Jehova*, *Meſſias*; *Jehova Meſſias*, *behold the Heavens open, behold the Son of the moſt High deſcending to deliver me.* Being at the Gallows, and admoniſhed to acknowledge his Sins againſt God and the Queen, the execrable Wretch inveighing bitterly againſt the Queen called aloud to God, *To ſhew ſome Miracle*

from

from the Clouds to convert the Infidels, and to reſcue him from his Enemies; but if thou wilt not do it, ſays he, *I will ſet the Heavens on Fire, and with theſe Hands pluck thee from thy Throne.* Then turning to the Hangman as he was puting the Rope about his Neck, he ſaid, *Thou Baſtard, Wilt thou hang* Hacket *thy King?* And when the Rope was about his Neck, he caſting up his Eyes to Heaven, and grining, ſaid, *Doſt thou pay me with this inſtead of a Kingdom? I am coming to revenge it.* A. D. 1591.

While the King of *Spain* was proſecuting his Wars, and the Queen knowing he carried on Deſigns more by the Power of the Gold of *America*, than the Strength of *Spain*, ſhe reſolved to ſend Sir *Walter Rawleigh* with Fifteen Ships to take *Panama*, but being kept in the Harbour three Months, by contrary Winds, that Deſign miſcarried, however, in their Return home they took a huge Carrack, call'd the Mother of Gold, valued at One hundred and fifty thouſand Pound Sterling, beſides other ſmall Veſſels worth the Voyage. 1592.

The Queen ſtill continued ſupplying the *French* King with Men and Money, and at length hearing to her great Affliction, that he had forſaken the Proteſtant Religion, and to pleaſe his Factious Subjects, embraced Popery, ſhe ſent him this Letter. 1593.

The Queen's Letter to the French *King.*

" Alas, what " deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighths " have I felt at my Heart, for what *Morlant* has told " me? Is the World come to that paſs? Is it poſ- " ſible that any Worldly Matters ſhould make you " quit the Fear of God? Can we expect any happy " iſſue of ſuch a Fact, or could you think that he who " has hitherto, with his own right hand, upheld and " preſerved you, would now forſake you? It is a dan- " gerous thing to do evil that good may come thereby, " yet I hope ſober Thoughts will put you into a bet- " ter Mind. In the mean time I will not omit to " make it a principal part of my Prayers, the recom- " mending you to God, beſeeching him that the hands " of *Eſau* may not diſappoint you of the Bleſſing of " *Jacob*. And whereas you do religiouſly and ſolemn- " ly offer me your Friendſhip, I am very ſenſible, to " my great Coſt, that I have well deſerved it, nor " ſhould I repent that, had you not changed your " Father. Verily from hence-forward I cannot be " your Siſter, by that Father, for the truth is, I ſhall " for ever dearly love and honour my own Fa- " ther,

A. D. 1593. "ther, rather than a falſe and counterfeit one, which "God knows very well, whom I beſeech to bring you "back to a better mind. Subſcribed,

Your Siſter, if it be after the old manner, as for the new, I have nothing to do with it.

Elizabeth R.

An attempt to poiſon the Queen.

The *Spaniard* not prevailing againſt the Queen by force of Arms, began to attempt her Death by Poyſon, and to that end employed *Roderigo Lopez*, a *Jew*, one of the Queen's Phyſicians in Ordinary, to effect it, to whom they joined *Stephen Ferrira*, *Gama*, and *Emanuel Loiſie*, *Portugueſes*. The Plot was diſcovered by intercepted Letters, and the Offenders being apprehended, were arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, and by their own Confeſſions, convicted of a Deſign to Poyſon the Queen.

1594. At the Bar *Lopez* ſaid little for himſelf, but charged the Fault upon *Ferreri* and *Emanuel*, and the others charging the Blame upon him, all ſaying they had no ill deſign upon the Queen, but only thought to get ſome Money from the *Spaniard*. They were all of them condemned, and three Months after put to death at

1595. *Tyburn*, where *Lopez* affirmed, that he loved the Queen as well as Jeſus Chriſt; which coming from a profeſs'd *Jew*, gave an occaſion of Laughter.

This Year the *Spaniards*, under the Conduct of *Didaco Brochin*, put to Sea with Four Gallies, and arriving in *Cornwall*, went a ſhoar and fired a Church that ſtood alone in the Field, *Mouſe Hole*, *Newlin* and *Penſance*, three poor Fiſher Towns, and retired with great Precipitation, without killing or taking ſo much as one Man. And theſe were the firſt and laſt *Spaniards* that ever made any Hoſtile Attempt by Invading *England*; but greater matters were undertaken againſt the *Spaniards*, by the incomparable Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others, who Sailing to the Iſle of *Trinidad*, took the City of St. *Joſeph*, and the Governour *Antonio Bereo*, but found not ſo much as one piece of Silver Coin among them. At the ſame time, *Amias Preſton* and *Sommers* ſack'd the Iſland *Perto Santo*, near *Madera*, *Coke* near *Margarita*, the little Town of *Coros*, and the City of St. *Jago de Leon*, but ſpared *Cumana* for a Sum of Money: A few Months after, the Earl of *Cumberland's*

land's three Ships ſet upon a huge Carrack, called, *The five Wounds of Chriſt*, who unfortunately took fire in the fight, and was burnt with all her Merchandize. A. D. 1596.

An Expedition into Spain.

A general Report being ſpread that the *Spaniard* was preparing for another Attempt upon *England*, the Queen to diſperſe the Storm that was gathering, thought it adviſable to attack the Enemy in his own Ports, and to that end rigg'd out a Fleet of 150 Ships, in which were 6360 Soldiers under pay; Voluntier Gentlemen 1000, and 6772 Seamen. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charles Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, who were both at great Charges in this Expedition, were Commanders in chief; to whom were joyned for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Coniers Clifford*, and the whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons. On *Sunday* the 20th of *June* early in the Morning this Fleet came to an Anchor in *Cadiz* Bay. *Eſſex* full of Courage and youthful Heat, was for landing immediately, but the Lord Admiral and *Rawleigh* oppoſed it. The next Tide, the *Spaniſh* Men of War ſailed up to *Puntal*, the Merchant Ships toward *Port Royal*, and the *Engliſh* anchor'd in their places. The next Tide they weighed and diſperſed the Gallies, and fell upon the Men of War at *Puntal* with ſo much fury, that being ſhot through and miſerably torn, the *Spaniards* reſolved to fire their Ships to run them aground. The *Spaniſh* Admiral called St. *Philip*, was burnt, but the St. *Matthew* and the St. *Andrew* were both ſaved and taken. The Sea Fight being ended, *Eſſex* landed 800 Men at *Puntal*, about a League from the City of *Cadiz*, and having broken down the Bridge *Suaco*, march'd directly to the City, and forcing the Gates, a ſharp fight began in the Streets, and in half an Hour, the *Engliſh* led by the Earl of *Eſſex*, gained the Market-place, and being reinforced by the Lord Admiral's Seamen, the *Spaniards* retir'd into the Caſtle and Town-houſe. The latter was preſently yielded, and the Caſtle the next day, upon theſe Conditions, *viz. That the Citizens ſhould depart in ſafety, with the Cloths they had on: That* 520000 *Ducats ſhould be paid for their Ranſom, and forty of the Principal Citizens ſhould be ſent Hoſtages into* England *till the Money was depoſited.* The Women, Church-men and Citizens were conveyed to *Port Santa Maria*.

Cadiz *taken by the* Engliſh.

A. D. 1596.

Rawleigh, in the mean time, with his leſſer Ships, was commanded to burn the Merchants Ships at *Port Royal*. Two Millions of Ducats were offered for their Redemption, but the Lord Admiral refuſed all Compoſition, ſaying, *He was ſent to deſtroy the Shipping, and not to releaſe them for Money*; and it was done accordingly. In the City was found vaſt Proviſion for War, and great Sums of Money, of which every one caught what they could. In this Expedition, by a very modeſt Computation, the *Spaniard* loſt above the value of twenty Millions of Ducats. Of the *Engliſh* no Man of Note miſcarried but Sir *John Wineſield*, who was honourably interr'd in the principal Church of the City. *Eſſex* only was of opinion that the Town ought to be kept, but being over-ruled, after they had ranſack'd the Iſland, razed the Forts, and burnt many of the Houſes, they quitted the place, with this Commendation from the *Spaniards*, *That tho' in Sacred things the* Engliſh *ſhewed themſelves like Hereticks, yet in all other matters they behaved themſelves like ſtout Soldiers, wiſe Counſellors, and Men of Honour*. The Queen at their return receiv'd them all very graciouſly, eſpecially *Eſſex* and the Admiral, whom ſhe extoll'd with the higheſt Acknowledgments.

The *Spaniard* attempting to make a more ſucceſsful Invaſion on *England*, and to recover his Loſſes at *Cadiz*, ſet out another Fleet, but were ſo ſcattered by a violent Storm, that they were forced to return. The Earl of *Eſſex* in the beginning of the Spring was ſent out with a Fleet of Ships, which were divided into three Squadrons, the firſt commanded by *Eſſex* himſelf, the ſecond by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the third by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who were to ſteer to *Fayal* and the *Groin*, to ſurpriſe the *Spaniſh* Fleet in their Harbours, and intercept the *Indian* Fleet at the *Azores*, but they had ſcarce got forty Leagues when they were driven back by a terrible Tempeſt, and afterwards ſtrayed by contrary Winds till the 17th of *Auguſt*, when the Fleet puts to Sea, but by accident at the Lands-end *Rawleigh* is left behind, and *Eſſex* and *Howard* proceed on their Voyage. *Rawleigh* follows after, but loſeth them and Landeth at *Fayal*, which he taketh, and thereby offendeth *Eſſex*, to whom however he is reconciled. *Gratioſa* and *Flores* yield to *Eſſex*, but they unfortunately miſs of the *American* Fleet, of which they only take three, and vainly attempt the reſt in the Haven, and afterwards

wards burn a Carrack, in their way home are ſcattered by a Storm. When *Eſſex* came home he was diſpleaſed to find Sir *Robert Cecil* made Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and that *Charles Howard*, Lord Admiral was honoured with the Earldom of *Nottingham*, and grew very uneaſy at Court; but the Queen, who had always a great Eſteem for *Eſſex*, appeas'd his Diſcontent by dignifying him with the Title of *Earl Marſhal of* England. A. D. 1597.

Eſſex made Earl Marſhal.

Propoſals of Peace being made between the *French* and *Spaniards*, which the Queen obſtructed what ſhe could, and being now almoſt brought to a happy Iſſue, the ſame Offers were made to *England* and *Holland*, which the Queen ſeemed to accept, but *Holland* oppoſed it to the utmoſt. *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer enclined to have Peace with the *Spaniard*, and by many ſolid Arguments preſs the Acceptance of it, as a great Good to *England*. *Eſſex* argued to the contrary with all the Force he was Maſter of, inſomuch that the Lord Treaſurer ſaid, he breath'd nothing but Danger, War and Blood, and after a hot Diſpute, drew out his Pſalm Book, and ſaying nothing, pointed *Eſſex* to theſe Words, *Men of Blood ſhall not live out half their Days*: In carrying on this Buſineſs of the Peace, and chuſing a fit Perſon to manage the Affairs in *Ireland*, which were now in great Diſorder, there grew a hot Debate between the Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex*, none being preſent but the Lord Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and *Windebank*, Clerk of the Signet. The Queen thought Sir *William Knolls*, *Eſſex*'s Uncle, to be the fitteſt Perſon to be ſent into *Ireland*, and *Eſſex* obſtinately aſſerted, that Sir *George Carew* was a fitter; and ſince he could not perſwade her Majeſty to be of his Opinion, the Earl quite forgetting himſelf, and neglecting his Duty, uncivilly, and in Contempt, turn'd his Back upon her, and gave her a ſcornful Look. The Queen not enduring ſuch a rude Behaviour, *gave him a Box on the Ear, and bid him get him gone, and be hang'd.* He preſently laid his Hand upon his Sword, the Lord Admiral ſtepping between, he ſwore he would not put up the Affront, nor would have taken it at King *Henry* VIII's Hands, and in great Paſſion withdrew himſelf from Court. A. D. 1598.

The Queen ſtrikes Eſſex.

In his Retirement the Lord-Keeper by a Letter gave him this good Advice, to ſubmit himſelf to the Queen's Mercy, and remember that of *Seneca*: *If the Law puniſh*

A. D. 1598.

niſh one that is guilty, he muſt ſubmit to Juſtice: If one that is Innocent, he muſt ſubmit to Fortune. If he had juſtly offended his Prince, he could not make her Satisfaction; if ſhe had offended him, Prudence, Duty and Religion required he ſhould ſubmit, where he was under ſuch great Obligations, ſince there is no Equality between a Prince and a Subject. He anſwered the Lord-Keeper's Letter very paſſionately, uſing theſe and the like indecent Expreſſions. " No Storm is more " violent and outragious than the Anger of a paſſio- " nate Woman; the Queen's Heart is hardened. I " know what I owe as a Subject, and what as an Earl, " and Earl Marſhal of *England*; but how to ſerve as " a Drudge and a Slave, I know not. If I ſhould ac- " knowledge my ſelf Guilty, I ſhould wrong the " Truth, and God the Author of it. My whole Body " is wounded by that one Blow, and having received " this Indignity, it were Impiety to ſerve longer. Can- " not Princes Err? Can they not wrong their Subjects? " Is any Earthly Power Infinite? *Solomon* ſays, a Fool " laughs when he is ſtricken! They who get Advanta- " ges by Princes Errors and Miſdoings, let them take " Injuries at Princes Hands. They who believe not " the Infinite Omnipotency of God Almighty, may " acknowledge an Infinite Power in Royal Majeſty. " I that have been torn and rent with ſo mony Wrongs, " have long enough endured the Bitterneſs of Injuries " in my very Bowels. However, not long after he became more ſubmiſſive, obtained his Pardon, and was received into Favour, the Queen being of ſuch an excellent Diſpoſition, that ſhe always thought it leſs beſeeming her Majeſty to offend and anger à Man, than to hate him; yet from this Diſaſter his Friends ſuſpected his Ruin, for Fortune is ſeldom reconciled to her Foſter Children whom ſhe has frowned upon, and ſeldomer are Princes propitious to thoſe whom they have offended.

His Anſwer to the Lord Keeper.

The Death and Character of the Lord Burleigh.

About this time died *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*, being worn out with Labour of Mind, the Gout, and old Age, and now falling ſick, wrote a Letter to the Queen, for her leave to lay down his Offices. The Queen viſited and comforted him; but within a few days, having lived long enough to Nature, long enough to his own Glory, but not long enough for his Country, he peaceably reſigned his Soul to God. He was a moſt excellent Perſon, who

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to say nothing of his Reverend Person, and his calm and undisturbed Deportment, was so disposed by Nature, so polished by Education, and enriched with Learning, that for Wisdom, Piety, Honesty, Integrity, Gravity, Temperance, Industry, and Justice he had no superior. To add any thing after this would look like Flattery, and therefore to sum up all, the Queen was happy in such a Counsellor, and the Nation happy in such a States-man. A. D. 1598.

In the former Years the Rebellion grew very hot in *Ireland*, and now the *English* Interest there was looked upon as desperate, for the whole Nation was almost up in Arms, and so inraged with their Discontents, that they threaten'd to throw off the *English* Yoke. For Prevention of this Mischief, and to extinguish the Rebellion, the Queen thought of sending *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, to be Deputy there; but the Earl of *Essex* intimated that he was a Man but of a mean Estate, of no Experience, and too Bookish for such a Martial Employment; and in making the Character of a Man fit for that Office, he so artificially drew his own Picture, that the Queen immediately resolved to make him Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army; Which yet he made a shew of refusing, praying the Queen to bestow it upon some abler Person, and yet if any other Person was named, he still made Objections against him, and behaved himself in such a manner, as gave his Enemies the Advantage of saying, he wanted nothing but an Army at his Command, to set up a Title to the Crown, which his Friends and Flatterers had drawn up for him. Other Courtiers who had rather have his Room than his Company, push'd him forward to accept the Command, knowing his youthful Heat, and Ambition of Glory would hasten his Ruin; there being no such effectual way to destroy a Popular and Aspiring Man, as by thrusting him upon Business he is unfit for; but all these Arts he either did or would not perceive, and therefore to the general Rejoycing was made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. A. D. 1599. *A Rebellion in* Ireland. Essex *made Lord Deputy.*

An Army of 16000 Foot, and 1300 Horse was appointed for him, and whatever else he could wish was obtained by the officious, but decitful Intrigues of his secret Enemies, who were raising him on high, that his Fall might be the greater. The Earl went over in *March*, and having received the Sword according to Custom, he presently made the Earl of *Southampton* Ge-

A. D. 1599. neral of the Horſe, contrary to his Inſtructions, and march'd againſt petty Rebels, neglecting the Arch-Rebel *Tir Owen*, againſt whom he was particularly ſent over, and all without acquainting the Queen with his Reaſons for ſo doing, which cauſed her to be extreamly diſſatisfied with his Conduct. Two conſiderable Defeats the *Engliſh* ſuffered in *Ireland*, and at length the Earl contrary to order concluded a Peace with *Tir Owen*, which the Queen having notice of, and that with ſo ſtrong an Army, in ſo long a time, and at ſo great Expence of Money, *Eſſex* had done nothing, ſhe was angry at it, blamed his Counſels and Reſolutions as over-raſh, unfortunate and full of Contempt and Diſreſpect to her Majeſty; nay, ſhe ſtuck not to ſay, *That he had ſomething elſe in his Mind than to do his Prince and Country Service in* Ireland. Nor were her Suſpicions ill grounded, for now he began to contrive a wicked Deſign of returning into *England* with a Party of ſelect Men to reduce his Adverſaries into his Power by force of Arms, being perſwaded that many would joyn with him, either out of Love, or a deſire of Innovations: And had certainly attempted it, if the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* had not diſſwaded him from it, as a Wicked, Bloody, Hateful and dangerous Project. Whether the Queen had Intelligence of this Matter or not, does not appear, tho' it is reaſonable to think ſhe had, for at the ſame time an Army of 6000 Men were raiſed in *London*, whereof 3000 were appointed to guard the Queen's Perſon, and the reſt to be always near and ready upon all Occaſions, under the Command of the Earl of *Nottingham*; but a few days after, this Army was disbanded.

He is ſuſpected by the Queen.

Within a Month the Earl of *Eſſex* poſted into *England*, accompanied with ſeveral of his Choice Friends, went to *Nonſuch*, where the Queen then lay, and early in the Morning preſented himſelf on his Knees before the Queen in her Privy Chamber, when ſhe little thought of it. She entertained him ſomewhat graciouſly in a ſhort Conference, but not with ſo pleaſant a Countenance as formerly, and at his Departure commanded him to keep his Chamber; for as ſhe was before diſpleaſed with his ill Conduct, he had now incurred her further Diſpleaſure in leaving *Ireland* without Licenſe. Afterward his Proceedings being generally diſliked by the Council, and aggravated by Fictions and Inventions of his Adverſaries, he was committed to the Cuſtody.

Committed to Cuſtody.

Cuſtody of the *Lord-Keeper*, that he might not be farther withdrawn from his Duty, by ſeditious Counſels. A. D. 1599.

But let us return to the *Iriſh* Affairs. Scarce was the Truce from ſix Weeks to ſix Weeks expired, but *Tir Owen* prepared again for open Hoſtility, and being accuſed by the Council for Breach of Faith, he ſaid he had juſt cauſe to renew the War, ſince the Earl of *Eſſex*, on whom he ſolely depended for his Life and Safety, was committed to Cuſtody in *England*, nor would he for the future have any thing to do with the Council of *Ireland*, who had dealt fraudulently with him heretofore. In the mean time Rumours flew abroad among the Rebels, that *England* e're long would be embroiled in Civil Commotions, and therefore he gave Encouragement to the *Iriſh* Rebels to joyn with him, to the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* power in *Ireland*; to which he was incouraged by the *Spaniards* who had ſent him both Money and Ammunition, and alſo by the Pope, who had encouraged him by large Promiſes and Indulgencies, all which Rebellious Practices in *Tir Owen* were either directly or indirectly charged upon the Earl of *Eſſex* by his Enemies. Now the Queen ſends the Lord *Mountjoy* her Deputy into *Ireland*, who with great Care and Induſtry fortified the moſt important Places in *Ireland*, and ſo aſſaulted *Tir Owen* with continual skirmiſhing, that he changed the Fortune of War, drove the Arch-Rebel into his Faſtneſſes and Lurking-places, ſubdued the Rebels in *Ulſter* and *Leinſter*, and where-ever he came proved a Conqueror. No worſe Succeſs had Sir *George Carew* in *Munſter*, the Southward part of *Ireland*, againſt the Titular Earl of *Deſmond*, and ſo abſolutely quieted thoſe Parts, that not ſo much as one Fort held out againſt the Queen.

The Iriſh Affairs bettered.

The Earl of *Eſſex* had been in Cuſtody at the Lord Keeper's ſix Months, and now out of his own good nature, the Senſe of his Afflictions, and the good Advice of his Friends, eſpecially of the Lord *Henry Howard*, he began to repent of his ill Deſigns, and made ſuch a ſhew of Piety, Patience, Modeſty and Humility, that his Friends were in good Hopes of his Converſion, his Adverſaries envied him, and the Queen being pacified with his Submiſſion and Penitent Letters, ſuffered him to go to his own Houſe, under the free Cuſtody of Sir *Richard Berkley*, proteſting oftentimes that ſhe would do nothing againſt him for his Ruin, but only for his Reformation. But ſince the vulgar

A. D. 1590. *The Earl's Cauſe heard.*

fort had openly proclaimed his Innocency: That the Queen might not be ſuſpected of Prejudice or Injuſtice, ſhe thought fit to have his Cauſe heard, not in the *Star-Chamber*, leſt he ſhould be ſeverely fined, but in the Lord-Keeper's Houſe, before the Queen's Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, and that ſome Cenſures ſhould be given upon his Actions, yet without any Charge of *Perfidiouſneſs*. The Heads of his Accuſation were the ſame that have been formerly mentioned, which were highly aggravated by the Queen's Council. The Earl kneeling at the Table; gave Thanks to God for all his Mercies, and to his Gracious Princeſs, that proceeded ſo mildly againſt him, proteſting that he would not contend with her, nor in Whole, nor in Part excuſe the Errors of his young and inconſiderate Years; and by ſolemn Aſſeverations proteſted, that he had ſincerely kept his Allegiance and Duty to her, never had a Thought to diſobey her, and that his Meaning was good in all things tho' it fell out otherwiſe. In Concluſion, the Lord Keeper pronounced this Sentence, *That he ſhould be removed from his Place of Privy Counſellor, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl Marſhal and Maſter of the Ordinance, and be detained in Cuſtody during the Queen's Pleaſure.* This Cenſure all the reſt approved, and many were in hopes that he would be received again into Favour, ſince the Queen had expreſly commanded, that he ſhould not be ſuſpended from being Maſter of the Horſe, and that this Cenſure ſhould, by no means, remain upon Record.

He is Sentenced.

The Queen is reconciled.

After this, the Earl made a ſhew of extraordinary Humility, which the Queen was pleaſed to hear of, and thereupon removed *Berkley* his Keeper from him, ſet him at Liberty, and gave him Leave to retire into the Country; but admoniſhed him for the future to make his own Diſcretion his Keeper, and by no means come to the Court, or near her Perſon. But as ſoon as his Servant *Cuff* had Acceſs to him, he began to poyſon his Ears, and corrupt his Heart with ill Principles.

A. D. 1600.

The Earl at preſent gave little regard to what he ſuggeſted, being in hopes that he ſhould recover the Queen's Favour, and get a new Grant for his Farm of the ſweet Wines (for ſo were called all Wines but *French* and *Rheniſh*) which brought him great Profit, and was now almoſt expired. The Queen gave him hopes of her Favour both by Words and Letters, but as to the Farm ſhe gave him theſe brief and biting Anſwers:

swers: "That she must first understand the Value of "it. That Benefits are not to be bestowed blindfold. "That a restiff Horse, must be kept short of Proven- "der, that he might be the more easily managed; and commended that Aphorism of the Physicians, which tells us, *that corrupt Bodies are injured by feeding plentifully.* These Answers so enraged *Essex*, that they threw him into his former Frensie, fired him with Indignation, and subjecting his Reason to his Passion made him listen to the Suggestions of *Cuff*, *Merick*, and other their Incendiaries, whose desperate Malice led them to their Masters and their own Destructions: Of such ill Consequence are Ear-Wigs to Greatness. Their provoking Speeches to him, made him too often chime in with them, and let fall such dangerous Words, as savoured more of Passion than Prudence, which coming to the Queen's Knowledge, and, no doubt, sometimes aggravated too with malitious Comments, and ominous Inferences, alienated the Queen's Affections from him; but that which made an irreparable Breach, was his undervaluing and reflecting undecently upon her Shape, for to mention nothing else, he gave out, *That the Queen was now grown an old Woman, and was no less crooked and distorted in her Mind than in her Body*, which some of the Court Ladies, whom he had formerly deluded in Matters of Love and Courtship, taking up at the rebound, aggravated it so spitefully, that they kindled new Flames of Discontent between them; and so sting'd his already distracted Mind, that he began to revive the clandestine Designs that he had first hatched in *Ireland*; tampered with the Puritans and their factious Ministers, and also with the Papists, by seeming to commiserate their Affliction. He secretly entertained Soldiers, and bold daring Spend-thrifts, whose Poverty made them fit for any unlawful Enterprize, and kept them near his House. He and his particular Friends, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir *John Davis*, and *John Littleton* of *Frankel*, had their private Cabals in *Drury* House, where they took up Resolutions, *To seize the* Tower, *the Court, the Queen's Person, and call a Parliament to set up another Government.* These frequent Meetings and the great Resort to *Essex* House, under Pretence of hearing Sermons, encreased the Suspicions of him, and caused him to be sent for to appear before the Council, which he refused to do, being resolve to preserve his Liberty, tho' with the

A. D. 1600.

Essex relapseth.

Raiseth Soldiers.

A. D. 1601.

the Loſs of his Blood, and to that end had gathered to his own Houſe the Lords *Sands*, *Parker*, and *Monteagle*, and about 300 Gentlemen of good Quality.

Impriſons the Privy Counſellors.

The Queen having ordered the Lord Mayor to keep the Citizens in a due Obedience to her Commands, ſent the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Knolls* and *Popham* Lord Chief Juſtice, to know the Cauſe of this Riotous Aſſembly. With much trouble they were admitted into *Eſſex*'s Houſe through the Wicket, and in the *Court-yard* found a confuſed Multitude with *Eſſex* in the middle of them, and the Lord Keeper demanding the Cauſe of that Tumult, aſſuring him that if any had injured him he ſhould have equal Juſtice againſt them, *Eſſex* anſwered, *There was a Plot laid againſt his Life*; and when the Lord Keeper preſs'd him to be particular, the Multitude interrupted him, ſaying, *Let us go they abuſe your Patience, and betray and undo you.* Hereupon *Eſſex* retired into his Houſe, and when the Lord Keeper and the reſt followed him, the Multitude cry'd out, *Kill them, throw away the Broad Seal, ſhut them up in Cuſtody*; then *Eſſex* commanded to bolt the Doors and ſhut them in, ſaying, *Have Patience a little, I will go into the City and adviſe with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and return immediately.*

Excites the Citizens to Rebellion.

Coming into *London*, *Eſſex* cry'd out, *for the Queen, for the Queen, a Plot is laid for my Life*, and went directly toward Sheriff *Smith*'s Houſe in *Fan-Churchſtreet*, and ſeeing the Citizens run and gaze, he bid them, *Arm themſelves or they could do him no Good*; but not one Man took up Arms for him, and the Sheriff in whom he confided, hearing of his coming, withdrew himſelf out at a Back-door to the Lord Mayor's, and would not ſee him. In the mean time, *Eſſex* was proclaimed a Traytor in all Parts of the City, and ſeeing none would eſpouſe his Quarrel, and that his own Party began to deſert, he gave *Gorges* leave to ſet the Privy Counſellors at Liberty, who did it, and went with them to the Court by Water. *Eſſex* returning to his Houſe, found a Chain drawn croſs the Street at St. *Paul*'s, and Pikes and Muſqueteers planted againſt him by the Biſhop of *London*, under the Command of Sir *John Leviſon*. The Earl drew his Sword, and commanded *Blunt* to fall upon them, which he did very reſolutely, killed *Waite*, and was himſelf deſperately wounded and taken Priſoner. There fell alſo *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman, whom *Eſſex* dearly loved,

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and one or two Citizens. Being thus repulsed at this place, his Hat shot through, and many slinking from him, he returned to his House by Water, burnt several Papers that they might tell no Tales, and fortified his House on all sides. A. D. 1601.

The Lord Admiral presently besieged it by Land by the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Compton*, and others. He himself, with the Lord *Effingham* his Son, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Stanhop*, Sir *Robert Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, entered into the Garden by the *Thames* side, and being ready to assault the House, he summoned him by *Sidney* to yield. *Southampton* asked to whom they should yield: To their Adversaries? that were to run themselves headlong into Ruin: To the Queen? that were to confess themselves guilty; but says he, if the Lord Admiral will give us Hostages for our Security, we will appear before the Queen; if not, we are resolved to sell our Lives as dear as we can. The Lord Admiral answered, That such Conditions were not to be proposed by Rebels, but in compassion to the weaker Sex, he would permit the Countess his Wife, the Lady *Rich* his Sister, and their Women, who filled the Air with their Shrikes and Lamentations, to go out. This *Essex* took as a Favour, only desired an hour or two's time to fortifie the place they should go out at, and that was also granted. Essex *House Besieged.*

Now the Earl of *Essex* looking upon all things as desprate and lost, once resolved to force his way out, to which he was encouraged by the ancient Lord *Sands*, who said, *That the resoluteſt courses were the safeſt, and that 'twas more honourable for Noblemen to die fighting, than by the hands of an Executioner*; but *Essex* wavering in his Mind, and having the Lord Admiral's promise that they should be treated civilly, all the Noblemen at ten a Clock at Night, falling upon their Knees, delivered up their Swords, and themselves Prisoners to him. *Essex* and *Southampton* were first confined in *Lambeth-house*, and shortly after with *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwel*, *Monteagle*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, and Sir *Henery Bromley* committed to the *Tower*. Essex *and his Associates surrender.*

On the 19th of *February* 1602, *Essex* and *Southampton* were brought to their Tryals in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Lord Treasurer *Buckhurst*, and for that Tryal Lord High Steward, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Cumberland*, *Sussex*, *Hartford* and A. D. 1602. *Are brought to their Tryals.*

A. D. 1604. and *Lincoln*. The Lord *Viſcount Howard* of *Bindon*, the *Barons* of *Hunſdon*, *La Warr*, *Morleigh*, *Cobham*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumly*, *Windſor*, *Rich*, *Darcy*, *Chandoïs*, *St. John*, *Burleigh*, *Compton* and *Howard* of *Walden*, to whom as Aſſiſtants, ſate the Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*, *Periam* Lord Chief Baron, *Gawdy*, *Fenner*, *Walmſley*, *Clark* and *Kingſmill*. Their Charge was High Treaſon, the Heads of which were, *That they had plotted to deprive the Queen of her Crown and Life, and had broken out into open Rebellion*; to which they pleaded *Not Guilty*, *Eſſex* averring that he had done nothing, but what was agreeable to the Law of Nature, and upon urgent Neceſſity,

Yelverton, the Queen's Sergeant, and *Edward Coke* her Attorney, opened the Indictment, and according to the Cuſtom of Lawyers, tho' not very commendable, upbraided *Eſſex* with the Queen's Favours, compared him to *Cataline*, and made (as ſome thought) too indecent Reflections, and Inſults upon Men of their Quality, under ſuch unhappy Cirumſtances; for *Coke* ended his Harangue with this ill natur'd Concluſion, *It were to be wiſhed that this* Robert, *might be the laſt of this Name Earl of* Eſſex, *who affected to be* Robert *the firſt of that Name King of* England.

The Earl of *Eſſex* with great Courage and Modeſty anſwer'd, That this Art of ſcandalous Oratory was common with Men of their Profeſſion, who accounted it their Glory, to run down Innocent Men with multiplicity of Words, and therefore prayed the Lords not to regard their Clamours and Noiſie Suggeſtions; but weigh the matter according to Truth, and not by *Rigour* and *Quirks* of Law: Which was added by *Southampton*. The Evidences againſt them being heard, and the whole proved againſt them, *Southampton* endeavoured to excuſe himſelf out of his Love to *Eſſex*, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and with great Humility begged the Queen's Mercy, whom he had always looked upon as a lively Image of the Divine Goodneſs, and againſt whom his Heart had never harbour'd a diſloyal Thought. *Eſſex*, when the Heat was over between him and *Cecil*, anſwered more calmly, That he had no deſign but to repel Force by Force; nor would he have entred the City ſo inconſiderately, if he had not thought his Life in danger; nor with ſo ſmall a number, if he had intended any thing but to defend himſelf againſt his private Enemies.

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The Prisoners having now made their Defences, the Lords withdrew, and in an hour returned to their places, where every one of them pronounced *Essex* and *Southampton* Guilty; who now being brought again to the Bar and acquainted with it, *Essex* humbly begged the Lord's Favours, that they would intercede with the Queen for *Southampton*'s Pardon, who might do her good Service. *For my own Life*, saith he, *I care not; for I desire nothing more than to lay it down with sincere Faith to God, and Loyalty to my Prince, tho' the Law has made another Interpretation of it. Yet I would have no Man tell the Queen that I slight her Mercy, tho' I believe I shall never fawningly beg it. And I beseech you my Peers, tho' you have condemned me by Law, that you would absolve me in your Consciences, who never intended any ill against my Prince.* A. D. 1602. *And Condemned.*

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edmund Bainham*, Knights, *John Littleton*, *Henry Cuff* the Earl of *Essex*'s Secretary, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orel*, an old Soldier, were arraigned, and as soon as they had held up their hands, and the Queen was told they were unwarily drawn in, she commanded that none but *Littleton*, *Bainham* and *Orel* should be tryed, and that the rest should be remanded to Prison, and tho' Sentence was pronounced against those that were tryed, yet at last all their Lives were spared. *Bainham* redeemed his by a Sum of Money paid to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *Littleton* died of a Disease, and *Orel* was pardoned.

In the mean while the Earl of *Essex*, either troubled in his own Conscience, or terrified by the Minister that attended him, if he concealed the Truth, and did not discover his Accessaries, he desired to speak with some of the Privy Council, and particularly with Secretary *Cecil*. Upon this Request, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and *Cecil* went to him, and after he had asked the Lord Keeper's Pardon for detaining him in Custody, and *Cecil*'s for accusing him in the matter of the *Infanta*, he told them, *That the Queen could never be safe as long as he lived*, and therefore desired he might suffer privately in the *Tower*. Some of his Associates in the Conspiracy he discover'd: He desired to speak with *Blunt* and *Cuff*, and as soon as he saw them, broke out into these Words, *O* Cuff! *Ask God's and the Queen's Pardon, and see you deserve it. For my part, I am resolved to deal sincerely before God and Man, and cannot but tell you plainly, that you were the Person that chiefly* *His Confession.*

A. D. 1602. *chiefly moved me to this Disloyalty.* Nor was he satisfied with this verbal Confession, but under his hand discovered the Conspirators.

February 25th, the Day appointed for his Execution, *Tho. Montford*, and *Will. Barlow*, Doctors of Divinity, with *Ashton* Minister of the Church in the *Tower*, were sent to him early in the Morning, to prepare him for Death. In these Men's Presence he gave Thanks to God that his Designs, which were so dangerous to the State, had no Success. He told them he had now look'd seriously into his Sin, and was heartily sorry, that he had so obstinately defended an unjust Cause at the Bar. He thanked the Queen who had granted him a private Execution, lest his Mind, which was now composed, might be disturbed by the Peoples Acclamations; saying, He had now learned how vain a thing Popular Breath and Favour was, and how he deserved to be spued out by the Common-wealth, for the Wickedness of his Enterprize, which like a Leprosie had spread far and near, and infected many.

The Queen's Mind changes.

The Queen's Mind, in the mean time, waver'd concerning him; her former Affection and Favour towards him, recall'd her to some degree of Compassion and Clemency, and she sent her Commands by Sir *Edward Cary*, that he should not be Executed: On the other side, his perverse Obstinacy who scorned to ask her Pardon, and had openly declared, that his Life would be the Queen's Destruction, did so push her on to use Severity, that soon after she sent a fresh Command by *Darcy*, that he should be Executed. Accordingly, he was brought to a Scaffold erected in the Tower, accompanyed by the Divines aforenamed. Near the Scaffolds sate the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hertford*, Viscount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Compton*, some of the Aldermen of *London*, and several Knights, amongst whom was *Rawleigh*, with a purpose, if you believe himself, to answer if the Earl should object any thing against him at his Death; but others interpreted his being there in a worse sense, that he might please his Eyes with a sight of the Earl's Sufferings, and satiate his Malice with his Blood, and therefore being told of it as a Fault, he withdrew into the Armory, and there beheld the fatal Tragedy.

His Execution.

The Earl, as soon as he came upon the Scaffold, uncovered his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven,

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confeſs'd his Sins, and begg'd Mercy for them, eſpecially this laſt Sin, which he call'd a *Bloody, Crying and Contagious Sin.* He prayed the Queen and her Miniſters to forgive him, and that God would give her a long and happy Reign, proteſting that he never intended to lay violent Hands on her Perſon. He pray'd God to ſtrengthen his Mind againſt the Terrours of Death, and entreated the Spectators to joyn with him in a ſhort Prayer, which he uttered with great Devotion. Then he rehearſed the *Apoſtles Creed*, and, laying himſelf down, placed his Neck upon the Block, and having repeated the firſt Verſes of the 51 Pſalm, his Head was ſtruck off at the third Blow; but the firſt took away both Senſe and Motion. A. D. 1602

Thus dyed *Robert d' Evereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, in the 34th year of his Age, who was accompliſh'd in all thoſe Vertues that become a Nobleman. He had a high and towring Mind, and an obliging Affability, which was too greedily imbibed by the popular Eye, and being a great Ingroſſer of Fame, it procured him many Enemies, and made his Mind boil into undecent Paſſions, more ſuitable to his Enemies deſigns than his own; for they lighted their Candle at his Fire, and this Heat being blown into a Flame by ſome fiery Spirits about him, ſtained the Goodneſs of his Nature with a tincture of Revenge, which his Enemies made reflect upon the Queen, ſo that the Coal which he deſign'd to burn his Enemies Neſts, kindled his own Funeral Pile. His Genealogy was ancient and illuſtrious. His Eſtate and Dignity of Baron came by a Marriage with *Cecily*, Daughter of *William Boucher*, whoſe Grandmother was Siſter to *Edward* IV. King of *England*. Her great Grandmother was Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Son of King *Edward* III. born of a Daughter of *Humphery Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, upon which the Title of Viſcount *Hereford* was conferr'd upon his great Grandfather *Walter*, by King *Edward* VI. and the Honour of *Earl* of *Eſſex* upon his Father by Queen *Elizabeth*. This Earl had a Liberal Education in *Cambridge*, and being recommended to the Queen by his Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and made Maſter of the Horſe, he had great difficulty to get into her Favour, but when he had gained it, ſhe loaded him with Preferments, and afforded him a great ſhare in her Affections, which begot him many Enemies, and 'tis no wonder, conſidering

His Extraction.

A. D. 1592. ring he was not born for a Courtier; for he could neither flatter nor dissemble, but always carry'd his Love and Hatred on his Brow. He married *Frances* the Daughter of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Widow of Sir *Philip Sidney*, by whom he had a Son named *Robert*, and two Daughters *Frances* and *Dorothy*, besides a Son by his Mistress *Southwell*, who was named *Walter*.

March 5. Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merick*, Knights, and *Cuff*, being accused of the same Crimes with *Essex*, were brought to their Tryals, and being Convicted by the Jury, received the Sentence of Death, and were all executed at Tyburn, except Sir *Christopher Blunt* and Sir *Charles Danvers*, who being nobly descended, were beheaded upon *Tower-Hill*. To this Cause also belongs a Censure, given at this time in the *Star-Chamber*.

A Piece of Forgery. The Earl of *Essex* complained at his Tryal, that his Letters were counterfeited, and upon diligent Enquiry into that matter, a bold Imposture was discovered. The Countess of *Essex* being afraid, that in those troublesome times some Evil might befal her Husband and her self, put some Letters which she had receiv'd from him into a Cabinet, and intrusted it in the Hands of a *Dutch* Woman call'd *Rihove*, who hid them in her House. By chance *John Daniel*, her Husband, found them, read them over, and observing that there was something in them that might incense the Queen, and endanger the Earl, caused them to be transcribed by one that was expert at *Counterfeiting Hands*. And when the timorous Countess was ready to lie in, he told her, that unless she would give him three Thousand Pounds, he would deliver them into the Hands of her Husband's Enemies. The good Lady to prevent that danger, immediately gave him eleven hundred and seventy Pounds; and yet for that great Sum, the Villian gave her only the Copies, and kept the Originals to get another Sum for them from the Earl's Enemies. For which he was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, Fined in 3000 Pounds, two of which were to be paid to the Countess, and to stand with his Ears nail'd in the Pillory, with this Inscription on his Breast, *A wicked Forger and Impostor*.

Ostend besieged. About this time the Arch-Duke *Albert* besieged *Ostend*, and the Confederate States being obliged, for their own Preservation, to defend it, they made Sir *Francis Vere* Governour of it, under the Title of

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General of all the Forces within and without Oſtend. This Place in the Memory of Man, had but a few Cottages for poor Fiſhermen on a naked Shore; but at the beginning of the Low-Country Wars, was fortified by the States, firſt with a Paliſſado; afterwards the Sea working in, and making it a very convenient Harbour, they added a Trench to it, and placed an *Engliſh* Garriſon in it. Theſe Men, firſt under *John Conway*, and afterwards under Sir *John Norris*, ſo diſturbed and over-run *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* began to lay ſiege to it, but in vain. *La Motte* attempted it by Treachery, but was beaten off with great loſs of Men; and the Arch-Duke *Albert* ſurrounded it with ſeventeen Sconces. But when the Garriſons and theſe Sconces proved as burthenſome and vexatious to *Flanders*, as the Enemies, and the Haven being thought conveient both to Harbour the *Spaniſh* Gallies, and diſturb the Navigation of the *Engliſh* and *Zealanders*, the *Spaniards* reſolv'd to take it, what ever it coſt them: and the States on the other hand reſolv'd to defend it. Never in that Age was a Seige more obſtinately maintained, or more gallantly defended: nor a greater ſlaughter of Men, nor a peice of Service that laſted longer; but the Journal being extant, I will not here repeat it. At five Months end Sir *Francis Vere* finding his Forces diminiſhed by frequent Sallies, the Enemies ſhot, and the Peſtilence, a part of the old Town ſwallow'd by the Sea, their Proviſion almoſt ſpent, and by reaſon of contrary Winds no hopes of Supplies, which he had often in vain demanded, and underſtanding that the Enemy were ready to make a general Aſſault upon the Town, he deſired a Parly with the Arch-Duke about yielding the Place; after Hoſtages were given on both ſides Commiſſioners were ſent to treat about it. But General *Vere* only delayed the time, and fed them with hopes of a Surrender, till freſh Suplies of Men were come to him, and then ſent back the Commiſſioners, excuſing himſelf by that Military Axiom, *That to delude and over-reach an Enemy is pleaſant and advantageous*, and therefore deſired their Pardon, if in caſe of the like neceſſity he ſhould make uſe of the ſame Stratagem. The Arch-Duke, in revenge, made a furious Aſſault the next day, but was beaten off; and General *Vere*, when he had made good the ſhaken and battered places, was called away by the States, who thought fit every five Months to ſend a new Go-

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A. D. 160-

A. D. 1602.

vernour and freſh Supplies of Men, leaving his Office to *Frederick Dorpe*. Which Generals and their Succeſſors, with great Prudence and Reſolution defended the Town three years, and about a hundred days, againſt the furious Aſſaults of the *Sea* and the *Enemy*, and happy had it been if the Sea had been let in and had ſwallow'd it; for the ſtouteſt and braveſt Soldiers of the *Low-Countries*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Italy*, whilſt they contended for a barren Plat of Sand, found here one common Sepulchre, tho' withal it was an eternal Monument of their Valour.

A three years ſiege.

The *Iriſh* had been long in expectation of Aſſiſtance from *Spain*, and now to their great Joy they arrived in great State at *Kingſale*, and having peaceably entred the Town and refreſhed themſelves, *Don Juan d' Aquila*, who commanded them, with the Title of *Maſter General and Captian of the Catholick King in God's War, for maintaining the Faith in* Ireland, publiſhed ſeveral Papers, wherein he endeavour'd to perſuade the People, that Queen *Elizabeth* was by ſeveral Sentences of the Pope deprived of her Crown, that her Subjects were abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and that now the *Spaniards* were come to deliver *Ireland* out of the Jaws of the Devil; and by that ſpecious pretence he drew great Numbers of lewd and diſſolute Fellows to joyn with him. The Lord Deputy having drawn together what Troops he could, beſieged *Kingſale*, forced the Caſtle of *Kincurran* to ſurrender, and with the help of Vice-Admiral *Leviſon*, begirt the Town with a cloſer Siege, which notwithſtanding was ſoon after ſomewhat ſlackned, in regard *Leviſon* with his Fleet was fain to ſail hence againſt 2000 *Spaniards*, which were landed at *Bere Haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Caſtle Haven*, five of whoſe Ships he ſunk. About the ſame time *O Donel*, *Tir Owen*, *O Rork*, *Reymund Burk*, *Mac Mahon*, *Randal Mac Surley*, and the chief Rebels drew near, and joyning the new Landed *Spaniards*, made up 6000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, and were puffed up with ſuch a Confidence of Victory, as being more in Number, freſh Men, and well provided with all Neceſſaries, whereas the *Engliſh* were tired out with a Winter's Siege, deſtitute of Proviſions, and their Horſes ſpent with hard Service and want of Hay and Corn. However, when both Armies came to engage they found to the contrary; for the *Spaniards* were ſlaughter'd, the *Iriſh* betook themſelves to flight, throwing away

The Spaniard invades Ireland.

They are beaten.

away their Arms. *Don Alphonſo O Campo* was taken Priſoner, with three *Spaniſh* Leaders and ſix Enſigns. Twelve Hundred Men were ſlain, and nine Colours taken, whereof ſix were *Spaniſh*. Of the *Engliſh* few were kill'd, but many wounded. A. D. 1602.

Great and many were the Advantages of this Victory, for *Ireland* that was ſtaggering and ready to revolt, was hereby kept in Obedience; the *Spaniards* were driven out of that Country; the Arch Rebel *Tir Owen* was forced into his Shelters; *O Donel* was forced to fly into *Spain*; the reſt of the Rebels were diſperſed; the Queen's Authority was reſtored; the Hearts of honeſt Men revived, and a ſolid and perfect Peace eſtabliſhed in all *Ireland*.

The next day the Lord Deputy commanded *Joſias Bodley* to ſurvey the Works about *Kinſale*, to finiſh the Mount, and draw the Trenches nearer the Town, which was ſix days a doing; and in the mean while *D' Aquila* ſent a Trumpeter to the Lord Deputy, deſiring a Parley. Sir *William Godolphin* was choſen for that purpoſe, to whom *D' Aquila* ſignified, *That he had found the Lord Deputy a ſmart but honourable Enemy; that the* Iriſh *were Weak, Rude, and Perfidious; that the Catholick King had ſent him to aſſiſt two Earls, but now he queſtioned whether there were any ſuch Earls in the World, ſince one Blaſt of War had blown one of them into* Spain, *and the other in to the North, where neither of them were to be found, and therefore he was willing to treat of Peace, which might be advantageous to the* Engliſh, *and not prejudicial to the* Spaniards; *tho' he wanted nothing for a Siege, and every day expected Succors to enable him to do what he came for.* Briefly it was concluded, that the *Spaniards* ſhould ſurrender *Kinſale*, the Caſtles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bear-haven* and *Caſtle-haven* to the Lord Deputy, depart with their Lives and Goods, and Colours flying, and not to be moleſted by any *Engliſh* Ship in their Voyage to *Spain*. Theſe Articles being ratified, the *Spaniards* took the firſt Opportunity of returning Home. A. D. 1603. *They Capitulate and leave* Ireland.

And that they might have no Temptation to make another Deſcent in *Ireland*, the Queen ſent a Fleet of Ships into *Spain*, which harraſs'd their Coaſts and took a Carrack valued at a Million of Ducats, with the Loſs of five Men only. Now there happened a great Quarrel between the Jeſuits and the Secular Prieſts in *England*; for *Blackwel*, who was wholly at the Com- *A Quarrel between the Jeſuits and the Monks.*

A. D. 1603. mand of *Garnet*, General of the Jesuits in *England*, usurp'd Authority over them, depriv'd them of their Faculties, and procured a Brief from the Pope, wherein they were declared Schismaticks and Hereticks, which they cleared themselves of, by a Censure of the University of *Paris*. Publishing one Book after another, the Secular Priests highly extolled the Queen, and made it appear, That in the first 11 Years of her Reign, there was not one Papist had his Life call'd in question for his Religion; and that in 10 Years after the Publication of the Bull of pope *Pius Quintus*, and the Rebellion of the Papists, not above twelve Priests were put to death for Treason, till in the Year 1580, when the Jesuits first crept into *England*. Then they shewed at large, that the wicked Designs of the Jesuits confounded all, and enforced the making of severe Laws against Papists. That after Seminaries for *English* Fugitives were made in *Spain* by the Procurement of *Parsons* an *English* Jesuit, and fifty every Year were sent into *England* to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. That *Parsons* excited the *Spaniards* to invade *England* and *Ireland*, and set up the *Infanta* of *Spain*'s Title to the Crown of *England*. That *Holt*, a Jesuit, perswaded *Hesket* to raise a Rebellion, hired *Cullen*, *York*, and *Williams* to kill the Queen. That *Walpool* a Jesuit perswaded *Squire* to poyson her: Insomuch that the Queen, whose Judgment was, that Conscience ought not to be forced, was necessitated to use Severity, or betray her own and her Kingdoms Safety. *Parsons* they reproached with being a Bastard, the Dregs of the People, and a Turbulent, Seditious Sycophant and Equivocator. The Defamatory Libels which the Jesuits made against the Queen, they condemned of Falshood, and the Authors as Traytors to God and her Majesty, and desired the *English* Papists not to send their Children to be educated in the Jesuits Colleges, where they suckt in the Poyson of Treason and Rebellion with their first Rudiments.

While these Contentions were on foot, and were encouraged by the Bishop of *London*, the Privy Council were of Opinion, that notwithstanding this pretended Animosity, they were both agreed to pervert her Majesty's Subjects, and therefore were both banish-
They are banish'd. ed by Proclamation; and it came out but in time, for while they were managing these Disputes, *Thomas Winter* and *Tesmund* a Jesuit, were sent over into *Spain*, where they carry'd on a dangerous Plot for cutting off

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth*, and excluding *James* King of *Scots* from his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*. A. D. 1603.

After the *Spaniards* were driven out of *Ireland*, *Tir Owen*, under a great Fright, made haſte to his lurking Holes in *Ulſter*, and from this time forward could not reſt in quiet, but haunted with an evil Conſcience, miſtruſted every one, and continually removed from place to place. The Lord Deputy put his Soldiers into Winter Quarters, and as ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year would permit, he marched againſt the Rebels, and ſent Sir *Arthur Chicheſter* and Sir *Henry Dockwra* to fall upon *Tir Owen*; but all Approaches were ſo miry, the March ſo troubleſome, the Weather ſo foul, and their Guides ſo perfidious, that they were forc'd to give over their Enterpriſe; but in Concluſion, the Garriſons placed here and there by the Lord Deputy, did ſo vex and afflict the Rebels by often charging upon them, that when they ſaw themſelves beſet on every ſide, and that like wild Beaſts they were compelled to hide themſelves in Woods and Foreſts, they began to ſubmit to the Lord Deputy, ſtriving who ſhould be the firſt; complaining that *Tir Owen*, for his own private Grudges, had expoſed the Nation to Ruin, and that the War was only carry'd on to ſerve his Purpoſes, but was deſtructive in its Conſequence to every Body elſe. *Tir Owen* alſo finding his ill Succeſſes had weakned the Fidelity of his Followers, and leſſen'd his Forces, reſolved, if it were poſſible, to ſave his own Life, therefore ſent ſubmiſſive Letters to the Queen and the Lord Deputy, with Prayers and Tears, wherein he begg'd his Pardon, and giving ſuch Signs of true Repentance, the Queen order'd the Lord Deputy to receive him to Mercy, provided he would beg it upon his Knees, with that Humility and Submiſſion, that he pretended to in his Letters. Upon notice of this welcome News, *Tir Owen* repairs to Court, and being admitted into the Preſence Chamber, where the Lord Deputy ſate in his Chair of State, with a great number of Sword-Men about him, he fell on his Knees at the very Threſhold, then advancing nearer with a dejected Countenance, ſaid, *I acknowledge my Sin againſt God, and my Offence againſt my moſt Gracious Queen and Sovereign Lady, to whoſe Royal Clemency, as a Sacred Anchor I betake my ſelf, offering up my Life and Eſtate to be at her Diſpoſal, whoſe former Bounty and preſent Power as I have felt, ſo I moſt humbly beſeech her, that I may*

Succeſſes againſt the Iriſh.

Tir Owen *ſubmits.*

A. D. 1603.

I may now taſte of her Mercy, and be made an eternal Example of her Princely Clemency. My Age is not ſo far ſpent, nor my Body ſo feeble, nor my Mind ſo broken, but that by my valiant and faithful Service I may yet expiate the Sin of my Rebellion. Thus ended *Tir Owen*'s Rebellion by the Auſpicious Fortune of the Queen, and the good Conduct of the Lord *Montjoy* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, eight Years after it firſt began. That it continued ſo long is no wonder, if we conſider that it encreaſed by ſlighting it, and the over-Covetouſneſs of *England*, who were unwilling to grant Supplies: That it was protracted by unſeaſonable Emulations, diſſembled Truces, troubleſome Ways, difficult Acceſs to Places, and by the Temper of the *Iriſh*, who truſted more to the Nimbleneſs of their Heels, than the Strength of their Hands.

An end of the Iriſh *Wars.*

The Queen who had hitherto enjoyed a perfect Health, began in her Climacterical Year, the 70*th* of her Age, to be ſenſible of the Infirmities of old Age, by a general Weakneſs and Indiſpoſition that had lately ſeized upon her; and therefore removed from *Weſtminſter* to her Palace at *Richmond*, that ſhe might enjoy a better Air, and more freely attend the Service of God and the Salvation of her Soul. And her commanding her Inauguration Ring to be filed off her Finger, becauſe it was grown into the Fleſh and was painful, it was look'd upon as an ill Omen, and that the Marriage between her and the Kingdom was diſſolving. Her Sickneſs began by a Swelling in her Throat, but that ſoon abated. Then by degrees her Appetite failed; ſhe had no Reliſh of any thing ſhe eat, wholly reſigned her ſelf to Melancholy, and ſeemed afflicted with ſome peculiar Grief, that all except her ſelf was ignorant of the Cauſe of: But whether occaſion'd by the Violence of her Diſtemper, the Loſs of the Earl of *Eſſex* (as his Friends perſwaded themſelves,) or that after ſo great Expences in the *Iriſh* War, ſhe was prevailed upon to pardon *Tir Owen*, or that many of the Nobility declined their Duty to her, to worſhip the riſing Sun, I will not take upon me to determine: Tho', to their Reproach be it ſpoken, ſhe ſaw her ſelf but ill attended in her Sickneſs, and forſaken by all but three or four Perſons, which ſhe was not unſenſible of, and therefore Grief and Indignation made her ſay, *They have yoked my Neck; I have none that I can truſt: My Condition is ſtrangely turn'd upſide down.*

The Queen ſickens.

In

In the beginning of *March* her Melancholy encreaſed, and a Frowardneſs familiar to old Age, ſeized upon her; ſhe would ſit ſilent, and not endure any Talk, unleſs it were with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with whom ſhe often prayed with great Fervency and Devotion, until, by degrees her Speech failed, and then heard him pray by her with great Attention. Now the Lord Admiral telling the reſt of the Privy Council, what the Queen had ſometime ſaid to him about the Succeſſion, they all thought fit that he, with the Lord Keeper, and the Secretary of State, ſhould wait upon her, and in the Name of the reſt of the Council, underſtand her Pleaſure concerning her Succeſſor. The Queen made anſwer, with a Gaſping Breath, *I ſaid that my Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that I would not have any mean Perſon ſucceed me.* The Secretary asking her what ſhe meant by theſe words; *I will, ſaid ſhe that a King ſucceed me. And who ſhould that be but my neareſt Kinſman the King of* Scots: Then being put in mind by the Archbiſhop to think upon God, *That I do ſaid ſhe, nor does my mind wander from him:* And when ſhe could no longer pray with her Tongue, with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, ſhe directed the Thoughts of her pious Heart to God, and prayed by ſorrowing inwardly that ſhe could not pray vocally, as was obſerved by the Signs ſhe made to her Attendants, when ſhe could ſpeak no longer. And on the 24th of *March*, 1603, peaceably reſigned her pious Soul to God, having reigned 44 Years, 4 Months, and in the ſeventieth Year of her Age, to which no King of *England* ever attained.

A. D. 1604.

She names her Succeſſor, and dieth.

To draw a Picture worthy of Queen *Elizabeth* would be a Task for the greateſt Maſters; ſince all that ever was Great in Womankind contributed to make up her Character. As to her Perſon, ſhe had but little of a regular Beauty in her Face, but that was well proportion'd, and in the main very agreeable. Her Mien and Gate were noble, and in every thing ſhe ſaid or did there was ſomething of Majeſty that ſtruck both Love and Reverence. In her Features, Perſon and Mien, ſhe had more of King *Henry* VIII. than of the unfortunate *Anna Bullen*, but they were his good and not his ill Qualities. Her Youth was a continued Scene of Afflictions, but this was her Happineſs, that ſhe was too young to underſtand them. Her Brother, King *Edward*, took care of her Education, and her Improvement in good Literature

Her Character.

A. D. 1603.

ture was a ſufficient Requital. Queen *Mary*'s hereditary Averſion to her upon the account of their Mothers, and the Inveterate Malice of the Popiſh Prieſts in reſpect of her Religion, had certainly overthrown her, if King *Philip*, who was the greateſt Enemy in her Reign, had not preſerved her Life to be the Scourge of *Spain*, and the Terror of the *Romaniſts*.

Her Reign was Long and Glorious, ſhe was the Darling of her People, the Dread of her Enemies, and ſo happy in the Choice of her Miniſters, that ſucceſs attended all her Enterpriſes. She had the Art of pleaſing her Parliaments, and had little Trouble in doing it; for they were compoſed of ſuch Grave and Diſcreet Perſons that were Strangers to Faction and Ambition*. Such as came to the Houſe, not to exerciſe their Spleens, but to conſult of the Common Good, and rather to comply than contend with her Majeſty; ſo that the Queen and they had ever the good Fortune to part in Love, ſhe having firſt her Supplies, and they next what they deſired. She was very ſparing in conferring Honours, yet had always a way to reward Merit, without proclaiming it. She found the Nation poor, but left it rich, and nothing ſeems to reflect upon her Memory but the Death of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, of which ſo much has been ſaid *Pro* and *Con*, that I ſhall add nothing to it, but that they both deſerve to be pitied, the one for her Sufferings, and the other for being the Cauſe of them. But all that has been ſaid in Commendation of this Renowned Queen, was never intended ſo much for a full Character of her and her Councils, as to ſet out the great and viſible Bleſſings of God that attended her; the many Preſervations ſhe had, and that by ſuch Diſcoveries as both ſaved her Life and ſecured her Government; and the unuſual Happineſs of her whole Reign, which raiſed her to the Eſteem and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Poſterity. It was admired indeed, that a Virgin Queen ſhould rule ſuch a Kingdom for above Forty Four Years, with ſuch conſtant Succeſs, in ſo great Tranquility at Home, with a vaſt increaſe of Wealth, and with ſuch Glory Abroad. All which may juſtly be eſteemed to have been the peculiar Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with ſo much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Eſtabliſhment, and continued with the conſtant Protection and Advancement of the *True Religion*.

* Fragmenta Regalia, p. 13, 14.

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